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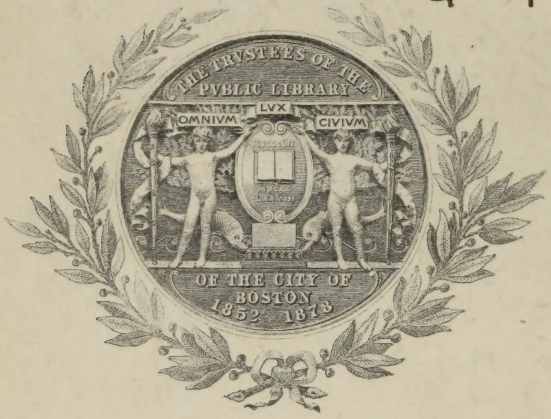

LOYAL PUBLICATION SOCIETY,

863 BROADWAY.

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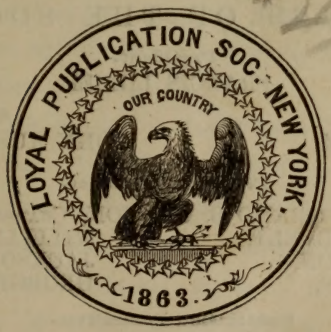

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LOYAL PUBLICATION SOCIETY,

863 BROADWAY, NEW YORK.

DECLARATORY RESOLUTION.

The object of the Society is expressed in the following Resolutions, formally adopted by unanimous vote of the Society, at its first Anniversary Meeting, Feb. 13, 1864*; and at the second Anniversary Meeting, Feb.* 11, 1865.

Resolved and declared, That the object of the Loyal Publication Society is, and shall be, to publish and distribute tracts, papers and journals, of unquestionable loyalty, throughout the United States, in the cities and the country, in the army and navy, and in hospitals; thus to diffuse knowledge and stimulate a broad national patriotism, and to aid in the suppression of the Rebellion by the extinction of its causes, and in the preservation of the integrity of the Nation, by counteracting the efforts of the advocates of a disgraceful and disintegrating Peace.

And further: By the dissemination, North and South, of well-considered information and principles, to aid the National Government in the suppression and final extinction of Slavery, by Amendment to the Constitution of the United States; to reconcile the Master and Slave to their new and changed conditions, and so to adjust their interests that peace and harmony may soon prevail, and the Nation, repairing the ravages of War, enter upon a new, unbroken career of liberty, justice and prosperity.

Persons sympathising with the design of this Society, and wishing to contribute to its support, may send their contributions to

MORRIS KETCHUM, Esq., Treasurer, 40 Exchange Place,

by whom receipts will be promptly returned.

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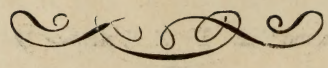


LOYAL PUBLICATION SOCIETY,
863 BROADWAY.

No. 45.

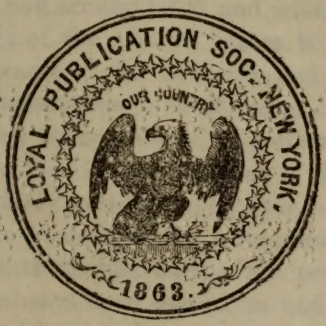
Finances & Resources of the United States.

SPEECH

OF THE

HON. HENRY G. STEBBINS,

In the House of Representatives, March 3, 1864.



NEW YORK, APRIL, 1864.

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In the House of Representatives of the United States,

MARCH 3d, 1864.

The House having under consideration the Joint Resolution, (H. R., No. 37,) authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to sell any surplus gold in the Treasury,

Mr. Stebbins, of New York, said:

Mr. Speaker, when the proposition was introduced into this House to authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to sell the surplus gold which had accumulated and which was accumulating in the Treasury of the United States beyond the amount demanded by the wants of the Treasury and the requirements of the law, I took the occasion to declare that I could not regard the question from any other point of view than its bearing upon the great interests of the Government and of the people. I felt constrained to forget my hostility to a paper-money system, and was only willing to remember the circumstances supposed to have compelled its introduction during the period of the war. Great wars having always been carried on under such a system, this country could not hope to be an exception to the rule. I do not, therefore, now propose to discuss the system itself, nor attempt to point out its imperfections. I desire to see nothing but the cardinal facts that we are in the midst of a civil war; that men and money are necessary for its prosecution; that the national life must be preserved, the honor of our arms sustained, and the integrity of the laws of the United States vindicated. A financial system, the offspring of this great necessity, has grown up. It has been in operation for the past three years. It is inter-

woven in every part of our industrial system. We cannot abolish it if we would; we ought not to do so if we could. We must wait for peace to prevail before we undertake to pull down the structure and build up another. To undermine and destroy it now, is to bury the nation under its ruins.

The introduction of the pending legitimate and necessary resolution, gave rise to a very remarkable debate. The resolution was opposed, because it conferred fresh and enlarged powers on the Secretary of the Treasury. The injurious effects of the rapid accumulation of gold in the Treasury, as shown in its advance and price, and the consequent advance in the prices of all the necessaries of life, were not denied; but these evils were not considered so important as the consequences which might flow from increasing the Secretary's powers. The Government was actually the unwilling instrument of the speculators on the seaboard, and was in the position of the capitalist who is lending money upon gold to advance its value; was hoarding gold beyond its requirements, making it daily more and more scarce in the market, was itself depreciating the currency, and feeding speculation; and yet this House was disposed to consider the passage of a bill directing the sale of the surplus on hand as the greater evil of the two. I did not so regard the subject. I felt that the national credit was endangered by this action on the gold market, and I was in favor of instructing the Secretary to sell, at his discretion, all the surplus he had, or was likely to have, over and above the requirements of his Department. I desired him to be so instructed, for the purpose of regulating his powers in the direction of his country's necessities. To me, his powers lay in the fact, that he could hold the gold or keep it out of the market. To direct the sale of any surplus beyond the wants of the Treasury, was to limit and restrict his powers.

I desired to protect the people against further expansion, to restrain the madness of speculation that was holding the nation by the throat, and to which the Government at the moment was an unwilling party; and, sir, I have not changed my opinion. Reflection has confirmed my previous judgment. But I pass from the further consideration of this part of the subject.

Each day has added to the testimony, that if the importations do not suddenly diminish, the price of gold will advance to

much higher points; speculation receive a new impulse; prices of the necessaries of life rise in a corresponding degree; and the responsibility of the whole matter rest upon Congress for declining to disembarras or relieve the Government from a position that no one in his senses ever supposed it would occupy.

The question, to my mind, is one of great national importance, second to none now influencing our action. It ought not to be regarded from any narrow stand-point of any political party. It shall not be, as far as I am concerned; but purely and entirely with reference to its practical bearing upon the interests of the whole people of the United States.

Sir, in the discussion that followed the introduction of this bill, statements were made, and deductions drawn from those statements, which have passed into wide circulation. I think them calculated to swell the current of improvident speculation, weaken still more the public confidence, depreciate still more the public credit, advance still higher the price of the precious metals, increase to a still greater degree the necessities of the Government, and, just in the same proportion, add to the burdens of a people already staggering and reeling beneath the weight of great anxieties and expenses. Dark predictions were uttered of speedy national bankruptcy, and solemn warnings of national repudiation. These declarations were supported by references to the figures of our public debt. The currency was declared to be $1,000,000,000! In my judgment, such predictions and statements cannot be made, in this House or anywhere else, without damage to the public credit and to private interests. Nor can they be without their effect upon the thousands of soldiers in the field, far away from their homes, in an enemy's country. They look to Congress to build up the national credit, to strengthen it if it is really endangered, to fortify it where it needs a breastwork, that they may feel secure of ample supplies of men and money until the war is successfully and honorably terminated. Sir, with all my objections to the financial system of the country, I feel it to be my duty to support that system until the war is over. I think it the duty of every man in this House, to labor with industrious zeal to inspire the public with confidence, and so enable the Government to negotiate its loans and meet with promptitude all its obligations.

Mr. Speaker, my main object to-day is to dissent from the statements made in that debate as to the facts in respect to the amount and condition of the public debt; to protest against the deductions drawn from them, even if they are as represented; but more particularly to show that there is nothing up to this date in the condition of the debt or the currency which justifies a depreciation of from thirty-three and a third to forty per cent. in the latter, as against gold and silver; or warrants the improvident and wicked speculations in merchandise and commodities now prevailing in the Atlantic cities to so fearful an extent.

For the purpose of doing what I can, to disabuse the public mind on these most important points, I propose, in the first place, to call the attention of this House to the late report of the Secretary of the Treasury. On page 17 of the report to this Congress we find the following:

"The limit prescribed by law to the issue of United States notes has been reached, and the Secretary thinks it clearly inexpedient to increase the amount. When circulation exceeds the legitimate requirements for real payments and exchanges, no addition to its volume will increase its value. On the contrary, such addition tends inevitably to depreciation; and depreciation, if addition be continued, will find its only practical limit in the utter worthlessness of the augmented mass.

"When Congress authorized the creation of debt, to a certain extent, in the form of United States notes, and impressed on these notes the qualities of a circulating medium, its action was justified by the disappearance of coin in consequence of the suspension of specie payments; by the necessity of providing a medium in which taxes could be collected, loans received, and payments made; and by the obvious expediency of providing that medium in the form of national issues instead of resorting to the paper of banks. Under the circumstances its action was wise and necessary; but it was equally wise and necessary to limit the extent of the issues by the necessity which demanded them. They were wanted to fill the vacuum caused by the disappearance of coin and to supply the additional demands created by the increased number and variety of money payments. Congress believed that $400,000,000 would suffice for these purposes, and therefore limited issues to that sum.

"The Secretary proposes no change of this limitation, and places no reliance, therefore, on any increase of resources from increase of circulation. Additional loans in this mode would,

indeed, almost certainly prove illusory; for diminished value could hardly fail to neutralize increased amount.

"Sufficient circulation having been already provided, the Government must now borrow like any other employer of capital temporarily requiring more than income will supply, and rely for the credit which will secure advantageous loans upon good faith, industrial activity, accumulated though not immediately available capital, and satisfactory provision for punctual payment of accruing interest and ultimate reimbursement of principal."

These declarations of the Secretary are conclusive as to his opinions and designs. His opinions are, that sufficient circulation has been provided; that it cannot be increased except at the hazard of swift destruction to the whole system; that no change in the limitation or increase of the circulating medium, which is $400,000,000, ought to be considered for a moment. Here is an official declaration that $400,000,000 of currency have been supplied and are the outside limit to which the Secretary will consent, although the law allows an issue of $450,000,000. Ought not the country to be satisfied with this, the assurance of the Secretary of the Treasury under his official signature? Where are we to get the facts if not from this high officer, acting under the responsibilities of his official oath? These plans of the Secretary commend themselves to my judgment as the correct steps toward a healthy and sound state of things. They are all that any Democrat, considering the condition of the country and the existence of a fearful civil war, should expect or demand. The Secretary has a right to the support of this House in his efforts to approach a more solid system of finance. So long as he seeks to carry out these principles I shall support them to the best of my ability, because by this course I support the best interests of commerce and of all classes and conditions of men. I support the means whereby the Government hopes to check expansion, reduce exaggerated prices, restrict speculation, restore confidence and diminish the public expenses. Sir, holding these views, nothing could justify me in withholding my aid from the accomplishment of this great and most laudable effort to reduce the issue of paper money and to check the inflation now rushing like a whirlwind over the country, and

that, too, mainly through ignorance of our real resources, and of the exact character of the public debt.

On page 8 of the Secretary's report we find the estimated condition of the public finances up to the 1st of July, 1864, and the estimated total debt up to the 1st of July, 1865. On the 1st of July, 1864, the public debt will be $1,686,956,641, of which $400,000,000 is currency. On the 1st of July, 1865, it will be $2,231,935,190, of which $400,000,000 is still to be currency. It follows, then, that the funded or merchantable debt will, on the 1st day of July, 1846, be $1,286,956,641, and on 1st of July, 1865, $1,831,935,190, without the $400,000,000 of currency. It will be remarked that I class all but the $400,000,000 legal tender as funded debt; that I assume that the extreme limit of this kind of money has been reached; and that it will never be exceeded; and here permit me to repeat, that I base this emphatic declaration on the language of the Secretary's report, which admits of no other interpretation.

I now propose to make this clear to the House and to the country. The $400,000,000 legal tender, recently issued, drawing five per cent. interest, redeemable in one or two years, and now being paid out by the Secretary, is, like the rest of the funded debt, a merchantable article, partaking of the character of the English exchequer bill. It varies in price according to the value of money. It increases in value daily by the augmentation of interest. It may float as currency for a few days after it is issued, but presently it is absorbed; it disappears from the market. At its maturity it must be paid. It differs from the currency in being made payable at a given date, and drawing interest up to a given time. The debt certificates which are paid out by the Secretary are also merchantable. They are bought and sold for money. They occupy the same relation to the capital that any promissory note occupies. They are made payable at specific times, and draw interest at six per cent. *They are not currency.*

The long loan of the Government is like any other funded debt; and so, Mr. Speaker, out of $1,600,000,000 of debt created thus far, but $400,000,000 is currency.

The national bank currency act for the creation of $300,000,000 circulation of uniform value throughout the United States I un-

derstand as being designed to supersede the existing local State bank currency of the country; that it is simply the substitution of one plan for another—a plan which is regarded by the Secretary as the most suitable in time of war, calculated to strengthen the national credit, provide a means for the sale of Government debt in considerable quantities, and prepare the way for a resumption of specie payments as well as the gradual displacement of the legal tenders. It does not look to an increase of the currency. The new system comes into existence as the old system expires. There is no occasion, therefore, for alarm from this source. Congress may be called upon to modify the law of the last session on this subject, that the machine may work with perfect smoothness, but I think it will be demonstrated that, as the currency of the State banks shall cease to exist, the banks themselves, by enabling laws, or by other processes, can readily pass under the new system. It therefore follows that no new device for the creation of more paper money is to be found in this bill. Nor am I prepared to say, in view of the fact of the introduction of the legal-tender currency during the war as an absolute necessity, and of its necessary existence to a greater or lesser degree for a time after the termination of the war, that the national bank currency act will not prove to be a wise and beneficent measure, calculated, as suggested by the Secretary, to insure an early return to specie payments, without the disorders and convulsions that have heretofore followed directly in the wake of great financial changes, and especially such a change as the substitution of specie payments for those of paper. A careful examination of this great question is certainly demanded by the best interests of the people, and I propose to give it the best attention of which I am capable before deciding upon my future course in the matter. I shall, however, examine it solely on its merits in connection with the probable wants of the country growing out of the war, and broadly as a question of finance, in which every human being in the nation is directly interested.

Mr. Speaker, the people buy the funded debt of the United States for income. They buy it with a full knowledge of all the circumstances under which it is created. They buy it on the credit of the nation, on its resources, on the present and prospective magnitude of its population and its productive power.

They buy on the past history of the country, on its rapid growth, on its unsurpassed prospects for the future. They believe in the perpetuation of our institutions and in the preservation of our national unity. They believe in but one Government over our vast domain. They believe in the value of one million square miles of public lands west of the Missouri; in the thousands of millions of mineral wealth folded in its vast embrace. They believe in the construction of the Pacific railroad; in an exodus of millions of men to the Rocky mountains, prepared with their machinery to grind them to powder, and extract from their prolific sides huge volumes of treasure. They believe in the iron, the coal, the copper, the lead, the silver, the cinnabar, and all the valuable minerals, both metallic and alkaline, which they know to exist in unlimited quantities within that vast region of seven hundred millions of acres; but if they are willing and eager to buy the funded debt of the nation on this security, how can we explain the sale of $400,000,000 currency, based in reality on the same security, at thirty-three and a third to forty per cent. discount? "There is more in this, if our philosophy could but find it out."

Let us, however, examine some of the reasons why this confidence should exist. I find, Mr. Speaker, in the very remarkable and highly valuable report of Hon. Samuel B. Ruggles, made, in September of last year, to the International Statistical Congress at Berlin, on the resources of the United States—a paper that should be circulated all over the country—the following valuable statistics on the subject of the increase of the population of the United States when compared with other countries. The population of France increased thirty-seven per cent. in sixty years, from 1801 to 1861; of Prussia, seventy-nine per cent. in forty-five years, from 1816 to 1861; of England and Wales one hundred and twenty-one per cent. in sixty years; against an increase in the United States of five hundred and ninety-three per cent. in the same length of time.

The increase of the national wealth within the last ten years is thus presented in the same report: assessed value of property actually taxed in 1850, leaving out the assessed value of slaves, $6,174,780,000, and in 1860 $14,223,618,068; leaving an increase in the decade of $8,048,825,840. Mr. Ruggles thus

distributes this vast increase of the national wealth: to New England $735,754,244; to the Middle Atlantic or carrying and commercial States, from New York to Maryland, inclusive, $1,834,911,579; and to the food-producing interior itself, embracing the eight great States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, and Missouri, $2,810,000,000.

Now, sir, at this rate of increase, in 1870, six years hence, we should have $35,000,000,000 of national wealth, and in 1880, in only sixteen years, $80,000,000,000.

[In view, however, of the unusual and exceptional expenditure of the existing decade, embracing a period of war, and of the consequent waste of labor and property it might be safer to limit the actual increase of assessed property to the rate of increase of our population, now reduced by experience very nearly to certainty That rate, as established by Mr. Ruggles' report, has varied very little from 33⅓ per cent. for each succeeding decade since 1790. Reducing the increase of property to that rate (and excluding slaves, valued, as property, in 1860 at $1,936,000,000), the residue being $14,300,000,000 in 1860, would become, $19,066,000,000 in 1870; and in 1880 (one year before our funded debt begins to be payable), $25,421,000,000.

The completion, however, within the present decade, of railways and other roads affording adequate and speedy access to our gold-bearing regions, must add largely and rapidly to the increase of assessed property.]

Sir, the legal-tender currency of $400,000,000, if divided equally among these States, to be paid by them out of the actual increase of wealth of the last decade, would have been extinguished in the first six months of the year 1860, and the balance remaining on hand of increase for the ten years preceding, would have been the enormous sum of $7,748,000,000.

These figures are presented, Mr. Speaker, in order to show how utterly unimportant is this amount of currency, when regarded or examined in connection with the nation's ability to pay it. And yet we are told that the country is on the verge of hopeless ruin. No, sir. Let the Secretary only adhere to the principles and to the language of his report. In the words of the poet, the nation

> "Is far as the farthest from ruin;
> The fields seem to know what their master is doing;
> And pasture and orchard and cornfield and lea
> All catch the infection, as generous as he."

In this connection, or in connection with that vast section of

this country which stretches away from the Missouri to the Pacific, so forcibly exhibited in the report to which I have referred, let me request my colleague from New York, who is filled with apprehension of coming woe in the shape of national ruin growing out of the creation of $400,000,000 of paper money, to pass for a few moments from this Hall to the foot of the great marble staircase that leads to the upper story of this building. His attention will be arrested at the foot of the steps by a magnificent work of art illustrating the declaration of the distinguished Bishop Berkeley—for I believe this country is indebted to him for that brief but expressive sentence—"Westward the course of empire takes its way."

Sir, we all know my colleague to be a man of fine imagination and of quick perceptions. As he will gaze on this effort of the gifted artist, he will, in spite of himself, find his heart swelling under the inspirations that will sweep unbidden over his kinder nature and his gentler judgment. He will gladly acknowledge that in the truths of to-day, the prophetic declarations of the writer of that sentence have been already realized. The course of empire has been westward. Hundreds of thousands of men have surged over to the shores of the Pacific like a flood, and now, like the tidal pulses of the sea, are rolling backward again east to the Rocky mountains to meet the still rolling western waves at the same point. On the sides of those mountains, and in the basins and valleys which they create, an empire of millions of human souls are destined ere long to concentrate their mighty energies, struggling with the seaboard for supremacy in material wealth. Sir, they will be indorsers of this $400,000,000. Twenty-five millions of people living to-day have made these bonds or obligations. Forty-two millions of people will guarantee them in 1870. Why, sir, that is only six years hence, and according to the census of 1860 fifty-six millions will look after the debt if it is not paid in 1880, only sixteen years hence, backed up by at least twenty-five, if not thirty or forty thousand millions of dollars of capital or national wealth. Sir, no comment is necessary in the face of figures like these!

But, Mr. Speaker, let us for the sake of argument, suppose, what I contend is hardly supposable, that this government should, in the course of its struggles, overwhelmed with new

embarrassments, find itself unable to pay its interest on its funded debt for one or more years. What would be the result? It might and probably would bring national concern and mortification, but not national disgrace, still less national ruin. It would not retard our national growth for a single hour. The soil would still produce its teeming millions of grain; the Pacific slope its immense treasures of gold and silver. The tide of population would still sweep in hundreds of thousands. Our industry would still flourish, our people labor, and the country, in all its greatness and its glory, still remain. Sir, we have already seen in our own brief history that which will illustrate what may be seen again upon a larger scale. Our record already presents two memorable instances well worthy of thoughtful consideration, not only by ourselves, but especially by the European world.

More than twenty years ago, our western States, led on by a spirit of enterprise far in advance of their actual development in material wealth and in population, contracted debts for their internal improvements. In a dark financial hour they failed to pay the interest, and their obligations declined from a premium of twenty per cent. down to eighty per cent. below par. The great State of Ohio trembled to her center at the time from apprehension and fear; while powerful Pennsylvania, with all her wealth, saw her securities sixty per cent. below par. Some years elapsed before the western States responded. But, sir, they did respond, nobly responded, paid every dollar, and triumphantly vindicated the judgment of the pioneers who marked out the system of internal improvements. They vindicated also the judgment of the purchasers of their securities, both at home and abroad, who bought as men now buy the funded debt of the United States on what they see and believe in the future of this rapidly expanding country.

Hence, I would urge upon the Secretary of the Treasury the great importance of acting with promptitude upon the clear and comprehensive language contained in his report; to borrow in the open money market, and at the market price, every dollar hereafter demanded by the wants of the Government. I would advise a sale of the funded debt to any extent necessary; and I would especially urge upon this House and all its members, to exert their best and highest powers to show the magnitude of

the security offered by the nation, and the great and growing power of the Republic, and thus to facilitate the Secretary in the most effective manner in all his future negotiations.

The States of Indiana and Illinois are worthy of especial mention as affording evidence of the wonderful recuperation of our people from heavy embarrassments. It is within the recollection of many members of this House, if not all of them, how the financial disasters that broke over those young States of the West, affected the financial sensibilities of both hemispheres. Europe was largely interested in these obligations, and very large amounts of them were held in this country. These States were covered with ignominy and reproach, and they were compelled to endure the base charges of repudiation and bankruptcy. Sir, they were never for one moment bankrupt, nor did they even for one moment falter in the resolution to repair the disasters of that fearful period by an early liquidation of all their indebtedness. Sir, the example of these States to their brethren of this country will live in all coming time, and it stands out, and will ever stand out, as the most incontrovertible testimony that the nation of which they form so vital and commanding, and so patriotic a portion, will pay every dollar, both principal and interest, be it funded debt or legal tender—every dollar expended to perpetuate the structure of this Government in all its splendid proportions, in all its majestic outlines.

The other historical instance was furnished by our railroad crisis. Railroad stocks and bonds descended in public estimation from a high premium almost to zero. Thirty-three thousand miles had been built, costing $1,300,000,000, or an amount equal to the present national debt; built by the enterprise of our people, and exceeding in lineal extent, all the railways of Europe. Sir, when the hour came, and these securities were unsaleable; when these corporations did not pay their interest, and when men who held them seemed in despair, what did the crisis destroy? It did not destroy the railways; it did not diminish traffic; it did not stay the strong arm of the agriculturist; it did not retard the growth of our population. No, sir; the system was "bound" to live; it belonged to this, the nineteenth century; it was conceived in great foresight and wisdom, and it survived through new economies and the introduction of wiser and more prudent counsels in its management.

Who suffered by this remarkable crisis? Not the owners of the property, for they saved their money in the revival of the prices of both bonds and stock; not the country, for it remained, and yet remains, teeming with prosperity, productiveness and power, stimulated and strengthened by this gigantic system of international communication.

Now, sir, where is the difference between the funded debt of a great community and the funded debt of a smaller community, or the debt and obligations of incorporated companies? Show me the difference in the character of the calamity that would befall the Government if we should fail to pay interest for a single year, and the calamity that befell the States of Indiana and Illinois under the like circumstances, to which I have referred.

Mr. Speaker, I might sum up all I have to say in the simple statement, that the only thing which the country has to fear is the continued depreciation of the $400,000,000 of legal tender, which the people sell at thirty-three to forty per cent. discount, under the influence of the marvelous fears generated and encouraged by those who are utterly ignorant of the power and resources of the nation. To my understanding all our trouble lies with the legal tender. It is a matter of no consequence to the people of the country as a nation, as to what the funded debt may sell at in the mutations of the future. The Government has only to look after the interest upon the debt and the principal at its maturity. With the currency, which every man is bound by law to receive for his property, it is another affair. There is no time fixed for its final extinguishment, and our enemies seek to discredit and destroy it both at home and abroad. People who take it hasten to invest it in real property, while speculation lives and flourishes by holding it up to public odium and contempt. The more speculation can discredit it, the more speculation thrives.

Speculation is sleepless in its efforts to discredit it; and yet, sir, there is a way to remedy the difficulty. It is by familiarizing the people with the power, resources and wealth of the nation; and this, in my judgment, is the duty of every Representative in this House, and of every intelligent and reflecting citizen out of it. If this $400,000,000 of currency were se-

cured to be paid to-morrow, if the nation could see it begin to expire by the establishment of a sinking fund of ten per cent. per annum, which would destroy it all in ten years, or if, by legislation, the Secretary was directed to burn $100,000 of it per day, until the whole $400,000,000 were destroyed, do you imagine that you would hear anything more of a rise in gold? Sir, it would be the death of the speculators on the sea-board, and the nation would rise from its fears and apprehensions full of fresh power and energy. So small an effort as this, in my opinion, would reduce the expenses of this Government thirty-three and one third per cent. per annum. If, sir, I am right in this conclusion, why should the people be inflamed or terrified by these dark predictions of impending bankruptcy and ruin? And why are we not bound to present, in contradiction to statements such as I have referred to, facts that lead the mind to an entirely different judgment?

Mr. Speaker, it is my deep conviction, and I would repeat, with all the emphasis I am capable of expressing, that in advocating every legitimate measure for strengthening our financial system; by encouraging the Secretary of the Treasury to persevere in carrying out the ideas so distinctly presented in his annual report; by pointing out, to the extent of my humble ability, the way to roll back the current that has set in such fearful force against the public credit; by exhibiting in even so feeble a manner, the vast resources of our country, and showing that an issue of $400,000,000 of currency, is after all only a substitute for the gold and bank circulation it has displaced, I best fulfil my duty as a Representative in this trying period. I feel that the people, who are to be ingulfed in case of a calamity so fearful as national bankruptcy, will surely sustain me in my efforts, and will sustain all who take a similar course in the midst of the emergencies of this eventful contest.

In the course of the debate, Mr. Speaker, the distinguished gentleman from Massachusetts who advocated the proposition to empower the Secretary of the Treasury to anticipate the interest on the public debt, and so dispose of the surplus gold in the Treasury, and avoid its accumulation hereafter by the same means, declared that, disguise or conceal it as we might, the currency had depreciated to the extent indicated by the price of gold.

Sir, the quotation daily made for gold in the New York market, is certainly an indication for the day, of the positive depreciation of the currency. Any one who owns gold can certainly sell it at the New York quotation for paper. No one can deny the truth of this proposition; but I submit to that gentleman, and to those who concur with him in opinion, whether there are not many good grounds for the belief that there are causes operating to produce this depreciation unknown before in the history of paper money, and whether some of them may not be regarded as wholly artificial, and capable of being easily exposed and dispelled. Sir, I think there are artificial means constantly being used to influence the price of gold. These means have been employed since the suspension of specie payments. They have increased from month to month for the past year, just in proportion to the growth of speculation, which today exceeds in volume anything ever known before in the history of our country. It has become necessary, for the safety of this monstrous structure of illegitimate traffic, that the price of gold should continue to rise in respect to the currency; and, sir, it will not be permitted to decline, if human ingenuity and human effort can prevent it. Such a state of things must give birth to every species of device, and to every kind of artificial process. They will come in the form of misrepresentations of the military situation of the country, and exaggerated statements of any defeats in the field; they will appear in the shape of extensive combinations for the temporary purchase of the floating gold in the market, in the false statements as to the character and condition of the public debt, and in the objects and designs of the Government; and all this rendered more easily available by the ignorance that is permitted to prevail as to the resources and power of the nation.

To illustrate my views more fully as to "causes hitherto unknown" now operating to the prejudice of the currency, I would ask the House to regard New York city, the great commercial and financial center, connected by the electric wires with every city and every town of any importance in every State not in rebellion, away to the far-off Pacific. The opinions of representative men are solemnly uttered in this House that national bankruptcy and repudiation are surging at our feet to ingulf us

in their formidable waves. The lightning that carries this fearful verdict to the people of the country, flashes the tidings to the city of New York almost instantly from innumerable points in the shape of positive orders to buy gold, to buy merchandise, to buy commodities. Thousands of orders reach that great mart in an hour, and through all hours of the day, and hence a traffic, boundless in extent, and all in one direction, all to purchase property at the market prices, without limit, is carried on in that city by a frightened and frenzied population. Has the currency really depreciated because of these transactions? Is national bankruptcy really here because of such declarations? I cannot so regard it. The truth is, that this modern instrument, electricity, is playing a new and most important part in the affairs of men, and for the first time in the greatest drama in the history of civilization. It so concentrates and so intensifies the incidents of human life, so entirely controls and governs them, that those who measure the present by the past, utterly fail of arriving at proper or just conclusions. Sir, I look for the moment when the people of the United States, moved by different impulses, influenced by calmer counsels, led by wiser judgments, and enlightened by the spirit of truth, will see with a clearer vision the actual condition of their country, and be overwhelmed with shame and mortification at their own weakness and folly.

Suppose, Mr. Speaker, the existence of some vast building or theatre, crowded with thousands of human beings, all intent upon the enjoyment of some great dramatic spectacle; and suppose that, in the midst of their engrossment in the play, in obedience to a concerted signal, a few voices should raise the appalling cry of fire, and rush through the narrow outlets toward the street. Need we foretell the fearful disasters that would follow the efforts of that frenzied multitude, in their attempts to escape through the contracted and crowded corridors? Sir, hundreds might be crushed to death, while thousands were being robbed by those who had precipitated the calamity. But must we assume that the building is really on fire merely because of the infuriated cry of fire? I think not, sir; and yet such is the actual condition of the people of this country on the great question of the national currency. Hundreds have been crying fire for the past three years, while multitudes have been en-

deavoring to escape the fearful calamity which is said to threaten the paper system. It is to be entirely demolished, say our enemies; and while the cry continues, and every imaginable auxiliary is being used to magnetize the nation into such a belief, and while the people are rushing out of the building in mad disorder, a system of pillage is going forward that defies description, and human ingenuity is taxed to its utmost capacity to keep up the alarm, that the spoils of the enterprise may augment, and the opportunities for plunder survive a little longer.

Mr. Speaker, I regard the present depreciation of the currency of the United States from thirty-three to forty per cent. discount for gold, as a monstrous crime or a fearful delusion; I regard every man as guilty of heinous crime who does anything to promote that depreciation. While the few are benefiting by it, while the capitalists are rejoicing over their advantages, the masses of our countrymen are suffering fearfully, and must continue to suffer still more, unless we awake to the magnitude of the crisis, and use the mighty, national facts with which God has providentially furnished us, to counteract the evil and restore public confidence in all classes of our securities.

Sir, it may be urged that the most gifted intellects and the most profound wisdom have been exerted on the side of truth for the benefit of the nation, and that no good reason can be assigned for the declaration that the truth has been obscured, and that only the false has been extensively circulated through the modern machinery of the telegraph. To that I must answer, that during the whole of this war, certainly during the existence of the Thirty-eighth Congress, it is quite certain that the talent of the House has not been actively exerted in exhibiting the giant resources and the vast causes which are silently but so powerfully operating in upholding the great and lasting interests of the people, during the present tremendous conflict. The war itself, the measures for its prosecution and final settlement, have engrossed our entire attention, while for want of practical legislation, the solid industry of the country is being subordinated to wild speculation, and the currency rotting away daily, to the almost irreparable damage of the national interests.

But, sir, I look hopefully into the future. I cannot but believe that there is a great change approaching. The Secretary

of the Treasury has indicated the policy which he designs hereafter to pursue. He asks no more legal-tender money from this Congress. He marks out for himself a well-defined line in the direction of a sound and stable state of things, which he is resolutely determined to occupy. A man reads with no understanding, who does not perceive such a resolution in his report to Congress. Sir, this wholesome policy must have the effect to check the speculative madness of the present hour; it will have the effect to re-establish public confidence in the power of the nation, and in the soundness of its obligations; it will restore to sanity those who are mad, and bring about a reaction of public sentiment in favor of the currency which so many have been dishonoring, and which, for a time, is so indispensable to the safety and the life of the nation.

When this moment arrives, as arrive it assuredly will, we shall again realize the influence of electricity. The current of disorder will as suddenly subside; it will be rolled backward to its source with an impetuosity of terrible strength. The wires will again be in requisition, and flash from all parts of the United States to the great center of traffic, but conveying tidings very different from what they have so long been used to carry. Sir, on that day I commend New York to the especial notice of this House. With the decline in gold, the present exaggerated values will shrink and dwindle from thirty-three and one-third to fifty per cent. in a single day, and the masses of our people again begin to find the proceeds of their labor equal to their necessities.

Sir, it is our solemn duty to use every effort to bring about such a state of things. The first step we are bound to take is, to relieve the Government from the mischievous position of being a hoarder of gold. It cannot afford to be an instrument in the hands of its enemies, a participator in the depreciation of its currency, a party to the speculations of the sea-board. It cannot be auxiliary to that without precipitating its own ruin.

The second step should be to allay the public fears as to the value and extent of the legal-tender issue. The amount is but $400,000,000, not $1,000,000,000. Instead of an unlimited issue hereafter, not one dollar more should be added; but, on the contrary, the amount in circulation should be reduced, and a more

enlarged system of taxation established. Such, from the language of the Secretary's report, is to be the future policy of the Government.

The third should be, to exhibit and keep before the people the immense resources and power of the nation; to show the difference between its ability to meet the formidable emergencies of the present war, and the ability of other nations at other periods to meet the emergencies of their revolutionary and other contests; and to point out how far any parallel exists between the struggle on this continent and the past struggles of nations in the Old World. In respect to the comparisons so perseveringly and so strangely urged between the condition of the currency of the United States and that of the French assignats during the period of the Revolution, we need only state, that France issued $9,000,000,000 of that kind of paper within about the same time that we have issued $400,000,000, or less than five per cent. of that of France. Mr. Speaker, it is as absurd as it is unpatriotic, to draw any parallel between the cases, and certainly when we regard the question in connection with the resources of the two Powers. The rate of increase of the population of this country over that of France for the past seven decades, is enough of itself to settle the question.

In conclusion, Mr. Speaker, and above all, the people must be made to see the difference between currency and funded debt, a thing that seems to be so little understood; and the civilized world must be made to see the vast security afforded for the final extinguishment of our debt, and our abundant resources to meet the continued demands of the war, if necessary, for many years to come, and that in no conceivable event the national life will be lost, or the national credit tarnished even for a moment, by bankruptcy or repudiation.

I now move the previous question upon the pending amendment, and which I offer with the consent of the Committee of Ways and Means. I ask that the substitute be read.

The proposed substitute was read, as follows:

JOINT RESOLUTION to authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to sell any surplus gold.

Be it resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, That the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, authorized, first, reserving in the Treasury an amount sufficient to meet the payments in gold required by law, to sell from time to time at public auction, after having given five days' notice in the daily papers of New York, any portion of the surplus of gold in the Treasury of the United States: *Provided,* That the Secretary of the Treasury may, instead of such sale, apply the gold in the Treasury to the redemption in advance of the interest coupons of the United States, which by law are required to be paid in gold, whenever the amount on hand shall be sufficient to discharge the entire amount maturing and on the same day.

NOTE.—The measure above proposed, after much debate in both Houses of Congress, was finally passed in the following form, and approved by the President of the United States.

JOINT RESOLUTION to authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to anticipate the payment of interest on the public debt, and for other purposes.

Be it Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, That the Secretary of the Treasury be authorized to anticipate the payment of interest on the public debt by a period not exceeding one year, from time to time, either with or without a rebate of interest on the coupons, as to him may seem expedient; and he is hereby authorized to dispose of any gold in the Treasury of the United States not necessary for the payment of interest of the public debt; provided that the obligation to create the Sinking Fund, according to the act of February 25th, 1862, shall not be impaired thereby

Approved March 17th, 1864.

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863 BROADWAY.

No. 46.

How the War was Commenced.

AN APPEAL TO THE DOCUMENTS.

SOUTHERN DOCUMENTS ESPECIALLY QUOTED.

(From the Cincinnati Daily Commercial.)

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HOW THE WAR WAS COMMENCED.

It is a favorite game of the Copperheads to charge that the war in which we are involved was got up by the "Abolitionists." But the subject needs no discussion. These few plain facts settle it, all of them having taken place under the Administration of James Buchanan:

December 10, 1860—South Carolina seceded.
January 8, 1861—Mississippi seceded.
January 16, 1861—Florida seceded.
January 19, 1861—Georgia seceded.
January 31, 1861—Louisiana revolted.
February 1, 1861—Texas revolted.
February 5, 1861—Arkansas revolted.
February 9, 1861—Jefferson Davis was inaugurated President of the Southern Confedera

Now, who got up the rebellion? Under which king?

AN APPEAL TO THE DOCUMENTS.

There was a time when few persons in the North held, or expressed any other opinion, than that the secessionists were wholly to blame for the war that is upon the country. It was almost universally acknowledged, even by the enemies of the Administration, that the war on the part of the United States Government, was simply one of self-defence and absolutely unavoidable. The *Cincinnati Enquirer*, after the bombardment of Fort Sumter, said "the *onus of the fault* rests with the rebels," and could not be shaken from them. It afterward, in stirring language, denounced suggestions of conciliation and compromise as untimely and imbecile, and told its readers that in the work of restoration of the Union, they must "rely wholly upon the sword,"—that tufts of grass had failed, and now the time had come to try stones. We have repeatedly re-

produced these articles from the *Enquirer*, giving dates of publication, and their authenticity is unquestioned and unquestionable. Party spirit has changed all this. The war is daily and hourly declared, by men who do not conceive themselves to be traitors, or unfriendly to their country in any respect, to have been commenced by Abolitionists, and to have been unconstitutional in its character from the first, and to have been perverted into a war for the negro. Even ex-Senator Allen goes about asking whether there would have been any war if there had been no Abolitionists, and the thick-pated butternuts clamor joyfully at the interrogatory, and repeat it as if it was the kernel of the whole matter, unanswerable, and the end of controversy. It is a good time to recur to the facts in the case—to the documents.

CONCERNING ANTI SLAVERY AGITATION.

It has been asserted that the anti-slavery agitation in this country was injurious to the South, injured slave property, and provoked the Southern people into an ungovernable rage. What is Southern testimony on this point?

[*From the Speech of Senator Hammond, of South Carolina, October* 24, 1858.]

"And what then [1833] was the state of opinion in the South? Washington had emancipated his slaves. Jefferson had bitterly denounced the system, and had done all that he could to destroy it. Our Clays, Marshalls, Crawfords, and many other prominent Southern men, led off in the colonization scheme. The inevitable effect in the South was that she believed slavery to be an evil, weakness, disgraceful—nay, a sin the shrank from the discussion on it. She cowered under every threat. She attempted to apologize and excuse herself under the plea, which was true, that England had forced it upon her; and, in fear and trembling, she awaited a doom that she believed to be inevitable. * * * * *

"Why, it would be difficult to find, now, a Southern man who feels the system to be the slightest burden to his conscience; who does not, in fact, regard it as an equal advantage to the

master and the slave, elevating both; as wealth, strength, and power; and, as one of the main pillars and controlling influences of modern civilization, and who is not now prepared to maintain it at every hazard. Such have been the happy results of this abolition discussion. * * * *

"For a quarter of a century it [slavery] has borne the brunt of a hurricane as fierce and pitiless as ever raged. At the North and in Europe they could have even let loose upon us all the dogs of war. And how stands it now? *Why, in this very quarter of a century our slaves have doubled in numbers, and each slave has more than doubled in value.*"

[*From a speech by A. H. Stephens, of Georgia, July,* 1859, *on retiring (as he then supposed himself to be doing) from public life.*]

"Nor am I of the number of those who believe that we have sustained any injury by those agitations. It is true, we were not responsible for them. We were not the aggressors. We acted on the defensive. We repelled assault, calumny, and aspersion, by argument, by reason and truth. But so far from the institution of African slavery in our section being weakened or rendered less secure by the discussion, *my deliberate judgment is, that it has been greatly strengthened and fortified*—strengthened and fortified not only to the opinions, convictions, and consciences of men, but by the action of the Government."

CONCERNING THE PROPOSED COMPROMISE AFTER THE ELECTION OF LINCOLN.

[*From the speech of Mr. Iverson, Senator from Georgia, December* 5, 1860. *Congressional Globe, Session* 1860–61, *part* 1, *commencing on page* 10.]

"Sir, before the 4th of March, before you inaugurate your President, there will be certainly five States, if not eight of them, that will be out of the Union and have framed a Constitution and form of Government for themselves. * * * *You talk about concessions. You talk about repealing the Personal Liberty Bills as a concession to the South. Repeal them all to-morrow, sir, and it would not stop this revolution.* * * Nor do we suppose there will be any overt acts on the part of

Mr. Lincoln. For one, I do not dread these overt acts. I do not propose to wait for them." * * * *

[*From the speech of Robert Toombs, in the Senate of the United States, January* 7, 1861. *Congressional Globe, part* 1, *second session. Thirty-sixth Congress, page* 267, *third column of the page.*]

"The Union, sir, is dissolved. That is an accomplished fact in the path of this discussion that men may as well heed. One of your confederates has already wisely, boldly, bravely confronted public danger, and she is only ahead of many of her sisters because of her greater facility for speedy action. The greater majority of those sister States, under like circumstances, consider her cause as their cause, and I charge you in their name to day, 'Touch not Saguntum!' It is not only their cause, but it is a cause which receives the sympathy, and will receive the support, of tens and hundreds of thousands of honest, patriotic men in the non-slaveholding States. * *

"I shall not spend much time on the question that seems to give my honorable friend [Mr. Crittenden] so much concern—the constitutional right of a State to secede from this Union. Perhaps he will find out after awhile that it is a fact accomplished. You have got it in the South pretty much in both ways. South Carolina has given it to you regularly, according to the approved plan. You are getting it just below there [in Georgia], I believe, irregularly, outside of law, without regular action. You can take it either way. You will find armed men to defend both."

THE AMERICAN FLAG FOUR TIMES FIRED UPON BEFORE THE BOMBARDMENT OF FORT SUMTER.

The first time a hostile gun was fired at a vessel covered by the flag of the Union, in American waters, by American rebels, was on the 9th of January, 1861, when the *Star of the West* was fired upon from Morris Island. The spirit in which this was done may be learned from the following:

[*From the leading editorial, Charleston Mercury, January* 10, 1861.]

"She [South Carolina] has not hesitated to strike the *first blow* full in the face of her insulter. Let the United States

Government bear or return, at their good will, the blow still tingling about their ears—the fruit of their own bandit temerity. *We would not exchange or recall that blow for millions! It has wiped out half a century of scorn and outrage!* Again, South Carolina may be proud of her historic fame and ancestry, without a blush upon her cheek for her own present honor. The haughty echo of her cannon has, ere this, reverberated from Maine to Texas, through every hamlet in the North, and down along the great waters of the Southwest."

The effect of displaying the American flag on the *Star of the West*, is thus related by the Charleston *Courier* of January 10:

"A ball was fired athwart the bows of the steamer. The *Star of the West* displayed the stars and stripes. *As soon as the flag was unfurled the fortification fired a succession of shots.*"

The next case of artillery practice on American vessels was on the Mississippi river, at Vicksburg, the night of Sunday, January 13, 1861. The boat was the *A. O. Tylor*, of this city, Captain Collier. The artillery engaged was the Quitman Battery, from Jackson. The fact that they were ordered to Vicksburg, appeared in the following *Associated Press* dispatch:

"Jackson, Miss., January 12, 1861.—Artillery was ordered to Vicksburg early this morning by the Governor to hail and question all passing boats."

The full particulars of the firing and attempted firing upon the *Tylor*, were given in the Vicksburg papers with immense braggadocia at the time. They imagined they had just got out of the Union, having adopted the ordinance of secession on the 9th. The night of January 13th, 1861, was, in the latitude of Vicksburg, dark and rainy. The Quitman battery was planted 300 yards *above* the wharf-boat! As the *Tylor* came along, unsuspecting evil, a shot was fired across her bows. The captain did not know what it meant; supposed it was some political celebration. The Jackson artillerists had a twenty-four pounder ready, and when the *Tylor* did not heave to at the summons she did not understand, the Vicksburg *Sun* says:

"The command was given to fire into her. The match was applied—the upper portion of the priming powder (which we earn had just been put on) flashed, but the powder in the touch-

hole failed to burn, it having become moist or wet from the rain."

That was the reason the boat was not fired into, and among her passengers were seven ladies. The artillerists primed again, but before they could train the gun on the boat, the *Louisiana* passed between the *Tylor* and the shore, and by the time she was out of the way, the *Tylor* was landing at the wharf-boat, as she had intended to do all along, and all on board were unconscious of danger until the landing was made, and the boat was boarded by the Mississippi soldiers.

This was the amiable style in which the secessionists opened business on the Mississippi River. They haven't any battery at Vicksburg now to hail and question passing boats!

As soon as possible after the organization of the Confederate Government, at Montgomery, the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Memminger, issued circulars ordering the establishment of a Custom-house at Nelms' Landing, on the Mississippi, the first landing below the Tennessee line, the State of Tennessee not then having seceded. Memminger's circulars were dated "Confederate States of America, Treasury Department, Montgomery, Alabama, February 6, 1861," and entitled:

"Circular of Instructions and Regulations relative to importations *from places above the Confederate States, by vessels navigating the Mississippi and other rivers.*"

These circulars, which are lengthy, were published complete on the first page of the *Daily Commercial*, of March 22, 1861. They fill over two columns. The amount of it is the hot haste displayed by the rebels to levy tribute upon our commerce on the Mississippi River, or, as Mr. Memminger calls it officially in the body of his circulars, "The River Mississippi."

The third case of firing on our vessels is recorded in the Savannah *Republican* of the 2d April, 1861. On the Saturday night previous to that date, the steamer *George's Creek*, Captain Willits, from Baltimore, was brought to below the city of Savannah. The *Republican* says:

"Two balls were fired at her, one of which passed over her bow and the other over her stern."

During the first week in April, 1861, a schooner was fired

into in Charleston harbor. The following is a full account of the transaction:

[*From the Savannah Republican, April* 5, 1861.]

"The vessel fired into from the fort on Morris Island, has arrived at Savannah. The schooner is the *R. H. Shannon*, Capt. Moutz, of Boston, and she was bound for this city, with a cargo of ice, consigned to A. Haywood. On Wednesday she was shrouded for many hours in a dense fog, during which she drifted, through mistake, over the Charleston bar. Soon after, the fog lifted. The Captain not knowing his whereabouts, found himself nearly abreast the fort on Morris Island, and while cogitating over his latitude and longitude, was greeted with a salute from the fort. *He immediately ran up his colors—the stars and stripes—but that demonstration seemed an unsatisfactory answer to their summons. Several shot* (32's) *were fired into his rigging, one of which passed through his mainsail and one through his topsail.* * * * The crew suffered no material damage from the shots, though one of them came most uncomfortably near the heads of the crew."

HOW ANXIOUS THE SOUTHERN REBELS WERE FOR CONCILIATION.

We select an article, a specimen of hundreds that appeared in the Southern papers at the time when the evacuation of Fort Sumter was being discussed in the North, and when the impression prevailed, North and South, that it would be evacuated, as a "military necessity."

[*From the Houston* (*Texas*) *Patriot, April* 5, 1861.]

"'THE CHIVALRY' HAS TRIUMPHED, AND THE NORTH 'EATS DIRT.'

* * * * * * * *

"They have been forced to eat dirt, and bow down to the dominent Southern race, and their shrieks of rage are the only sounds heard from the North. Through the press; from the workshop, from the starving masses; from merchants ruined, from every trade and condition comes the cry, give up the forts; let us eat dirt and live; let us again bow to the superior race South; let us live. The cowardly eighteen millions North told us we should not leave the Union. We did it openly and boldly, and they humbly acknowledged our Government as a necessity. They shouted the praises of the Stars and Stripes, and dared the chivalry to touch the sacred emblem. We have torn it down. We have placed in its stead the flag of the Con-

federate States. We have dared them to coerce us, and resent the insult; we have invited their vaunted numbers to the field, but the only cry that comes from the craven dogs is, military necessity, give up the forts, withdraw the troops, let us eat dirt and live. It is sickening to think of ever having lived in the same Government with such a people, but let us rejoice at our separation, and look Southward. The game North is beneath contempt, while Mexico invites us, by invasion of Texas, to re-enact our former achievements."

THE SUMTER AFFAIR.

The Charleston *Courier*, of April 4, 1861, has a report of a speech delivered by Senator Wigfall, of Texas, to a serenading party. General Beauregard, Governor Pickens, and other personages of the sort, were present. The following is a sentence of Wigfall's speech, as reported by the *Courier*, and it is full of the spirit which was master in Charleston then:

"Whether Major Anderson shall be shelled out or starved out, is a question merely of expediency. The honor of South Carolina was vindicated when the flag of the United States was fired at, and it has remained vindicated, because they never have resented that shot."

Let the reader mark every one of these words, for they need to be memorable! Wigfall told the truth as to Major Anderson's situation. It was, with the Southern Confederates, "A QUESTION OF EXPEDIENCY," whether they would starve or shell out Major Anderson, and they deliberately chose to shell him out; and the intent of the shelling was to precipitate the border slave States into the Southern Confederacy. The border States were tardy about going in. Virginia especially hung back. Her Convention contained a Union majority, and the Union men held their ground firmly, notwithstanding the howling mob that raved around the capitol of Virginia, led by such bloods as O. Jennings Wise and Roger A. Pryor, threatening to punish the friends of the Union with sudden death. Pryor then represented the Petersburg (Va.) District in Congress. He proceeded to Charleston on a mission from the secessionists of Virginia to the South Carolinians, then in arms.

He arrived in Charleston on Wednesday, the 10th of April, 1861, and stopped at the Charleston Hotel, where he was serenaded in the evening, and made a speech, of which a verbatim report was published in the Charleston *Mercury*. He said he had come to tender to South Carolina "the tribute of his infinite admiration." He had never before, highly as he had estimated it, "appreciated the character of South Carolina in all its grandeur." There was no exhibition in history so morally sublime as that which she then presented. We quote from the *Mercury's* verbatim report:

"Gentlemen, I thank you, especially that you have at last annihilated this accursed Union [applause], reeking with corruption, and insolent with excess of tyranny. Thank God, it is at last blasted and riven by the lightning wrath of an outraged and indignant people. [Loud applause.] Not only is it gone, but gone forever. [Cries of 'You're right,' and applause.] In the expressive language of scripture, it is water spilt upon the ground, which cannot be gathered up. [Applause.] Like Lucifer, son of the morning, it has fallen, never to rise again. [Continued applause.] *For my part, gentlemen, if Abraham Lincoln and Hannibal Hamlin to-morrow were to abdicate their offices and were to give me a blank sheet of paper to write the condition of reannexation to the defunct Union, I would scornfully spurn the overture.* * * * * * I invoke you, and I make it in some sort a personal appeal—personal so far as it tends to our assistance in Virginia—I do invoke you, in your demonstrations of popular opinion, in your exhibitions of official intent, to give no countenance to this idea of reconstruction. [Many voices, emphatically, 'Never,' and applause.] In Virginia they all say, if reduced to the dread dilemma of this memorable alternative, they will espouse the cause of the South as against the interest of the Northern Confederacy, but they whisper of reconstruction, and they say Virginia must abide in the Union, with the idea of reconstructing the Union which you have annihilated. *I pray you, gentlemen, rob them of that idea.* Proclaim to the world that upon no condition, and under no circumstance, will South Carolina ever again enter into political association with the Abolitionists of New England. [Cries of 'Never,' and applause.]

"Do not distrust Virginia. As sure as to-morrow's sun will rise upon us, just so sure will Virginia be a member of this Southern Confederation. [Applause.] *And I will tell you, gentlemen, what will put her in the Southern Confederation in less than an hour by Shrewsbury clock*—STRIKE A BLOW!

[Tremendous applause.] *The very moment that blood is shed, old Virginia will make common cause with her sisters of the South.* [Applause.] It is impossible she should do otherwise."

And so Pryor discharged his mission. It will be remembered that Wigfall, who, on the 4th, proclaimed the question of expediency, and Pryor, who called for a blow, and begged for blood, figured as aids of General Beauregard in the attack upon Fort Sumter.

Having determined that expediency demanded the shelling instead of the starving of Major Anderson out of Fort Sumter, that there must be a blow struck in order to take old Virginia out of the Union in an hour by Shrewsbury clock—that blood was needed—Major Anderson was ordered to surrender Fort Sumter. He declined. A curious correspondence of great significance followed. The following communication—dated "Headquarters Provisional Army, C. S. A., April 11, 1861, 11 "P. M."—was sent by General Beauregard to Major Anderson:

"Major,—In consequence of the verbal communication made by you to my aids, Messrs. Chestnut and Lee, in relation to the condition of your supplies, and that you would, in a few days, be starved out if our guns did not batter you to pieces"—

Therefore, General Beauregard proposed that Anderson should state when his supplies would be exhausted; and pretended to desire to spare the effusion of blood.

Major Anderson replied under date of Fort Sumter, 2:30 A. M., April 12, 1861:

"I will, if provided with the proper and necessary means of transportation, evacuate Fort Sumter by noon of the 15th instant, should I not receive, prior to that time, controlling instructions from my Government or additional supplies."

The following is the reply that Major Anderson received to this statement that he was on the point of starvation, and must within three days yield the fort:

"April 12, 1861, 3:20 A. M.

"Sir,—By authority of Brigadier-General Beauregard, commanding the provisional forces of the Confederate States, we

have the honor to notify you that he will open the fire of his batteries upon Fort Sumter in one hour from this time.

"We have the honor to be,
"Very respectfully,
"Your obedient servants,
"JAMES CHESTNUT, Jr.,
"STEPHEN D. LEE,
"Capts. S. C. Army, and Aids-de-Camp."

And the fire of the rebel batteries was opened accordingly.

AFTER THE SUMTER BOMBARDMENT.

The night after the surrender of Fort Sumter, Jeff. Davis and his cabinet were serenaded at Montgomery, and the Secretary of War, L. P. Walker, of Alabama, uttered these well-known words:

"No man could tell where the war commenced this day would end, but he would prophesy that the flag which now flaunts the breeze here, would float over the dome of the old Capitol at Washington before the first of May."

These words were uttered before any action had been taken by the President of the United States. It was a direct and official threat that the Capitol of the United States would be taken by the rebels. In what spirit this was received in rebeldom, will be seen in the following extracts of papers of the day:

[*From the Richmond Enquirer, April* 13, 1861.]

"ATTENTION, VOLUNTEERS!—Nothing is more probable than that President Davis will soon march an army through North Carolina and Virginia to Washington. Those of our volunteers who decide to join the Southern army as it shall pass through our borders, had better organize at once for that purpose, and keep their arms, accoutrements, uniforms, ammunition, and knapsacks in constant readiness."

We remember the above paragraph well, as it appeared at the head of the leading editorial column of the Richmond *Enquirer.*

From the New Orleans Picayune, April 18.]

"The first fruits of a Virginia secession will be the removal of Lincoln and his cabinet, and whatever he can carry away to the safer neighborhood of Harrisburg or Cincinnati—perhaps to Buffalo or Cleveland."

[*From the Richmond Examiner, April* 28.]

"There never was half the unanimity among the people before, nor a tithe of the zeal upon any subject, that is now manifested to take Washington. From the mountain tops and valleys to the shores of the sea, there is one wild shout of fierce resolve to capture Washington City at all and every human hazard."

[*From the Goldsboro* (*N. C.*) *Tribune, April* 24.]

"We understand that Duncan K. McRae, Esq., who came here last night, bears a special order for one regiment of North Carolina troops to march to the city of Washington. They are to be ready in forty-eight hours from the notice. * * * It makes good the words of Secretary Walker at Montgomery in regard to the Federal metropolis. It transfers the lines of battle from the Potomac to the Pennsylvania border."

[*From the Raleigh* (*N. C*). *Standard, April* 24.]

"North Carolina could send her full quota of troops to unite in the attack on Washington City. Our streets are alive with soldiers and officers, many of the latter being here to tender their companies to the Governor. Washington City will soon be too hot to hold Abraham Lincoln and his Government. North Carolina has said it, and she will do all she can to make good her declaration."

[*From the Eufala* (*Alabama*) *Express, April* 25.]

"With independent Virginia on one side, and the secessionists of Maryland (who are doubtless in the majority) on the other, our policy at this time should be to seize the old Federal capital, and take Lincoln and his Cabinet prisoners of war. Once get the heads of the Government in our power, and we can demand any terms we see fit, and thus perhaps avoid a long and bloody contest."

HOW VIRGINIA WAS PUT OUT OF THE UNION.

It will be remembered that after Pryor's blow had been struck at Charleston—the blow that was to take old Virginia

out of the Union in an hour—the Convention of Virginia, intimidated by the mob, adopted an ordinance of secession, subject to the approval of the people at the polls. Then it was instantly the game of the secessionists to prevent a fair expression of the popular will. A letter from Senator Mason—J. M. Mason, now in England—dated Winchester, Virginia, May 16, 1861, and published in the Winchester *Virginian* of May 22, 1861, is a complete exposure of the whole plot. The letter was in answer to the question which, he said, had been repeatedly put to him—

"What position will Virginia occupy should the Ordinance of Secession be rejected by the people at the approaching election?"

He said:

"The Ordinance of Secession withdrew the State from the Union, with all the consequences resulting from separation. * * * For mutual defence, immediately after the ordinance of secession passed, a treaty or military league was formed by the Convention, in the name of the people of Virginia, with the Confederate States of the South, by which the latter were bound to march to the aid of our State, against the invasion of the Federal Government, and we have now in Virginia, at Harper's Ferry, and at Norfolk, in face of the common foe, several thousand of the gallant sons of South Carolina, of Alabama, of Louisiana, of Georgia, and Mississippi."

He proceeded to argue that if the State remained in the Union, the troops from other States must be surrendered to the United States authorities. And, in conclusion, he put in a brief paragraph a full exposure of the *modus operandi* of secession. Thus:

"If it be asked, What are those to do who, in their consciences, cannot vote to separate Virginia from the United States, the answer is simple and plain: Honor and duty alike require that they should not vote on the question; *if they retain such opinions, they must leave the State.*"

So the pretended submission of the Ordinance of Secession to the people was a farce. The Richmond mob, and the other mobs, put the "Sovereign People" of the "Sovereign State," under their feet. If a citizen did not want secession, he must leave the State. He had no business to vote against it.

THE ALLEGED CHANGE IN THE CHARACTER OF THE WAR.

We hear a great deal about the change in the character of the war. The following General Order of General Beauregard, issued more than a month before the battle of Bull Run, seems to be about as vehement a statement of the bad character of the war as has ever been made since:

"HEADQ'RS DEPARTMENT OF ALEXANDRIA,
CAMP PICKENS, June 5, 1861.

"A reckless and unprincipled enemy has invaded your soil. Abraham Lincoln, regardless of all moral, legal and constitutional restraint, has thrown his abolition hosts among you, who are murdering and imprisoning your citizens, and confiscating and destroying your property, committing other acts of violence and outrage too shocking and revolting to humanity to be enumerated. All rules of civilized warefare are abandoned, and they proclaim by their acts, if not by their banners, that their war-cry is booty and beauty. All that is dear to man—your honor and that of your wives and daughters—your fortunes and your lives—are involved in this momentous contest * *

"G. T. BEAUREGARD,
"Brigadier General Commanding.

"Official: THOS. JORDAN, Acting Assistant Adjutant General."

The Democratic party, we are told, are now opposing the war in consequence of "the change in its character." The following paragraph was published some time before the Crittenden Resolutions were heard of:

[*From the Dayton Empire, Saturday, April* 15, 1861.]

"The *Cincinnati Commercial* wants Ohio to furnish ten thousand men at once. It says that this is not now a question of party. Of course not; this is the old cry whenever the Democracy is to be sold out. *The* Commercial *will have a good time getting these ten thousand men. We hope every Democrat in the Legislature will vote steadily against a dollar or a man.* We have had nothing to do with bringing on the civil war, and we don't mean to do the fighting."

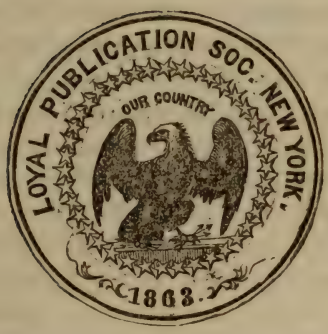
The *Dayton Empire* was, at the date of this paragraph, the home organ of Mr. Vallandigham. It is not unlikely that he wrote the article. So it would appear the Vallandigham Democrats in Ohio commenced precisely at the point "not a man or a dollar"—recently the platform of the *sneaking traitors* in Kentucky.

LOYAL PUBLICATION SOCIETY,

863 BROADWAY.

No. 47.

RESULTS OF THE SERF EMANCIPATION IN RUSSIA.



NEW YORK:
PUBLISHED BY THE LOYAL PUBLICATION SOCIETY.

1864.

RESULTS OF THE SERF EMANCIPATION IN RUSSIA.

Rev. J. Lang, an English missionary, who visited Russia last summer, has published the following interesting account of the effects of the emancipation of the serfs in that country:

I recently spent five months in Russia, mainly in order to gain information from the best sources on the facts connected with the serf emancipation movement; and I have consulted the enemies as well as the friends of the measure, English and German residents as well as Russians. The leaders afforded me every facility of access to official documents, and I visited estates in various parts of Russia to make further inquiries into the local working of the measure.

Whatever may be thought of the conduct of Russia towards Poland in carrying on the present war, I trust that due credit may be given to the present Emperor and the Russian liberals for this noble act of serf emancipation. They had a hard battle to fight against the reactionary party, who denounced emancipation as socialism, for they knew that it must gradually introduce in its train a host of other reforms. They prophesied that anarchy and bloodshed must ensue; but the Emperor gave no heed, and was prepared to risk his crown and his life in order to free the peasant.

Serf emancipation is an accomplished fact. Twenty-three millions of an intelligent, active peasantry have been by it raised from the degradation of being mere chattels, things for sale; though it must be admitted that serfdom was not so degrading as slavery is. The intellect and social energies of the serfs, which have been frozen up for centuries, are now set free; and this great social change has been effected within two years,

in spite of the formidable opposition of the Russian nobility. The fiat of one man, supported by a few choice spirits, has accomplished all this. The revolution has been a bloodless one; no social disorganization has resulted; and even some of its bitterest opponents begin now to admit that, as the operation had to be performed some time, it was as well to do it at once. They are now learning to adapt themselves to the new order of things.

Serf emancipation is of deep interest, for the following considerations:

1. The anti-slavery cause receives powerful encouragement from it. It took many years' agitation, and the expenditure of £20,000,000 sterling, to emancipate 800,000 slaves in the West Indies. American slavery has lasted a long time, and is still a fearful blot; but in Russia we have, in the short space of two years, the emancipation of 23,000,000 of a fine race of peasants, who are, physically and mentally, superior to the negro race. The influence and example of these emancipated serfs will operate on the world, and will show that, while so beneficial a revolution has taken place successfully in Russia, other countries may learn to 'go and do likewise.' The serfs have shown, by their peaceful demeanor, and by avoiding any violent excess, that they know how to appreciate their newly-acquired liberty.

2. The friends of constitutional government have reason to rejoice in serf emancipation, as forming the first instalment of liberal institutions in Russia. Even the late Emperor Nicholas was convinced that emancipation was necessary, but he would not give it, knowing that it would involve reform in all other departments of the state; that the upheaving of the masses would affect every institution in Russia. As serf emancipation included municipal institutions for the peasantry, a constitution, therefore, for all Russia follows as a corollary; and I found, among all intelligent Russians, the full conviction that a constitution must naturally come in a few years; that as municipal constitutions grow out of emancipation, so provincial assemblies are the result of municipal freedom, and a constitution will be the fruit of provincial assemblies. These steps are now being taken.

3. Municipal institutions for all Russia are the certain result. I have been delighted to see how the peasantry, by means of the commune or village elective council, regulate their own affairs, elect the chief of each village, have their regular village meetings. I will explain this more at large in a subsequent letter. But this municipal liberty granted to peasants cannot be limited to them; there will soon be municipal bodies in every town in Russia. Moscow and Petersburg, since the last two years, have been granted Mayors, elected by the citizens, without the control of government, and also provincial assemblies. As the next step, what has been conceded to the peasants cannot be denied to the merchant and noble. These municipal institutions are training schools for the peasantry; they enable them to resist the oppression of the noble and the government employees; they also break the force of that centralization which has been such a curse to Russia; and they are nuclei to protect the weak against the venal police of Russia; for in the peasants' court, oral evidence, summary decision, and publicity, form the rules of proceeding, while a simple and cheap code of law is administered.

4. An honorary magistracy and municipal institutions serve as training schools for justices of the peace, a class who may exercise an important influence in diminishing what has been admitted to be the great curse of Russia, viz., the venality of ill-paid employees and bribery. To carry out the Emancipation act, fifteen hundred unpaid justices of the peace were nominated by Government. The administration of these men, who were selected for their character and public spirit, has generally given satisfaction, and it is intended that they shall be continued, to discharge similar duties to those of county magistrates in England. I attended several of their monthly sessions in the interior of Russia, and they are well spoken of; their labors are as successful as those of a similar class of honorary magistrates in India.

5. The cause of education is identified with emancipation. Already, within two years, more than 8,000 new schools have sprung into existence through individual efforts among the peasantry, and they are rapidly on the increase. The peasant is

anxious to be able to read the laws by which he is governed; besides, the elevation of his social position through emancipation gives him the means as well as the inclination to learn to read. The example of peasant elevation in other parts of Europe confirms this. In Russia, before emancipation, there was scarcely a day school among the peasantry; but these 8,000 schools have arisen spontaneously from the wish of the peasants, aided by the clergy and gentry. The government has spent nothing on them. The Emperor Nicholas allowed only colleges and universities, and that to a very limited degree; serf emancipation inaugurates the education of the masses.

6. Religious progress is deeply connected with an enlightened and independent peasantry, who will not be the victims of superstition or priestcraft. Religion follows in the train of civil liberty. With the fall of feudal tyranny, priestly exactions and domination must cease. Many Russians have assured me, that, since emancipation, a great desire has sprung up in various quarters among the peasantry to read the scriptures, and they show their interest by purchasing copies, while, to meet the new state of things, the Greek Church—highly to its credit—is publishing the Russian New Testament at the low price of 6d a copy.

7. The cause of peace is likely to be served. Under serfdom the military life benefited the peasants, as becoming a soldier conferred freedom on them; but the peasant now has a *status* and a stake in the country, and is therefore not so inclined to become 'food for powder.' Serf emancipation, by pushing on internal reform, is calculated to withdraw the attention from objects of aggression, and to point out to Russia that internal development, and not foreign conquest, is her true strength. The Russian peasant sympathises with this, as he has secured to him by emancipation the possession of land, the great *desideratum* with the masses in Russia. The grand scope of her ambition, a *proletariat* peasantry, supplies ample material for war. The Russian peasant, therefore, will naturally prefer agriculture to war, while the elevation of his social position, in creating new wants, will give a fresh impulse to trade—one of the great antagonists of war.

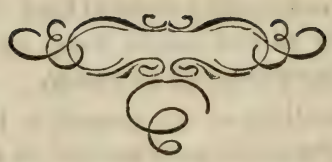
8. The effects in Asia are likely to be great. Already, through the length and breadth of India, has this great measure received the warmest sympathy from natives of all clases, who view it as a sign of great good to them that Russian influence in Central and Northern Asia will be on the side of an emancipation policy, as English influence has been in India. The Sclavonic and Anglo-Saxon races will thus co-operate as anti-slavery advocates through Asia.

9. The Russian noblility have long been noted for absenteeism, extravagant luxury and false varnish. Serfdom tempted them to be tyrants and afforded full scope for all depraved propensities; the troops of servants kept in idleness enervated the master, while the power he had of deporting them to Siberia or inflicting torture produced a hardening effect on his heart. To keep up a life of luxury he had to peculate in the public offices. There are nearly three hundred thousand nobles in Russia. Emancipation is already leading many of them to reside on their estates, consequently to lead simple lives, and identify themselves more with the welfare of the country.

10. The social condition of the peasant is being improved. The anxiety of the peasant to purchase land, so strongly marked in France, is showing itself also in Russia, thus leading to habits of industry, in order to procure the means of making the purchase. Indolence, the natural fruit of serfdom, is giving way to the encouragement of industry. One million peasants have bought up the land on which they were formerly located, borrowing the money from government. The price of land is rising all through Russia, owing to the peasants renting or hiring it to a far greater extent than formerly, though the enemies of emancipation said the peasants would be too indolent to cultivate the land. Money is no longer hidden in earthen pots in the ground, or in the wall, through fear of the steward. The peasants' houses in some quarters are exhibiting a greater appearance of comfort, and providing more rooms, instead of—after the old fashion—crowding twenty-five into a room. More houses have been built within the last two years than during the previous six.

In conclusion, peace has been generally maintained. Dur-

ing the carrying out of this measure, there were only two cases of revolt, caused by a rumor spread among ten thousand peasants in the governments of Kazan and Panja that the Emperor had ordered no more money to be paid. I myself resided for a time in the centre of a district one hundred miles south of Moscow, and the proprietor never locked his door at night. Nowhere in Russia did I hear any expressions uttered of apprehensions of social disorganization or riot.



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LOYAL PUBLICATION SOCIETY,
863 BROADWAY.

No. 48.

RESOURCES OF THE UNITED STATES.

REPORT

TO THE

International Statistical Congress

AT BERLIN,

BY SAMUEL B. RUGGLES,

Delegate from the United States of America:

WITH THE

ACCOMPANYING COMMUNICATION TO THE STATE DEPARTMENT

SEPTEMBER 14th, 1863.

NEW YORK:
PUBLISHED BY THE LOYAL PUBLICATION SOCIETY.

1864.

REPORT.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, January 18, 1864.

I transmit to the Senate, in answer to their resolution of the 14th instant, a copy of the report on the resources of the United States, presented to the International Statistical Congress at Berlin, in September last, by the Hon. Samuel B. Ruggles, together with a copy of his letter to the Department of State, transmitting the report.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

The SENATE of the United States.

Mr. Ruggles to Mr. Seward.

BERLIN, September 14, 1863.

SIR,—In pursuance of your instructions accompanying the appointment of the undersigned as representative of the United States of America at the International Statistical Congress at Berlin, in September instant, he embarked for Europe in the first German steamer after receiving his commission, and reached Berlin, after some detention on the Atlantic, on the afternoon of the 6th of September. No business of importance had been transacted in the Congress up to that time, except the presentation of the credentials of the delegates.

On the 7th of September, the credentials of the undersigned were presented and approved, at which time representatives

from the following countries, stated in alphabetical order, had been duly admitted, viz:

The United States of America; Anhalt-Dessau; Austria; Baden; Bavaria; Belgium; the Danubian Provinces; Denmark; France; Frankfort; Great Britain; Hamburg; Hanover; Holland; Holstein; Hesse-Cassel; Hesse-Darmstadt; Italy; Lubeck; Mecklenburg-Schwerin; Norway; Oldenburg; Portugal; Prussia; Russia; Saxe-Coburg; Saxe-Weimar; Saxony; Spain; Sweden; Switzerland; Turkey; and Wurtenberg.

The respresentatives of most of the nations above specified made reports to the Congress on the statistics of their respective countries, which will be duly published in German and in French, in the official proceedings or "*Compte Rendu*" of the Congress. In general, the proceedings and debates were in the German language, but to some extent in French and English.

Through some accidental and unintentional omission, none of the States of South America, or of Central America, sent delegates to the Congress, although Brazil, especially, had been represented in preceding sessions of the Congress. The name of the undersigned was erroneously entered in the printed and published lists as delegate from "*North America*," but on his application the error will be corrected in the official report of the proceedings.

On Friday, the 11th of September, being the sixth day of the session, a statistical report was presented to the Congress by the undersigned, in behalf of the United States of America, of which a copy is herewith transmitted.

It is proper to state that the composition and character of the Congress, as shown by its proceedings and published reports at the preceding sessions, were merely "statistical," and in no respect economical or political, rendering it proper and necessary to refrain in the report from any speculations or deductions as

to the practical use or employment of the resources to be statistically exhibited, or any political discussion of the character, conduct or possible result of the pending insurrection against the Government of the American Union; but rather to present the cardinal elements of its material strength and resources, past and present, in such arithmetical and statistical form as should furnish, of itself, to the Congress and the countries therein represeted, sufficient elements for any necessary conclusions.

Again, it was desirable and necessary, for the purpose of securing the publication and circulation, to any considerable extent, of such a statement, to condense the facts as far as practicable, to select only the most prominent, and to seek, by a well-defined outline, to present the subject clearly and distinctly.

Keeping these considerations in view, the report was therefore confined mainly to the four cardinal elements of our national strength, embraced under the heads—Territory; Population; Agricultural Production; and Precious Metals. It is not denied that other branches, though comparatively less important, might have been added; but under the circumstances, those presented were thought sufficient for the purpose.

In view of the insurrection still affecting the industry and products of a certain portion of the Union, and rendering it difficult to state or estimate their present value with any statistical accuracy, they were not embraced in the report to the present Congress, under the belief that the full restoration of tranquillity before the next session, in 1865, will then enable the representative of the United States to fully supply the deficiency.

The present session has been signalized by the adoption of important resolutions in respect to a uniform system of weights, measures and coins, for the use of the civilized world, and materially affecting the United States of America. A large Com-

mission, embracing representatives of high attainments, from fourteen different nations and countries, was instituted at the Congress of 1860, held in London, to report a system for consideration at the present session. The undersigned, on taking his seat in the body, was invited, in behalf the United States, to confer and unite with that Commission in its proposed and forthcoming report. A draft of that report had been printed, presenting, in review, the different nations which had adopted, or were disposed to adopt, the metric system of weights and measures, but in which it was stated that "the *Confederate States* of America have expressed a desire to introduce the metric system of weights and measures." The undersigned, on perceiving the statement, protested at once against its propriety, or its admission into the report, on the ground that the "Confederate States," so called, had no separate, national lawful existence, but still formed integral portions of the United States of America. The objection was acquiesced in, and the words in question were modified so as to read, "Some of the States of America have expressed a desire," &c., &c. The statement is known to be true in respect to some of the States of South America, and possibly as to some of the States of our American Union.

The propositions presented by that Commission to the Congress in respect to weights, measures and coins, looking to an eventual change in the weight of the British sovereign and of the American dollar to reduce them to even multiples of the franc, with the modifications which these propositions underwent in the Congress, are of so much importance and gravity, that the undersigned will require some little time for reporting them fully, with the necessary accompanying documents, to the Government of the United States. He will seek to do so, with all practicable despatch, after his return to America. The subject necessarily embraces the grave and difficult question of the relative value of gold and of silver, present and prospective, and

the proper adjustment of the coins of both metals, to keep pace with the fluctuations in their production and supply. For this purpose, the undersigned thought it necessary to propose, at the conclusion of the report on the metalliferous regions of the United States, that the subject of the production of gold and silver should be investigated by a Commission to be instituted by the International Statistical Congress; but on full consideration by the Section to which the subject was referred, it was decided, and perhaps properly, that the investigation could not be properly made by the Congress, which was statistical and not economical in its aims, and that the necessary inquiry might better be left to the governments of the three great gold-producing countries, being the United States; Great Britain in respect to Australia, New Zealand and British America; and Russia; and more especially as the inquiry, to be of any practical value, must be conducted under the authority and direction of those respective governments. Meanwhile, the decided opinion has been expressed by the delegates in the present Congress from Great Britain and from Russia, that the necessary inquiries on a subject so important to the currency of the world, will be prosecuted by those governments with all proper efficiency and despatch.

During the session of the present Congress a resolution was passed, on motion of Professor Schubert, of the University of Konigsburgh, that it was "advisable, and very useful to the general interests of statistical science, that of all official works and communications published by statistical bureaus, one copy shall be given to all the universities and high academies of the states of Europe, to be preserved in their libraries." A motion made by the undersigned, at a subsequent day, and seconded by Professor Schubert, was unanimously passed by the Congress, that the resolution be modified and enlarged "so as to include the public libraries in six of the principal cities of the United

States of America. to be designated by the State Department at Washington."

The Congress adjourned on the 11th of September, after having received the marked hospitality and consideration of the government of Prussia, and of the inhabitants of Berlin.

Of the period of thirty days after the adjournment allowed to the undersigned for returning to the United States, he will employ the first two weeks in visiting Russia, to collect the statistics of the product of gold in that country;—for which purpose the representatives of that government in the Congress, and also the Russian Minister at Berlin, have courteously afforded him important facilities.

The undersigned has the honor to remain, with high respect, your obedient servant,

SAMUEL B. RUGGLES.

His Excellency WILLIAM H. SEWARD,
Secretary of State, &c,. &c., &c.

NOTE.

The undersigned, on the 21st of December, 1863, transmitted to the State Department the Supplemental Report referred to in the preceding communication, in respect to the proceedings of the International Statistical Congress, at Berlin, on the subject of "UNIFORM WEIGHTS, MEASURES AND COINS." That Report, when printed, will be published separately.

S. B. RUGGLES.

International Statistical Congress at Berlin.

VI. SESSION.

SIXTH DAY'S SESSION.

September 11th, 1863.

Report from the United States of America.

Mr. Samuel B. Ruggles, Delegate from the United States of America, presented the following Report:

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the
International Statistical Congress:

The Government of Prussia having specially requested, through its Minister at Washington, his Excellency the Baron Gerolt, that the Government of the United States of America should send a representative to the International Statistical Congress to convene at Berlin on the 6th of September, 1863, the President of the United States, on the 14th of August, appointed the undersigned to that office. The session of the Congress being so near at hand, the undersigned was necessarily obliged to embark for Europe without delay, and was thus prevented from collecting, in due season, as large a portion as could have been desired, of the numerous documents and publications illustrating the statistics of the United States. Much important information, though often wanting in classification and arrangement, is embraced in various official papers issued under public authority, both National and State, and also by Boards of Trade and other voluntary societies whose labors are more or less statistical.

Attempts have been made to impart to American statistics, more of an analytical and scientific character, by means of official Bureaux to be specially organized for the purpose. The State of Ohio, some years since, under the administration of Governor Chase, the present Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, established a Bureau of Statistics, as one of the organs of the State government, which was committed to the charge of Mr. Mansfield, whose copious and instructive Annual Reports, fully justify the selection: while far away, in the remote interior, beyond the great chain of Lakes, the infant State of Minnesota, with a single exception the youngest in the American Union, containing by the census of 1860 but 173,000 inhabitants clustered around the head waters of the Upper Mississippi, and more than fifteen hundred miles from the Atlantic, established almost at the moment of its birth, a Bureau of Statistics. Two of the Annual Reports of its able Commissioner of Statistics, Mr. Wheelock, are now submitted to the inspection of the International Statistical Congress, as affording reasonable ground of hope that, in due time, America may at least approach in scientific accuracy and philosophical arrangement, the more mature and perfect performances of the statisticians of Europe.

The Congress of the United States has not yet established a distinct Bureau of Statistics, although repeatedly recommended and urged to do so; but in taking the census of inhabitants, required by the National Constitution at intervals not exceeding ten years, the practice has been gradually introduced of superadding, by special direction of Congress, inquiries, more or less extensive, in regard to various branches of industry and production, and recently embracing social statistics to a moderate extent —so that the compend of the census of 1860, herewith submitted to the International Statistical Congress, will be found to contain a considerable mass of statistical information illustrating the material and, to some extent, the social and moral condition

of the nation. Under the limited powers conferred by Congress, the active and intelligent officers who have successively filled the office of Superintendent, and particularly Mr. Kennedy, who participated in one or more of the previous sessions of the International Statistical Congress, have earnestly exerted their best efforts to render the inquiries authorized by law, useful not only to the country, but to the cause of statistical science. It is confidently believed that the enlightened labors of the present body, may do much to induce the legislative authorities of the United State to recognise a competent Bureau of Statistics as a national necessity, and thereby place their country on an equality, in that respect, with the most intelligent nations of the world.

Even then, some time must elapse, before it will fully attain that power of acute, comprehensive and thorough analysis in the various branches of statistical inquiry, which has so distinguished the eminent European statisticians, in their valuable labors in the International Statistical Congress during the present and the preceding sessions.

It is cause for general congratulation that those who conduct the public affairs of nations have become generally convinced, that a State cannot be wisely or safely governed, without an accurate knowledge of quantities. Abstract theories and historical traditions doubtless have their use and their proper place, but statistics are the very eyes of the statesman, enabling him to survey and scan with clear but comprehensive vision, the whole structure and economy of the body politic—to adjust, in finest harmony all its varied functions—to regulate and invigorate the healthful circulation of every artery and vein, from the central, vital trunk to the most remote and delicate articulation.

Not only so. In this modern world where steam has abolished space, the statesman, to deserve the name, must carefully survey the statistics of all the nations that commerce can ap-

proach, so that with nice and skillful hand, he may adapt the administration of his particular government to the due measure of its comparative capacities and powers.

It is under the conviction, that this new-born, modern "solidarity of nations" renders the statistics of each important to all, that the undersigned, in behalf of the United States of America, now ventures briefly to invite the attention of the International Statistical Congress, to some of the most prominent features exhibited by the compend of the census of 1860, now before this body, and especially to the evidence which it furnishes, of the rate and extent of material progress of the human race in that portion of the New World, committed by Providence to the care of the American Union. The exhibition will certainly furnish to some extent the means of statistical comparison with other portions of the world, and thereby enable the International Statistical Congress, in due time, to discharge what may become a very important and world-wide duty, in classifying the results from the reports of individual countries, and thus to present in scientific form the prominent and distinctive features of the comparative anatomy of nations.

Nor is it to be feared that such a classification or comparison could ever be deemed useless or invidious. On this point the present body fortunately is able to refer to the highest authority. The impressive words, in the opening address of the late Prince Albert,—who deemed it no derogation from his eminent rank as the royal consort of the British Sovereign, to preside personally over your deliberations, and whose untimely death is mourned in both hemispheres as a loss to the human race,—now come to us with solemn earnestness.

In the noble language of that truly exalted Prince, such comparisons will only "prove to us afresh in figures, what we know "already from feeling and experience—how dependent the "different nations are upon each other, for their progress—for

"their moral and material prosperity—and that the essential "condition of their mutual happiness, is the maintenance of "peace and good will among each other. Let them then be "rivals, but rivals in the noble race of social improvement, in "which, although it may be the lot of one to arrive first at the "goal, yet all will equally share the prize—all feeling their own "powers and strength increase in the healthy competition."

The compend of the census of 1860, and other official documents now submitted to the International Statistical Congress, will establish the following cardinal facts, in respect to the territory, population, and progress in material wealth of the United States of America:

I. The territorial area of the United States, at the peace of 1783, then bounded west by the Mississippi river, was 820,680 square miles, about four times that of France, which is stated to be 207,145 exclusive of Algeria. The purchase from France of Louisiana, in 1804, added to this area 899,680 square miles. Purchases from Spain and from Mexico, and the Oregon treaty with England, added the further quantity of 1,215,907 square miles; making the total present territory 2,936,166 square miles, or 1,879,146,240 acres.

Of this immense area, possessing a great variety of climate and culture so large a portion is fertile, that it has been steadily absorbed by the rapidly increasing population. In May last, there remained undisposed of and belonging to the Government of the United States 964,901,625 acres.

To prevent any confusion of boundaries, the lands are carefully surveyed and allotted by the Government, and are then granted gratuitously to actual settlers, or sold for prices not exceeding a dollar and a quarter per acre to purchasers other than settlers. It appears by the Report of the Commissioner of the General Land Office, a copy of which is herewith furnished,

that the quantity surveyed and ready for sale, in September, 1862, was 135,142,999 acres. The Report also states, that the recent discoveries of rich and extensive gold fields in some of the unsurveyed portions, are rapidly filling the interior with a population whose necessities require the speedy survey and disposition of large additional tracts. The immediate survey is not however, of vital importance, as the first occupant practically gains the pre-emptive claim to the land after the survey is completed. The cardinal, the great continental fact, so to speak, is this, that the whole of this vast body of land is freely open to gratuitous occupation, without delay or difficulty of any kind.

II. The population of the United States, as shown by the Census of 1860, was 31,445,080, of which number 26,975,575 were white, and 4,441,766 black, of various degrees of color—of the blacks 3,953,760 being returned as slaves. Whether any, or what proportion, of the number are hereafter to be statistically considered as "Slaves" depends upon contingencies, which it would be premature at the present time to discuss.

The increase of population since the establishment of the Government, has been as follows:

1790,	3,929,827				
1800,	5,305,937	.....	increase	35.02	per cent.
1810,	7,239,814	.....	"	36.45	"
1820,	9,638,191	.....	"	33.13	"
1830,	12,866,020	.....	"	33.49	"
1840,	17,069,453	.....	"	32.67	"
1850,	23,191,876	.....	"	35.87	"
1860,	31,445,080	.....	"	35.59	"

This rate of progress, especially since 1820, is owing, in part, to immigration from foreign countries

There arrived in the 10 years:

From 1820 to 1830	244,490
" 1830 to 1840	552,000
" 1840 to 1850	1,558,300
" 1850 to 1860	2,707,624
Total	5,062,414

being a yearly average of 126,560 for the forty years, and 270,762 for the last ten years.

The disturbances in the United States, caused by the existing insurrection, and commencing in April, 1861, have temporarily and partially checked this current of immigration, but during the present year it is again increasing.

The records of the Commissioners of Emigration of New York show that the arrivals at that port alone have been—

	From Ireland.	From Germany.	Total including all other countries.
1861	27,754	27,159	65,529
1862	32,217	27,740	76,306
1863	64,465	18,724	about 98,000

(up to August 20th, 7⅔ months.)

The proportions of the whole number of 5,062,414 arriving from foreign countries, in the forty years from 1820 to 1860, were as follows:

From Ireland	967,366	
England	302,665	
Scotland	47,800	
Wales	7,935	
Great-Britain and Ireland	1,425,018	
		2,750,784
From Germany	1,546,976	
Sweden	36,129	
Denmark and Norway	5,540	
		1,588,145

From France	208,063	
Italy	11,302	
Switzerland	37,732	
Spain	16,245	
British America	117,142	
China (in California almost exclusively)	41,443	
All other countries, or unknown	291,558	
		723,485
		5,062,414

It is not ascertainable how many have returned to foreign countries, but they probably do not exceed a million.

If the present partial check to immigration should continue, though it is hardly probable, the number of immigrants for the decade ending in 1870, may possibly be reduced from 2,707,624 to 1,500,000.

The ascertained average of increase of the whole population in the seven decades from 1790 to 1860, which is very nearly 33⅓ per cent. or one-third for each decade, would carry the present numbers 31,445,080
by the year 1870 to 41,926,750
From which deduct for the possible diminution of immigrants as above 1,207,624
there would remain 40,719,126

Mr. Kennedy, the experienced Superintendent of the Census, in the Compend, published in 1862, at page 7, estimates the population of 1870 at 42,318,432, and of 1880, at 56,450,241.

The rate of progress of the population of the United States has much exceeded that of any of the European nations. The experienced statisticians in the present Congress can readily furnish the figures precisely showing the comparative rate.

The population of France in

1801	was	27,349,003
1821	"	30,461,875
1831	"	32,569,223
1841	"	34,230,178
1851	"	35,283,170
1861	"	37,472,132

being about 37 per cent. in the sixty years. It does not include Algeria, which has a European population of 192,746.

The population of Prussia has increased, since 1816, as follows:

1816	10,319,993
1822	11,664,133
1834	13,038,970
1840	14,928,503
1849	16,296,483
1858	17,672,609
1861	18,491,220

being at the rate of 79 per cent. in forty-five years.

The population of England and Wales was, in

1801	9,156,171
1811	10,454,529
1821	12,172,664
1831	14,051,986
1841	16,035,198
1851	18,054,170
1861	20,227,746

Showing an increase of 121 per cent. in the sixty years, against an increase in the United States, in sixty years, of 593 per cent.

III. The natural and inevitable result of this great increaes

of population, enjoying an ample supply of fertile land, is seen in a corresponding advance in the material wealth of the people of the United States. For the purpose of State taxation, the values of their real and personal property are yearly assessed by officers appointed by the States. The assessment does not include large amounts of property held by religious, educational, charitable and other associations exempted by law from taxation, nor any public property of any description. In actual practice, the real property is rarely assessed for more than two-thirds of its cash value, while large amounts of personal property, being easily concealed, escape assessment altogether.

The assessed value of that portion of property which is thus actually taxed, increased as follows:

In 1791	(estimated)	$750,000,000
1816	(estimated)	1,800,000,000
1850	official valuation.....	7,135,780,228
1860	do	16,159,616,068

showing an increase in the last decade alone of $9,023,835,840.

A question has been raised, in some quarters, as to the correctness of these valuations of 1850 and 1860, in embracing in the valuation of 1850 $961,000,000, and in the valuation of 1860 $1,936,000,000, as the assessed value of slaves, insisting that black men are persons and not property, and should be regarded, like other men, only as producers and consumers. If this view of the subject should be admitted, the valuation of

1850 would be reduced to.....	$6,174,780,000
and that of 1860 to	14,223,618,068
leaving the increase in the decade.....	$8,048,825,840

The advance, even if reduced to $8,048,825,840, is sufficiently large to require the most attentive examination. It is an in-

crease of property over the valuation of 1850 of 130 per cent., while the increase of population in the same decade was but 35.59 per cent. In seeking for the cause of this discrepancy, we shall reach a fundamental and all important fact which will furnish the key to the past and to the future progress of the United States. It is the power they possess, by means of canals and railways, to practically abolish the distance between the sea-board and the wide-spread and fertile regions of the interior, thereby removing the clog on their agricultural industry, and virtually placing them side by side with the communities on the Atlantic. During the decade ending in 1860, the sum of $413,541,510 was expended within the limits of the interior central group known as the "food-exporting States," in constructing 11,212 miles of railway, to connect them with the sea-board. The traffic receipts from those roads were:

In 1860	$31,335,031
" 1861	35,305,509
" 1862	44,908,405

The saving to the communities themselves in the transportation, for which they thus paid $44,908,405, was at least five times that amount, while the increase in the exports from that portion of the Union, greatly animated not only the commerce of the Atlantic States carrying those exports over their railways to the sea-board, but the manufacturing industry of the Eastern States, that exchange the fabrics of their work-shops for the food of the interior.

By carefully analyzing the $8,048,825,840, in question, we find that the six manufacturing States of New England received $735,754,244 of the amount: that the middle Atlantic or carrying and commercial States, from New York to Maryland inclusive, received $1,834,911,579; and that the food-producing interior itself, embracing the eight great States of Ohio, Indi-

ana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, and Missouri, received $2,810,000,000. This very large accession of wealth to this single group of States is sufficiently important to be stated more in detail. The group, taken as a whole, extends from the western boundaries of New York and Pennsylvania to the Missouri river, through fourteen degrees of longitude, and from the Ohio river north to the British dominions, through twelve degrees of latitude. It embraces an area of 441,167 square miles, or 282,134,688 acres, nearly all of which is arable and exceedingly fertile, much of it in prairie and ready at once for the plough. There may be a small portion adjacent to Lake Superior unfit for cultivation, but it is abundantly compensated by its rich deposits of copper and of iron of the best quality.

Into this immense natural garden in a salubrious and desirable portion of the temperate zone, the swelling stream of population, from the older Atlantic States and from Europe, has steadily flowed during the last decade, increasing its previous population from 5,403,595 to 8,957,690, an accession of 3,554,095 inhabitants gained by the peaceful conquest of Nature, fully equal to the population of Silesia which cost Frederick the Great the Seven Years War, and exceeding that of Scotland, the subject of struggle for centuries.

The rapid influx of population into this group of States increased the quantity of the "improved" land, thereby meaning farms more or less cultivated, within their limits, from 26,680,361 acres in 1850 to 51,826,395 acres in 1860, but leaving a residue yet to be improved of 230,308,293 acres. The area of 25,146,054 acres thus taken in ten years from the prairie and the forest, is equal to seven-eighths of the arable area of England, stated by its political economists to be 28,000,000 of acres.

The area embraced in the residue will permit a similar operation to be repeated eight times successively, plainly demonstrating the capacity of this group of States to expand their present

population of 8,957,690 to at least thirty, if not forty millions of inhabitants, without inconvenience.

The effects of this influx of population in increasing the pecuniary wealth, as well as the agricultural products of the States in question, are signally manifest in the census. The assessed value of their real and personal property, ascended from $1,116,000,000 in 1850, to $3,926,000,000 in 1860, showing a clear increase of $2,810,000,000. We can best measure this rapid and enormous accession of wealth, by comparing it with an object which all nations value—the commercial marine. The commercial tonnage of the United States,

In 1840, was 2,180,764 tons.
" 1850, " 3,535,454 "
" 1860, " 5,358,808 "

At $50 per ton, which is a full estimate, the whole pecuniary value of the 5,358,808 tons, embracing all our commercial fleets on the oceans and the lakes and the rivers, and numbering nearly thirty thousand vessels, would be but $267,940,000; whereas the increase in the pecuniary value of the States under consideration, in each year of the last decade, was $281,000,000. Five years increase would purchase every commercial vessel in the Christian world.

But the census discloses another very important feature in respect to these interior States, of far higher interest to the statisticians, and especially to the statesmen of Europe, than any which has yet been noticed, in their vast and rapidly increasing capacity to supply food, both vegetable and animal, cheaply and abundantly, to the increasing millions of the Old World. In the last decade, their cereal products increased from 309,950,295 bushels to 558,160,323 bushels, considerably exceeding the whole cereal product of England, and nearly, if not quite equal, to that of France. In the same period the

swine, who play a very important part in consuming the large surplus of Indian corn, increased in number from 8,536,182 to 11,039,352, and the cattle from 4,373,712 to 7,204,810. Thanks to steam and the railway, the herds of cattle who feed on the meadows of the Upper Mississippi are now carried in four days, through eighteen degrees of longitude, to the slaughter-houses on the Atlantic.

It is difficult to furnish any visible or adequate measure for a mass of cereals so enormous as 558 millions of bushels. About one-fifth of the whole descends the chain of lakes on which 1,300 vessels are constantly employed in the season of navigation. About one-seventh of the whole finds its way to the ocean, through the Erie Canal, which has already been once enlarged for the purpose of passing vessels of two hundred tons, and is now under survey by the State of New York, for a second enlargement to pass vessels of five hundred tons. The vessels, called "canal-boats," now navigating the canal, exceed five thousand in number, and if placed in line, would be more than eighty miles in length.

The barrels of wheat and flour alone, carried by the canal to the Hudson river, were in

1842	1,146,292
1852	3,937,366
18[illegible]2	7,516,397

A similar enlargement is also proposed for the canal connect- Lake Michigan with the Mississippi river. When both the works are completed, a barrel of flour can be carried from St. Louis to New York, nearly half across the Continent, for fifty cents, or a ton from the Iron Mountain of Missouri for five dollars. The moderate portion of the cereals that descends the Lakes, if placed in barrels of five bushels each, and side by side, would form a line five thousand miles long. The whole crop,

if placed in barrels, would encircle the globe. Such is its present magnitude. We leave it to statistical science to discern and truly estimate the future. One result is, at all events, apparent. A general famine is now impossible; for America, it necessary, can feed Europe for centuries to come. Let the statesman and the philanthropist ponder well the magnitude of the fact and all its far-reaching consequences, political, social, and moral, in the increased industry, the increased happiness, and the assured peace of the world.

IV. The great metalliferous region of the American Union, is found between the Missouri river and the Pacific Ocean. This grand division of the Republic embraces a little more than half of its whole continental breadth. Portland, in Maine, is in the meridian 70° west from Greenwich; Leavenworth, on the Missouri river, in 95°; and San Francisco, on the Pacific, in 123°. By these continental landmarks the Western or metalliferous section is found to embrace 28°, and the Eastern division between the Missouri and the Atlantic at Portland, 25° of our total territorial breadth of 53° of longitude.

It has been the principal work and office of the American people, since the foundation of their Government, to carry the machinery of civilization westward from the Atlantic to the Missouri, the great confluent of the Mississippi. So far as the means of rapid inter-communication are concerned, the work may be said to be accomplished, for a locomotive engine can now run without interruption, from Portland to the Missouri, striking it at St. Joseph just below the 40th parallel of latitude. In the twenty years preceding 1860, a net-work of railways, 31,196 miles in length, was constructed, having the terminus of the most western link on the Missouri river. The total cost was $1,151,560,829, of which $850,900,681 was expended in the decade between 1850 and 1860.

The American Government and people had become aware of the great pecuniary, commercial and political results of connecting the ocean with the food-producing interior, by adequate steam communications. But the higher and more difficult problem was then presented, of repeating the effort on a scale still more grand and continental; of winning victories still more arduous over Nature; of encountering and subduing the massive, mountain ranges interposed by the prolongation of the Cordilleras of our sister continent through the centre of North America, rising, even at their lowest points of depression, far above the highest peaks of the Atlantic States.

The Government, feeling the vital national importance of closely connecting the States of the Atlantic and of the Mississippi with the Pacific with all practicable despatch, has vigorously exerted its power. On the 1st of July, 1862, nearly fifteen months after the outbreak of the existing insurrection, and notwithstanding the necessity of calling into the field more than half a million of men to enforce the national authority, Congress passed the act for incorporating "the Union Pacific Railway Company," and appropriated $66,000,000 in the bonds of the United States, with large grants of land, to aid the work, directing it to be commenced at the 100th meridian of longitude, but with four branches extending eastward to the Missouri river. The necessary surveys across the mountain ranges, are now in active progress, and the construction of the Eastern Division leading westward from the mouth of the Kansas river on the Missouri, has actually commenced. The whole of that division, including that part of the line west of the 100th meridian to the foot of the "Rocky Mountains," is on a nearly level plain, and is singularly easy of construction. Its western end will strike the most prominent point of the auriferous regions in the territory of Colorado, where the annual product of gold, as stated in the official message of the territorial Governor, is from five to

ten millions of dollars. The gold is there extracted, by crushing machines, from the quartz, in which it is found extensively distributed, needing only the railway from the Missouri to cheaply carry the necessary miners with their machinery and supplies. The distance to that point will be about six hundred and fifty miles, which will be passed in twenty-eight hours. When completed, as it easily may be, within the next three years, it will open the way for such an exodus of miners as the country has not seen since the first discoveries in California, to which the American people rushed with such avidity, many of them circumnavigating Cape Horn to reach the scene of attraction.

Meanwhile, a corresponding movement has commenced on the Pacific, in vigorously prosecuting the construction of the railway eastward from the coast at or near San Francisco, which will cross the Sierra Nevada at an elevation of about 7,000 feet, on the Eastern line of California, in the 120th parallel of longitude, and there descend into the territory of Nevada at the rich silver mines of Washoe.

It is not yet possible to estimate with any accuracy the extent of these deposits of gold and silver, but they are already known to exist at very numerous localities in and between the Rocky Mountains and the Sierra Nevada, not to mention the rich quartz mining regions in California itself, which continue to pour out their volumes of gold to affect, whether for good or ill, the financial condition of the civilized world. During the last six months gold has been obtained in such quantities, from the sands of the Snake River and other confluents of the Columbia River, as to attract more than twenty thousand persons to that remote portion of our metalliferous interior. The products of those streams alone for the present year, are estimated at twenty millions of dollars.

The Commissioner of the General Land Office, in his official Report of the 29th December, 1862, states as follows:

"The great auriferous region of the United States, in the western portion of the Continent, stretches from the 49th degree of north latitude, and Puget Sound, to the 30° 30′ parallel, and from the 102d degree of longitude west of Greenwich, to the Pacific Ocean, embracing portions of Dakota, Nebraska, Colorado, all of New Mexico, with Arizona, Utah, Nevada, California, Oregon and Washington Territories. It may be designated as comprising 17 degrees of latitude, or a breadth of eleven hundred miles, from North to South, and of nearly equal longitudinal extension, making an area of more than a million of square miles.

"This vast region is traversed from North to South, first, on the Pacific side, by the Sierra Nevada and Cascade Mountains, then by the Blue and Humboldt; on the East, by the double ranges of the Rocky Mountains, embracing the Wasatch and Wind River Chain, and the Sierra Madre, stretching longitudinally and in lateral spurs, crossed and linked together by intervening ridges, connecting the whole system by five principal ranges, dividing the country into an equal number of basins, each being nearly surrounded by mountains, and watered by mountain streams and snows, thereby interspersing this immense territory with bodies of agricultural lands, equal to the support not only of miners, but of a dense population."

"These mountains," he continues, "are literally stocked with minerals; gold and silver being interspersed in profusion over this immense surface, and daily brought to light by new discoveries."

"In addition to the deposits of gold and silver, various sections of the whole region are rich in precious stones, marble,

gypsum, salt, tin, quicksilver, asphaltum, coal, iron, copper, lead, mineral and medicinal, thermal and cold springs and streams."

"The yield of the precious metals alone of this region will not fall below one hundred millions of dollars the present year, and it will augment with the increase of population for centuries to come."

"Within ten years the annual product of these mines will reach two hundred millions of dollars in the precious metals, and in coal, iron, tin, lead, quicksilver and copper, half that sum."

He proposes to subject these minerals to a Government tax of eight per cent., and counts upon a revenue from this source of twenty-five millions per annum, almost immediately, and upon a proportionate increase in the future. He adds that, "with an amount of labor relatively equal to that expended in California, applied to the gold fields already known to exist outside of that State, the production of this year, including that of California, would exceed four hundred millions." "In a word," says he, "the value of these mines is absolutely incalculable."

From the documents and other evidences now before the International Statistical Congress, it must be apparent that the metalliferous regions of the United States of America are destined, sooner or later, to add materially to the supply of the precious metals, and thereby to affect the currency of the world, especially if taken in connection with the capacity of the auriferous regions of Russia, Australia, and British America, and the possibility of increased activity in the mines of Mexico.

The undersigned would, therefore, respectfully beg leave to conclude the present Report with the suggestion, that a Commission be instituted by the body now assembled, with autho-

rity to collect such facts as may be gathered from authentic sources, in respect to the probable future production of gold and silver, and to present them for consideration to the International Statistical Congress at the next or some future session.

Berlin, September 11th, 1863.

S. B. Ruggles.

NOTE.

Shortly before the adjournment, at Berlin, of the International Statistical Congress, a question arose of considerable interest in respect to their next place of meeting, in the year 1865 or 1866. Several of the Delegates, and especially from Southern Europe, urged the claims of Turin, in Italy, while others advocated Berne, in Switzerland. In participating in this debate, the undersigned adverted to the fact, that the preceding sessions had been held at Brussels, at Paris, at Vienna, and at London, and the then present session at Berlin; all in the capitals of the older nations of Europe, of mature growth, within fixed and definite limits, and presenting statistical features correspondingly fixed and definite; and that the time had come for the Statistical Congress to convene in one of the new and more progressive nations. In that view, he supported the claim of Russia, as being a nation at once old and new, furnishing the statistics not only of an established Power, but of a rapidly expanding Continental Empire, rendered still more interesting by its recent comprehensive and truly imperial measure of emancipating, at a single stroke, and raising to the dignity of freemen and landholders, many millions of its people.

According to usage in preceding Congresses, the selection of the next place of meeting, devolves on a local committee at Berlin, after generally gathering the opinions of members; but from the feeling manifested in behalf of Russia, it is believed that the next Congress will convene at St. Petersburg.

Soon after the adjournment of the Congress at Berlin, the undersigned proceeded to Russia, for the purpose, as stated in his communication of the 14th of September, of obtaining trust-

worthy statistics of its past and present product of gold and silver. Through the courtesy of eminent individuals, officially connected with the Imperial Government, he was enabled to collect very full and satisfactory details of the products of those metals, and especially in the Asiatic portions of the Empire. Through the same facilities, he also obtained statistical information of peculiar interest to the United States, in respect to the export of cereals from the great, central, agricultural interior of Russia, so strikingly resembling in geographical development and relative position, the central, food-producing interior of the American Union. On his way homeward, through Germany and Holland, he was also enabled to collect accurate information in respect to the commerce of those countries in food, both vegetable and animal; as a branch of a general inquiry to ascertain statistically the comparative condition of the "feeding" and of the "fed" nations of Europe and America. He has also taken measures for prosecuting inquiries in London, not yet fully completed, in respect to the product of gold and silver in Australia, New-Zealand and British America. The results, properly collated and condensed, will be duly transmitted to the Government of the United States.

Feb. 24, 1864. S. B. Ruggles.

☞ *Loyal Leagues, Clubs, or individuals may obtain any of our Publications at the cost price, by application to the Executive Committee, or by calling at the Rooms of the Society, No.* 863 *Broadway, where all information may be obtained relating to the Society.*

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SOLDIERS' AND SAILORS'

PATRIOTIC SONGS.

NEW YORK, MAY, 1864.

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1864.

SOLDIERS' AND SAILORS'

PATRIOTIC SONGS AND HYMNS.*

THE TWELFTH OF APRIL, A.D. 1861.

BY EDMUND C. STEDMAN.

Came the morning of that day,
When the God, to whom we pray,
Gave the soul of Henry Clay
To the land;
How we loved him—living, dying!
But his birthday banners flying,
Saw us asking and replying,
Hand to hand.

For we knew that far away,
Round the fort in Charleston bay,
Hung the dark impending fray,
Soon to fall;
And that Sumter's brave defender
Had the summons to surrender
Seventy loyal hearts and tender—
That was all.

And we knew the April sun
Lit the length of many a gun—
Hosts of batteries to the one
Island crag;
Guns and mortars grimly frowning,
Johnson, Moultrie, Pinckney, crowning,
And ten thousand men disowning
The old flag.

Oh! the fury of the fight
Even then was at its height!
Yet no breath, from noon till night,
Reached us here;
We had almost ceased to wonder,
And the day had faded under,
When—the echo of the thunder
Filled each ear!

Then our hearts more fiercely beat,
As we crowded on the street,
Hot to gather and repeat
All the tale;
All the doubtful chances turning,
Till our souls with shame were burning,
As if twice our bitter yearning
Could avail!

Who had fired the earliest gun?
Was the fort by traitors won?
Was there succor? What was done
Who could know?
And once more our thoughts would wander
To the gallant, lone commander,
On his battered ramparts, grander
Than the foe.

Not too long the brave shall wait:
On their own heads be their fate,
Who against the hallowed State
Dare begin;
Flag defied, and compact riven!
In the record of high Heaven,
How shall Southern men be shriven
For the sin?

OUR COUNTRY'S CALL.

BY WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT.

Lay down the axe, fling by the spade;
Leave in its track the toiling plough;
The rifle and the bayonet-blade
For arms like yours were fitter now:
And let the hands that ply the pen
Quit the light task, and learn to wield
The horseman's crooked brand, and rein
The charger on the battle-field.

Our country calls: away! away!
To where the blood-stream blots the green.
Strike to defend the gentlest sway
That Time in all his course has seen.
See, from a thousand coverts—see
Spring the armed foes that haunt her track:
They rush to smite her down, and we
Must beat the banded traitors back.

Ho! sturdy as the oaks ye cleave,
And moved as soon to fear and flight,
Men of the glade and forest! leave
Your woodcraft for the field of fight.
The arms that wield the axe must pour
An iron tempest on the foe;

* Selected by permission from the "Lyrics of Loyalty," and "Songs of the Soldiers," edited by Frank Moore.

His serried ranks shall reel before
The arm that lays the panther low.

And ye who breast the mountain storm
By grassy steep or highland lake,
Come, for the land ye love, to form
A bulwark that no foe can break.
Stand, like your own gray cliffs that mock
The whirlwind; stand in her defence:
The blast as soon shall move the rock
As rushing squadrons bear ye thence.

And ye, whose homes are by her grand
Swift rivers, rising far away,
Come from the depth of her green land
As mighty in your march as they;
As terrible as when the rains
Have swelled them over bank and borne,
With sudden floods to drown the plains
And sweep along the woods upturn.

And ye who throng, beside the deep,
Her ports and hamlets of the strand,
In number like the waves that leap
On his long murmuring marge of sand,
Come, like that deep, when, o'er his brim
He rises all his floods to pour,
And flings the proudest barks that swim,
A helpless wreck, against his shore.

Few, few were they whose swords, of old,
Won the fair land in which we dwell;
But we are many, we who hold
The grim resolve to guard it well.
Strike for that broad and goodly land,
Blow after blow, till men shall see
That Might and Right move hand in hand
And glorious must their triumph be.

IT IS GREAT FOR OUR COUNTRY TO DIE.

BY JAMES G. PERCIVAL.

Oh! it is great for our country to die, where ranks are contending;
Bright is the wreath of our fame; glory awaits us for aye—
Glory that never is dim, shining on with light never ending—
Glory that never shall fade, never, oh! never, away!

Oh! it is sweet for our country to die! How softly reposes
Warrior youth on his bier, wet by the tears of his love,
Wet by a mother's warm tears; they crown him with garlands of roses,
Weep, and then joyously turn bright where he triumphs above.

Not to the shades shall the youth descend who for country hath perished;
Hebe awaits him in heaven, welcomes him there with her smile;
There, at the banquet divine, the patriot-spirit is cherished;
God loves the young who ascend pure from the funeral pile.

Not to Elysian fields, by the still, oblivious river;
Not to the isles of the blest, over the blue, rolling sea;
But on Olympian heights shall dwell the devoted for ever;
There shall assemble the good, there the wise, valiant, and free.

Oh! then how great for our country to die—in the front rank to perish,
Firm, with our breast to the foe, Victory's shout in our ear!
Long they our statues shall crown, in songs our memory cherish;
We shall look forth from our heaven, pleased the sweet music to hear.

THROUGH BALTIMORE.

THE VOICE OF THE PENNSYLVANIA VOLUNTEERS.

BY BAYARD TAYLOR.

I.

'Twas Friday morn, the train drew near
The city and the shore:
Far through the sunshine, soft and clear
We saw the dear old flag appear,
And in our hearts arose a cheer
For Baltimore

II.

Across the broad Patapsco's wave,
Old Fort McHenry bore
The starry banner of the brave,
As when our fathers went to save,
Or in the trenches find a grave,
At Baltimore.

III.

Before us, pillared in the sky,
We saw the statue soar
Of Washington, serene and high—
Could traitors view that form, nor fly?
Could patriots see, nor gladly die
For Baltimore?

IV.

"O city of our country's song,
By that swift aid we bore
When sorely pressed, receive the throng,
Who go to shield our flag from wrong,
And give us welcome, warm and strong,
In Baltimore!"

V.

We had no arms; as friends we came,
As brothers evermore,
To rally round one sacred name,
The charter of our power and fame:
We never dreamed of guilt and shame
In Baltimore.

VI.

The coward mob upon us fell:
McHenry's flag they tore:
Surprised, borne backward by the swell,
Beat down with mad, inhuman yell,
Before us yawned a traitorous hell
In Baltimore!

VII.

The streets our soldier-fathers trod
Blushed with their children's gore;
We saw the craven rulers nod,
And dip in blood the civic rod —
Shall such things be, O righteous God!
In Baltimore

VIII.

No, never! By that outrage black,
A solemn oath we swore,
To bring the Keystone's thousands back,
Strike down the dastards who attack,
And leave a red and fiery track
Through Baltimore!

IX.

Bow down, in haste, thy guilty head!
God's wrath is swift and sore:
The sky with gathering bolts is red —
Cleanse from thy skirts the slaughter shed,
Or make thyself an ashen bed —
O Baltimore!

NOT YET.

BY WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT.

O Country, marvel of the earth!
O realm to sudden greatness grown!
The age that gloried in thy birth,
Shall it behold thee overthrown?
Shall traitors lay that greatness low?
No, Land of Hope and Blessing, No!

And we who wear thy glorious name,
Shall we, like cravens, stand apart,
When those whom thou hast trusted aim
The death-blow at thy generous heart?
Forth goes the battle-cry, and lo!
Hosts rise in harness, shouting, No!

And they who founded, in our land,
The power that rules from sea to sea,
Bled they in vain, or vainly planned
To leave their country great and free?
Their sleeping ashes, from below,
Send up the thrilling murmur, No!

Knit they the gentle ties which long
These sister States were proud to wear,
And forged the kindly links so strong
For idle hands in sport to tear —
For scornful hands aside to throw?
No, by our fathers' memory, No!

Our humming marts, our iron ways,
Our wind-tossed woods on mountain crest,
The hoarse Atlantic, with his bays,
The calm, broad Ocean of the West,
And Mississippi's torrent flow,
And loud Niagara, answer, No!

Not yet the hour is nigh, when they
Who deep in Eld's dim twilight sit,
Earth's ancient kings, shall rise and say,
"Proud country, welcome to the pit!
So soon art thou, like us, brought low?"
No, sullen groups of shadows, No!

For now, behold the arm that gave
The victory in our fathers' day,
Strong, as of old, to guard and save—
That mighty arm which none can stay—
On clouds above and fields below,
Writes, in men's sight, the answer, No!

THE VOLUNTEER'S WIFE TO HER HUSBAND.

Don't stop a moment to think, John,
Your country calls — then go;
Don't think of me or the children, John,
I'll care for them, you know.
Leave the corn upon the stalks, John,
Potatoes on the hill,
And the pumpkins on the vines, John—
I'll gather them with a will.
But take your gun and go, John,
Take your gun and go,
For Ruth can drive the oxen, John,
And I can use the hoe.

I've heard my grandsire tell, John,
(He fought at Bunker Hill,)
How he counted all his life and wealth
His country's offering still.
Shall we shame the brave old blood, John,
That flowed on Monmouth Plain?
No! take your gun and go, John,
If you ne'er return again.
Then take your gun and go, etc.

Our army's short of blankets, John,
Then take this heavy pair;
I spun and wove them when a girl,
And worked them with great care.
There's a rose in every corner, John,
And there's my name, you see;
On the cold ground they'll warmer feel
That they were made by me.
Then take your gun and go, etc.

And if it be God's will, John,
You ne'er come back again,
I'll do my best for the children, John,
In sorrow, want, and pain.
In winter nights I'll teach them all
That I have learned at school,
To love the country, keep the laws,
Obey the Saviour's rule.
Then take your gun and go, etc.

And in the village church, John,
And at our humble board,
We'll pray that God will keep you, John,
And heavenly aid afford;
And all who love their country's cause
Will love and bless you too,
And nights and mornings they will pray
For Freedom and for you.
Then take your gun and go, etc.

And now good-by to you, John —
I cannot say farewell;
We'll hope and pray for the best, John;
God's goodness none can tell.

Be His great arm around you, John,
To guard you night and day;
Be our beloved country's shield,
Till the war has passed away.
Then take your gun and go, etc.

"ONLY NINE MILES TO THE JUNCTION."

WRITTEN BY H. MILLARD,

COMPANY A, SEVENTY-FIRST REGIMENT, N. Y. S. M.

TUNE—*The other Side of Jordan.*

THE troops of Rhode Island were posted along
On the road from Annapolis Station,
As the Seventy-first Regiment, one thousand strong,
Went on in defence of the nation.
We'd been marching all day in the sun's scorching ray,
With two biscuits each as a ration,
When we asked Gov. Sprague to show us the way,
And "How many miles to the Junction?"
Chorus—How many miles, how many miles,
How many miles to the Junction?
When we asked Gov. Sprague to show us the way,
And "How many miles to the Junction?"

The Rhode Island boys cheered us on out of sight,
After giving the following injunction:
"Just keep up your courage—you'll get there to-night,
For 'tis only nine miles to the Junction."

They gave us hot coffee, a grasp of the hand,
Which cheered and refreshed our exhaustion.
We reached in six hours the long-promised land,
For 'twas "only nine miles to the Junction."
Only nine miles, etc.

And now as we meet them on Washington's streets,
They always do hail us with unction,
And still the old cry some one surely repeats,
"'Twas only nine miles to the Junction!"
Three cheers for the warm-hearted Rhode Island boys,
May each one be true to his function,
And whene'er we meet, let us each other greet,
With "only nine miles from the Junction."
Only nine miles, etc.

Nine cheers for the flag under which we will fight,
If the traitors should dare to assail it;
One cheer for each mile we made on that night,
When 'twas "only nine miles to the Junction."
With hearts thus united—our breasts to the foe—
Once again with delight we will hail it;
If duty should call us, still onward we'll go,
If even "nine miles to the Junction."
Only nine miles, etc.

NORTHMEN, COME OUT!

DEDICATED TO THE MASSACHUSETTS REGIMENTS.

BY CHARLES GODFREY LELAND.

(AIR—*Burschen heraus!*)

NORTHMEN, come out!
Forth unto battle with storm and shout!
Freedom calls you once again,
To flag and fort and tented plain;
Then come with drum and tramp and song,
And raise the war-cry wild and strong:
Northmen, come out!

Northmen, come out!
The foe is waiting round about,
With paixhan, mortar, and petard,
To tender us their Beau-regard;
With shot and shrapnel, grape and shell,
We'll give them back the fire of hell:
Northmen, come out!

Northmen, come out!
Give the pirates a roaring rout;
Out in your strength and let them know
How Working Men to Work can go.
Out in your might and let them feel
How Mudsills strike when edged with steel:
Northmen, come out!

Northmen, come out!
Come like your grandsires stern and stout;
Though Cotton be of kingly stock,
Yet royal heads may reach the block;
The Puritan taught it once in pain,
His sons shall teach it once again:
Northmen, come out!

Northmen, come out!
Forth into battle with storm and shout!
He who lives with victory's blest,
He who dies gains peaceful rest.
Living or dying, let us be
Still vowed to God and Liberty!
Northmen, come out!

PRO PATRIA.

INSCRIBED TO THE SECOND NEW-HAMPSHIRE REGIMENT.

BY THOMAS BAILEY ALDRICH.

I.

THE grand old earth shakes at the tread of the Norsemen,
Who meet, as of old, in defence of the true;
All hail to the stars that are set in their banner!
All hail to the red, and the white, and the blue!
As each column wheels by,
Hear their hearts' battle-cry—
It was Warren's—*'Tis sweet for our country to die!*

II.

Lancaster and Coos, Laconia and Concord,
Old Portsmouth and Keene, send their stalwart young men;

They come from the plough, and the loom, and the anvil,
From the marge of the sea, from the hill-top and glen.
As each column wheels by,
Hear their hearts' battle-cry —
It was Warren's — '*Tis sweet for our country to die!*

III.

The prayers of fair women, like legions of angels,
Watch over our soldiers by day and by night;
And the King of all glory, the Chief of all armies,
Shall love them and lead them who dare to be right!
As each column wheels by,
Hear their hearts' battle-cry —
It was Warren's — '*Tis sweet for our country to die!*

MARCH!

BY BAYARD TAYLOR.

With rushing winds and gloomy skies
The dark and stubborn Winter dies;
Far-off, unseen, Spring faintly cries,
Bidding her earliest child arise:
March!

By streams still held in icy snare,
On Southern hill-sides, melting bare,
O'er fields that motley colors wear,
That summons fills the changeful air:
March!

What though conflicting seasons make
Thy days their field, they woo or shake
The sleeping lids of Life awake,
And Hope is stronger for thy sake;
March!

Then from thy mountains, ribbed with snow,
Once more thy rousing bugle blow,
And East and West, and to and fro,
Proclaim thy coming to the foe:
March!

Say to the picket, chilled and numb,
Say to the camp's impatient hum,
Say to the trumpet and the drum:
Lift up your hearts, I come, I come!
March!

Cry to the waiting hosts that stray
On sandy sea-sides far away,
By marshy isle and gleaming bay,
Where Southern March is Northern May,
March!

Announce thyself with welcome noise,
Where Glory's victor-eagles poise
Above the proud, heroic boys
Of Iowa and Illinois:
March!

Then down the long Potomac's line
Shout like a storm on hills of pine,
Till ramrods ring and bayonets shine —
"Advance! the Chieftain's call is mine:
"March!"

KISS ME, MOTHER, AND LET ME GO.

BY MISS NANCY A. W. PRIEST.

Have you heard the news that I heard to-day?
The news that trembles on every lip?
The sky is darker again, they say,
And breakers threaten the good old ship.
Our country calls on her sons again,
To strike, in her name, at a dastard foe;
She asks for six hundred thousand men;
I would be one, mother. Let me go.

The love of country was born with me;
I remember how my young heart would thrill
When I used to sit on my grandame's knee
And list to the story of Bunker Hill.
Life gushed out there in a rich red flood;
My grandsire fell in that fight, you know;
Would you have me shame the brave old blood?
Nay, kiss me, mother, and let me go.

Our flag, the flag of our hope and pride,
With its stars and stripes, and its field of blue,
Is mocked, insulted, torn down, defied,
And trampled upon by the rebel crew.
And England and France look on and sneer,
"Ha! queen of the earth, thou art fallen low;'
Earth's down-trod millions weep and fear;
So kiss me, mother, and let me go.

Under the burning Southern skies,
Our brothers languish in heart-sick pain,
They turn to us with their pleading eyes;
O mother! say, shall they turn in vain?
Their ranks are thinning from sun to sun,
Yet bravely they hold at bay the foe;
Shall we let them die there, one by one?
So kiss me, mother, and let me go.

Can you selfishly cling to your household joys,
Refusing this smallest tithe to yield,
While thousands of mothers are sending boys
Beloved as yours to the battle-field?
Can you see my country call in vain,
And restrain my arm from the needful blow?
Not so, though your heart should break with pain,
You will kiss me, mother, and let me go.

A MOTHER'S ANSWER.

"I HAVE KISSED HIM, AND LET HIM GO."

He's my own boy, and this is my plea:
Perhaps it is foolish and weak;
But mothers I'm sure will have pity on me,
And some word will tenderly speak.
The light of my home — my tears fall like rain —
Is it wonder I shrink from the blow —
That my heart is crushed by its weight of pain?
But I've kissed him, and let him go.

There are some, I know, who feel a strange pride
In giving their country their all —
Who count it a glory that boys from their side,
In the strife are ready to fall.
But I, sitting here, have no pride in my heart;
(God forgive me that this should be so!)
For the boy that I love the tears still start,
Yet I've kissed him, and let him go.

Last night, with soft steps, I stole to his bed
As oft in childhood I'd done;
On his pillow I bowed my poor, stricken head
Till out of the east rose the sun.
His dreams were of me; for he turned in his sleep,
And murmured, "Dear mother!" so low,
I bit my pale lips lest they'd cowardly speak:
"O my darling! *I can't let you go!*"

This morning I blessed him; I stifled my pain;
I bade him be true to his trust;
To stand by the flag till his country again
Should raise its proud head from the dust.
I knew by the light in his beautiful eyes, —
By his face with true courage aglow —
He'd fight to the last. I choked back my sighs,
While I kissed him, and let him go.

But oh! sitting here, this desolate day,
Still there comes no feeling of pride;
But one knows my need, and to Him will I pray —
I can trust Him whatever betide.
And if he shall fall — (O faint heart! be still!)
I know he will soften the blow,
And I yet may feel a patriot's thrill
That I kissed him, and let him go.

SECESSION.

RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED TO GEN. BEAUREGARD.

The sun's hot rays were falling fast,
As through a Southern city passed
A man who bore 'midst rowdies low,
A banner with the strange motto—
Secession!

His brow was sad; his mouth beneath
Smelt strong of fire at every breath:
And like a furious madman sung
The accents of that unknown tongue—
Secession!

In happy homes he saw the light
Of household fires gleam warm and bright;
Above, the spectral gallows shone,
And from his lips escaped a groan—
Secession!

"Try not that game!" Abe Lincoln said,
"Dark lower the thunders overhead;
The mighty North has been defied."
But still that drunken voice replied—
Secession!

"Oh! pause!" the Quaker said, "and think
Before thee leaps from off the brink!"
Contempt was in his drunken leer;
And still he answered with a sneer—
Secession!

"Beware the pine-tree's bristling branch!
Beware the Northern avalanche!"
And that was Scott's restraining voice;
But still this was the traitor's choice—
Secession!

At close of war, as toward their homes
Our troops as victors hurried on,
And turned to God a thankful prayer,
A voice whined through the startled air—
Secession!

A traitor by a soldier keen,
Suspended by the neck was seen,
Still grasping in his hand of ice
That banner with this strange device—
Secession!

There to the mournful gibbet strung,
Lifeless and horrible he hung;
And from the sky there seemed to float
A voice like angel's warning note—
Secession!

THE ZOUAVES' BATTLE-SONG.

BY J. HOWARD WAINWRIGHT.

Onward, Zouaves, Ellsworth's spirit still leads us;
Onward, Zouaves, for our country still needs us;
Onward, Zouaves, for our banner floats o'er us;
Onward, Zouaves, for the foe is before us.
Chorus—Onward, Zouaves,
Do nothing by halves,
Home to the hilt with the bay'net,
Zouaves.

Onward, Zouaves, for the foe hath defied us;
Onward, Zouaves, we have brave men to guide us;
Let the sunlight and moonlight, from bayonets glancing,
Tell the foe the vanguard of the North is advancing.
Onward, etc.

Onward, Zouaves, till we break down oppression;
Onward, Zouaves, till we crush out secession;
We've shown them our friendship is honest and true,
We'll show them our wrath can be terrible too.
Onward, etc.

Onward, Zouaves, for our bugles are clanging;
Onward, Zouaves, the assassins need hanging;
No longer we'll bear with their rapine and wrong,
Their guilt makes them weak while our cause makes us strong.
Onward, etc.

Onward, Zouaves—when the struggle is ended,
Homeward we'll carry the flag we've defended;
Home, where our dear ones will greet with caressings;
Home where our country will greet us with blessings.
Onward, etc.

Onward, Zouaves, till the traitors are punished;
Onward, Zouaves, till the treason hath vanished;
Onward, Zouaves, till once more in communion,
O'er the North and the South floats the flag of our Union.
Onward, etc.

SKEDADDLE.

BY T. B. ALDRICH.

THE shades of night were falling fast,
As through a Southern village passed,
A chap who bore, not over-nice,
A banner with the odd device,
Skedaddle!

His hair was red; his toes beneath
Peeped, like an acorn from its sheath,
While with a frightened voice he sung
A burden strange to Yankee tongue
Skedaddle!

He saw no household fire, where he
Might warm his tod or hominy:
Beyond the Cordilleras shone,
And from his lips escaped a groan,
Skedaddle!

"Oh! stay," a cullured pusson said,
"An' on dis bosom res' your hed!"
The Octoroon she winked her eye,
But still he answered, with a sigh,
Skedaddle!

"Beware McClellan, Buell, and Banks,
Beware of Halleck's deadly ranks!"
This was the planter's last good-night;
The chap replied, far out of sight,
Skedaddle!

At break of day, as several boys,
From Maine, New-York, and Illinois,
Were moving southward, in the air
They heard these accents of despair,
Skedaddle!

A chap was found, and at his side
A bottle, showing how he died,
Still grasping in his hand of ice,
That banner with the odd device,
Skedaddle!

There in the twilight, thick and gray,
Considerably played out he lay;
And through the vapor, gray and thick,
A voice fell, like a rocket-stick,
Skedaddle!

UP AND AT THEM.

BY ALFRED B. STREET.

UP and at them
Once again!
Freemen, up! the way is plain,
At the traitors once again!
Let not brief reverses daunt us;
Let no craven fears assail;
Treason's banner now may taunt us
In the fierce but fleeting gale;
But the time again will come,
When again that flag shall cower
And the boasting voice be dumb,
Shouting now its little hour!
Up and at them.
Freemen, then, the way is plain!
At the traitors once again!

Up and at them
Once again!
Madmen! fiercely though ye drain
War's red chalice, it is vain!
Never shall ye rend asunder
Freedom's flag of stripes and stars;
Freedom guards it with her thunder;
Down will smite your thing of bars;
Down your wretched counterfeit;
In her roused and sacred rage,
She will tear and trample it!
Holy is the war ye wage!
Up and at them!
Freemen, then, the way is plain;
At the traitors once again!

Up and at them
Once again!
Though we bleed in every vein,
At the traitors once again!
By the nation's ancient story,
By the deeds of other days,
By our hopes of future glory
By the deep disdain or praise,
That our action now awaits,
As we yield or dare the strife;
Let us, through all adverse fates,
Swear to guard the nation's life!
Up and at them!
Freemen, then, the way is plain;
At the traitors once again!

THE UNION!

A NATIONAL SONG.

BY FRANCIS DE HAES JANVIER.

"LIBERTY and Union, now and for ever, one and inseparable!" WEBSTER.

I.

THE Union! The Union! The hope of the free!
Howsoe'er we may differ, in this we agree:
Our glorious banner no traitor shall mar,
By effacing a stripe, or destroying a star!
Division! No, never! The Union forever!
And cursed be the hand that our country would sever!

II.

The Union! The Union! 'Twas purchased with blood!
Side by side, to secure it, our forefathers stood:
From the North to the South, through the length of the land,
Ran the war-cry which summoned that patriot band!

Division! No, never! The Union for ever!
And cursed be the hand that our country would sever!

III.

The Union! The Union! At Lexington first,
Through the clouds of oppression, its radiance burst:
But at Yorktown rolled back the last vapory crest,
And, a bright constellation, it blazed in the West!
Division! No, never! The Union for ever!
And cursed be the hand that our country would sever!

IV.

The Union! The Union! Its heavenly light
Cheers the hearts of the nations who grope in the night —
And, athwart the wide ocean, falls, gilding the tides,
A path to the country where Freedom abides!
Division! No, never! The Union for ever!
And cursed be the hand that our country would sever!

V.

The Union! The Union! In God we repose!
We confide in the power that vanquished our foes!
The God of our fathers—oh! still may He be
The strength of the Union, the hope of the free!
Division! No, never! The Union for ever!
And cursed be the hand that our country would sever!

BATTLE-SONG OF THE FIFTY-FIRST.

The following is the Battle-Song of the Fifty-first Regiment of New-York, sung by them as they approached the coast of North-Carolina.

Say, Rebels, will you meet us,
Say, Rebels, will you greet us,
Say, Rebels, will you beat us,
On North-Carolina shore?
In the name of God we'll meet you,
With the sword of God we'll greet you,
By the grace of God we'll beat you,
And treason punish ever,
On North-Carolina shore;
Singing glory, hallelujah,
Singing glory, hallelujah,
Singing glory, hallelujah,
To God for evermore!

With the sword of "Jeff" you meet us,
In the name of "Jeff" you greet us,
In Treason's cause to beat us,
On North-Carolina shore:
But our flag shall float for ever,
And our Union none shall sever,
And treason punish ever,
On North-Carolina shore.
Oh! then, glory, hallelujah,
Oh! then, glory, hallelujah,
Oh! then, glory, hallelujah,
To God for evermore!

THE STARS AND STRIPES.

BY JAMES T. FIELDS.

Rally round the flag, boys—
Give it to the breeze!
That's the banner we love
On the land and seas.

Brave hearts are under it;
Let the *traitors* brag;
Gallant lads, fire away!
And fight for the flag.

Their flag is but a rag—
Ours is the *true* one;
Up with the Stars and Stripes—
Down with the new one!

Let our colors fly, boys—
Guard them day and night;
For victory is liberty,
And God will bless the right.

ON! BROTHERS, ON!

BY SARAH WARNER BROOKS.

Air—*Hail to the Chief.*

On! brothers, on! for the flag that is peerless!
Striped from the rainbow, and starred from the sky.
On, with a sturdy step! dauntless and fearless!
On, to unfurl it in triumph, or die!
Honored in all the lands,
Now shall unholy hands
Trail it, defiled and despised, in the dust?
Down with the "traitor's rag!"
Up with the starry flag!
Death for our banner! and God for the just!

Fiercely at Sumter have thundered their cannon!
Bravely the guns of our hero replied!—
On! for the ashes that slumber at Vernon!
On! for the city whose name is our pride!
Now let our country's guns
Sweep down the bastard sons!
Woe for her chivalry's flower in the dust!
Down with the "traitor's rag!"
Up with the starry flag!
Death for our banner! and God for the just!

On, with a prayer! there is peril before us!
On, in the face of death, fearless and proud!
Life! with the flag that our fathers waved over us!
Death! with its crimson-stained folds for a shroud!
Now for our "fatherland,"
Strike with true heart and hand!
Loyal our venture—and heavenward our trust!
Down with the "traitor's rag!"
Up with the starry flag!
Death for our banner! and God for the just

"I FIGHTS MIT SIGEL!"

BY GRANT P. ROBINSON.

I met him again, he was trudging along,
His knapsack with chickens was swelling;

He'd "Blenkered" these dainties, and thought it no wrong,
From some secessionist's dwelling.
"What regiment's yours? and under whose flag
Do you fight?" said I, touching his shoulder;
Turning slowly around, he smilingly said,
For the thought made him stronger and bolder,
"*I fights mit Sigel!*"

The next time I saw him his knapsack was gone,
His cap and canteen were missing,
Shell, shrapnel, and grape, and the swift rifle-ball
Around him, and o'er him, were hissing.
"How are you, my friend, and where have you been,
And for what, and for whom are you fighting?"
He said, as a shell from the enemy's gun
Sent his arm and his musket a "kiting:"
"*I fights mit Sigel!*"

And once more I saw him and knelt by his side;
His life-blood was rapidly flowing;
I whispered of home, wife, children, and friends,
The bright land to which he was going;
"And have you no word for the dear ones at home,
The 'wee one,' the father or mother?"
"Yaw! yaw!" said he, "tell them! oh, tell them I fights!"—
Poor fellow! he thought of no other—
"*I fights mit Sigel!*"

We scraped out a grave, and he dreamlessly sleeps
On the banks of the Shenandoah River;
His home or his kindred alike are unknown,
His reward in the hands of the Giver.
We placed a rough board at the head of his grave,
"And we left him alone in his glory."
But on it we marked, ere we turned from the spot,
The little we knew of his story:
"*I fights mit Sigel!*"

ON GUARD.

BY JOHN G. NICOLAY.

In the black terror-night,
On yon mist-shrouded hill,
Slowly, with footsteps light,
Stealthy and grim and still,
Like ghost in winding sheet
Risen at midnight bell,
Over his lonely beat
Marches the sentinel!

In storm-defying cloak—
Hand on his trusty gun—
Heart, like a heart of oak—
Eye, never-setting sun;
Speaks but the challenge-shout,
All foes without the line,
Heeds but to solve the doubt,
Watchword and countersign.

Campward the watchfires gleam
Beacon-like in the gloom;
Round them his comrades dream
Pictures of youth and home.
While in his heart the bright
Hope-fires shine everywhere,
In love's enchanting light
Memory lies dreaming there.

Faint, through the silence come
From the foe's grim array,
Growl of impatient drum
Eager for morrow's fray·
Echo of song and shout,
Curse and carousal glee,
As in a fiendish rout
Demons at revelry.

Close, in the gloomy shade
Danger lurks ever nigh—
Grasping his dagger-blade
Crouches the assassin spy,
Shrinks at the guardsman's tread,
Quails 'fore his gleaming eyes,
Creeps back with baffled hate,
Cursing his cowardice.

Naught can beguile his bold,
Unsleeping vigilance;
E'en in the fire-flame, old
Visions unheeded dance.
Fearless of lurking spy,
Scornful of wassail-swell,
With an undaunted eye
Marches the sentinel.

Low, to his trusty gun
Eagerly whispers he,
"Wait, with the morning sun
March we to victory.
Fools, into Satan's clutch
Leaping ere dawn of day:
He who would fight must watch,
He who would win must pray."

Pray! for the night hath wings
Watch! for the foe is near;
March! till the morning brings
Fame-wreath or soldier's bier.
So shall the poet write,
When all hath ended well,
"Thus through the nation's night
Marched Freedom's sentinel."

OUR COUNTRY AND HER FLAG.

BY FRANCIS LIEBER.

TUNE—*Gaudeamus igitur;* or, *Ein freies Leben führen wir.*

I.

We do not hate our enemy—
May God deal gently with us all;
We love our land, we fight her foe,
We hate his cause, and that must fall.

II.

Our country is a goodly land,
We'll keep her alway whole and hale;

We'll love her, live for her, or die;
To fall for her is not to fail.

III.

Our Flag! The Red shall mean the blood
We gladly pledge; and let the White
Mean purity and solemn truth,
Unsullied justice, sacred right.

IV.

Its Blue, the sea we love to plough,
That laves the heaven-united land
Between the Old and Older World,
From strand, o'er mount and stream, to strand.

V.

The Blue reflects the crowding stars,
Bright union-emblem of the free;
Come, all of ye, and let it wave—
That floating piece of poetry.

VI.

Our fathers came and planted fields,
And manly law, and schools and truth;
They planted self-rule, which we'll guard
By word and sword, in age, in youth.

VII.

Broad freedom came along with them
On history's ever-widening wings;
Our blessing this, our task and toil;
For "arduous are all noble things."

VIII.

Let Emp'ror never rule this land,
Nor fitful crowd, nor senseless pride;
Our master is our self-made law,
To *him* we bow, and none beside

IX.

Then sing and shout for our free land,
For glorious Freeland's victory;
Pray that in turmoil and in peace
Freeland our land may ever be.

X.

That faithful we be found and strong
When History builds as corals build;
Or when she rears her granite walls—
Her moles with crimson mortar filled

THE MASSACHUSETTS LINE.

BY ROBERT LOWELL.

AIR—*Yankee Doodle.*

I.

STILL first, as long and long ago,
Let Massachusetts muster;
Give her the post right next the foe,
Be sure that you may trust her.
She was the first to give her blood
For Freedom and for Honor;
She trod her soil to crimson mud,
God's blessing be upon her!

II.

She never faltered for the Right,
Nor ever will hereafter;
Fling up her name with all your might,
Shake roof-tree and shake rafter.
But of old deeds she need not brag,
How she broke sword and fetter;
Fling out again the old striped flag,
She'll do yet more and better.

III.

In peace her sails fleck all the seas,
Her mills shake every river;
And where are scenes so fair as these,
God and her true hands give her?
Her claim in war who seek to rob?
All others come in later—
Hers first it is to front the mob,
The tyrant and the traitor.

IV.

God bless, God bless the glorious State,
Let her have way to battle!
She'll go where batteries crash with fate,
Or where thick rifles rattle.
Give her the right, and let her try,
And then, who can, may press her;
She'll go straight on, or she will die,
God bless her! and God bless her!

DUANESBURGH, May 7, 1861.

THE SWORD, FLAG, AND PLOUGH.

AIR—*Red, White, and Blue.*

I.

UNSHEATHED is the sword of the nation!
Baptized in the blood of the brave,
The blade shall be Freedom's salvation
To break the last bond of the slave.
From river and mountain and valley,
Goes upward the patriot's vow,
And the legions of Liberty rally,
To follow the Sword, Flag, and Plough.
Cho.—To follow the Sword, Flag, and Plough,
To follow the Sword, Flag, and Plough;
And the legions of Liberty rally
To follow the Sword, Flag, and Plough!

II.

Unfurl the Free Banner wherever
The dawnings of victory gleam,
And perish the traitor's endeavor
To darken fair Liberty's dream!
The echoes of triumph are ringing
Where heroes are conquering now,
And the valor of Freedmen is bringing
Success to the Sword, Flag, and Plough!
Success to the Sword, Flag, and Plough,
Success to the Sword, Flag, and Plough;
And the valor of Freedmen is bringing
Success to the Sword, Flag, and Plough!

III.

The Sword is the last liberator
The Angel of Justice has sent,
And freemen were false to their nature
To rivet a chain that is rent!

The heart of a people rejoices,
The symbol of treason must bow,
And a chorus of jubilant voices
Hurrah for the Sword, Flag, and Plough!
Hurrah for the Sword, Flag, and Plough!
Hurrah for the Sword, Flag, and Plough!
And a chorus of jubilant voices
Hurrah for the Sword, Flag, and Plough!

A. M. I.

BANNER-SONG OF THE INDIANA ELEVENTH.

BY MRS. S. E. WALLACE.

AIR—*Flag of Our Union.*

A SONG for our flag,
A song for our band,
A song for the brave and the free!
The motto we wear,
United we stand,
Tried and true comrades are we.
United in heart,
United in hand,
A Union that time cannot sever.

Chorus—A shout for our flag,
A shout for our band,
Honor and Freedom for ever.

Unfurl the old flag,
Let it float far on high;
The chorus exulting ascend;
While one star remains
We conquer or die,
By the banner we dare to defend.
No cowardly heart,
No traitorous hand,
Mars the Union that Time cannot sever.
A shout for our flag, etc.

Where'er it may wave,
Our own standard-sheet,
By mountain, or river, or sea,
We press on the march
With unwearied feet,
While the gleam of its starlight we see.
Here's to our friends,
A health and a hand,
Remembrance that time cannot sever.
A shout for our flag, etc.

We're all for the North,
For the South, too, we are,
United, unchanged, evermore;
No Palmetto flag
For us—no lone star,
But the Stripes and the old thirty-four.
Keep step to the song,
Be it right, be it wrong,
No State can the Union dissever;
Hurrah for the Stripes!
Hurrah for the Stars!
The Union, the Union for ever!

HARVARD STUDENT'S SONG.

BY JULIA WARD HOWE.

(*Denkst du daran.*)

REMEMBER ye the fateful gun that sounded
To Sumter's walls from Charleston's treacherous shore?
Remember ye how hearts indignant bounded
When our first dead came back from Baltimore?
The banner fell that every breeze had flattered,
The hum of thrift was hushed with sudden woe;
We raised anew the emblems shamed and shattered,
And turned a front resolved to meet the foe.

Remember ye, how forth to battle faring,
Our valiant ranks the fierce attack withstood,
In all the terrors of the tumult bearing
The people's heart of dauntless lionhood?
How many a hand forsook its wonted labor,
Forsook its gains, as prizes fallen in worth,
To wield with pain the warlike lance and sabre,
To conquer Peace with God, for all on earth?

Remember ye, how, out of boyhood leaping,
Our gallant mates stood ready for the fray;
As new-fledged eaglets rise, with sudden sweeping,
And meet unscared the dazzling front of day?
Our classic toil became inglorious leisure,
We praised the calm Horatian ode no more
But answered back with song the martial measure
That held its throb above the cannon's roar.

Remember ye the pageants dim and solemn,
Where Love and Grief have borne the funeral pall?
The joyless marching of the mustered column,
With arms reversed to Him who conquers all?
Oh! give them back, thou bloody breast of Treason,
They were our own, the darlings of ou hearts,
They come benumbed and frosted out of season,
With whom the summer of our youth departs.

Look back no more! our time has come, my brothers!
In Fate's high roll our names are written too;
We fill the mournful gaps left bare by others,
The ranks where Fear has never broken through.
Look, ancient walls, upon our stern election!
Keep, echoes dear, remembrance of our breath,
And gentle eyes and hearts of pure affection,
Light us, resolved to Victory or Death!

TRUMPET SONG.

BY OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES.

THE battle-drum's loud rattle is rending the air,
The troopers all are mounted, their sabres are bare;
The guns are unlimbered, the bayonets shine,
Hark! hark! 'tis the trumpet-call! wheel into line!
Ta ra! ta ta ta!
Trum trum, tra ra ra ra!
Beat drums and blow trumpets!
Hurrah, boys, hurrah!

March onward, soldiers, onward, the strife is begun,
Loud bellowing rolls the boom of the black-throated gun;
The rifles are cracking, the torn banners toss,
The sabres are clashing, the bayonets cross.
Ta ra, etc.

Down with the leaguing liars, the traitors to their trust,
Who trampled the fair charter of Freedom in dust!
They falter — they waver — they scatter — they run—
The field is our own, and the battle is won!
Ta ra, etc.

God save our mighty people and prosper our cause!
We're fighting for our nation, our land, and our laws!
Though tyrants may hate us, their threats we defy,
And drum-beat and trumpet shall peal our reply!
Ta ra! ta ta ta!
Beat drums and blow trumpets!
Trum trum, tra ra ra ra!
Hurrah, boys, hurrah!

PUT IT THROUGH.

COME Freemen of the land,
Come meet the last demand!
Here's a piece of work in hand;
Put it through.

Here's a log across the way,
We have stumbled on all day,
Here's a ploughshare in the clay:
Put it through!

Here's a country that's half free,
And it waits for you and me,
To say what its fate shall be:
Put it through!

While one traitor thought remains,
While one spot its banner stains,
One link of all its chains:
Put it through!

Hear our brothers in the field,
Steel your swords as theirs are steeled,
Learn to wield the arms they wield:
Put it through!

Lock the shop and lock the store,
Chalk this upon the door,
"We've enlisted for the War!"
Put it through!

For the birthrights yet unsold,
For the history yet untold,
For the future yet unrolled,
Put it through!

Lest our children point with shame,
On the father's dastard fame,
Who gave up a nation's name,
Put it through!

Father Abraham, hear us cry,
"We can follow, we can die."
Lead your children then, and try.
Put it through!

Here's a work of God half done,
Here's the kingdom of his Son,
With its triumphs just begun:
Put it through!

Father Abraham, that man thrives
Who with every weapon strives;
Use our twenty million lives!
Put it through!

'Tis to you the trust is given!
'Tis by you the bolt is driven!
By the very God of Heaven,
Drive it through!

SOUTH-CAROLINA GENTLEMAN.

AIR—*The Fine Old English Gentleman.*

DOWN in a small Palmetto State the curious ones may find,
A ripping, tearing gentleman, of an uncommon kind,
A staggering, swaggering sort of chap, who takes his whiskey straight,
And frequently condemns his eyes to that ultimate vengeance which a clergyman of high standing has assured must be a sinner's fate.
This South-Carolina gentleman, one of the present time.

You trace his genealogy, and not far back you'll see,
A most undoubted octoroon, or mayhap a mustee,
And if you note the shaggy locks that cluster on his brow,
You'll find that every other hair is varied with a kink that seldom denotes pure Caucasian blood, but on the contrary, betrays an admixture with a race not particularly popular now.
This South-Carolina Gentleman, one of the present time.

He always wears a full-dress coat, pre-Adamite in cut,
With waistcoat of the loudest style, through which his ruffles jut.
Six breastpins deck his horrid front, and on his fingers shine
Whole invoices of diamond rings which would hardly pass muster with the Original Jacobs in Chatham street for jewels gen-u-ine.
This South-Carolina gentleman, one of the present time.

He chews tobacco by the pound, and spits upon the floor,
If there is not a box of sand behind the nearest door,
And when he takes his weekly spree he clears a mighty track,
Of every thing that bears the shape of whiskey-skin, gin and sugar, brandy sour, peach and honey, irrepressible cock-tail rum, and gum, and luscious apple-jack.
This South-Carolina gentleman, one of the present time.

He takes to euchre kindly, too, and plays an awful hand,
Especially when those he tricks his style don't understand,
And if he wins, why then he stoops to pocket all the stakes,
But if he loses, then he says to the unfortunate stranger who had chanced to win: "It's my opinion you are a cursed Abolitionist, and if you don't leave South-Carolina in one hour you will be hung like a dog." But no offer to pay his loss he makes.
This South-Carolina gentleman, one of the present time

Of course he's all the time in debt to those who credit give,
Yet manages upon the best the market yields to live,
But if a Northern creditor asks him his bill to heed,
This honorable gentleman instantly draws two bowie-knives and a pistol, dons a blue cockade, and declares that in consequence of the repeated aggressions of the North, and its gross violations of the Constitution, he feels that it would utterly degrade him to pay any debt whatever, and that in fact he has at last determined to SECEDE.
This South-Carolina gentleman, one of the present time.

THE SOLDIER'S DREAM OF HOME.

BY CAROLINE A. MASON.

You have put the children to bed, Alice—
Maud and Willie and Rose;
They have lisped their sweet "Our Father,"
And sunk to their night's repose.

Did they think of me, dear Alice?
Did they think of me, and say:
"God bless him, and God bless him!
Dear father, far away?"

Oh! my very heart grows sick, Alice,
I long so to behold
Rose, with her pure, white forehead,
And Maud, with her curls of gold;
And Willie, so gay and sprightly,
So merry and full of glee;
Oh, my heart *yearns* to enfold ye,
My "smiling group of three!"

I can bear the noisy day, Alice;
The camp life, gay and wild,
Shuts from my yearning bosom
The thoughts of wife and child;
But when the night is round me,
And under its strong beams
I gather my cloak about me,
I dream such long, sad dreams!

I think of the pale young wife, Alice,
Who looked up in my face
When the drum beat at evening,
And called me to my place.
I think of the three sweet birdlings
Left in the dear home-nest,
And my soul is sick with longings
That will not be at rest.

Oh! when will the war be over, Alice!
Oh! when shall I behold
Rose, with her pure, white forehead,
And Maud, with her curls of gold;
And Will, so gay and sprightly,
So merry and full of glee,
And, more than all, the dear wife
Who bore my babes to me?

God guard and keep you all, Alice;
God guard and keep me, too;
For if only one were missing,
What would the other do?
Oh! when will the war be over,
And when shall I behold
Those whom I love so dearly,
Safe in the dear home-fold?

THE RESPONSE.

I HAVE put the children to bed, Harry—
Rose and Willie and Maud;
They have sung their hymns together,
And whispered their prayer to God.
Then Rose said, gently smiling,
"Come, Willie and Maud, now say,
God bless the dear, sweet father—
Father so far away!"

And such a glad trust arose, Harry
In this sad heart of mine;
For I felt that God would keep you
Safe in his hand divine.
And I kissed their pure, young foreheads,
And said: "He is over all!

He counteth the hair of your heads, darling,
And noteth the sparrow's fall."

Then I sung them to their sleep, Harry,
With hymns all trust and love,
And I knew that God was listening
From his gracious throne above.
And since that calm, sweet evening,
I have felt so happy, dear!
And so have the children, Harry;
They seem to know no fear.

They talk of your coming home, Harry,
As something sure to be;
I list to their childish pratings,
Nor care to check their glee.
For oh! 'tis a cause so noble,
And you so brave and true;
And God protects his own, Harry,
And surely will watch o'er you.

So keep up a brave good heart, Harry!
God willing—and he knows best—
We'll welcome you, safe and happy,
Back to the dear home-nest.
And Maud and Rose and Willie
Shall yet, with a moistened eye,
Give thanks to the dear, good Father,
While you stand tearful by.

THE LITTLE DRUMMER.

A SOLDIER'S STORY.

BY R. H. STODDARD.

I.

'Tis of a little drummer
The story I shall tell;
Of how he marched to battle,
And all that there befell.
Out in the West with Lyon,
(For once the name was true,)
For whom the little drummer beat
His *rat-tat-too.*

II.

Our army rose at midnight,
Ten thousand men as one,
Each slinging on his knapsack,
And snatching up his gun:
"*Forward!*" and off they started,
As all good soldiers do,
When the little drummer beats for them
His *rat-tat-too.*

III.

Across a rolling country,
Where the mist began to rise;
Past many a blackened farm-house,
Till the sun was in the skies:
Then we met the rebel pickets,
Who skirmished and withdrew,
While the little drummer beat and beat
The *rat-tat-too.*

IV.

Along the wooded hollows
The line of battle ran,
Our centre poured a volley,
And the fight at once began;
For the rebels answered shouting,
And a shower of bullets flew;
But still the little drummer beat
His *rat-tat-too.*

V.

He stood among his comrades,
As they quickly formed the line,
And when they raised their muskets
He watched the barrels shine!
When the volley rang, he started!
For war to him was new;
But still the little drummer beat
His *rat-tat-too.*

VI.

It was a sight to see them
That early autumn day,
Our soldiers in their blue coats,
And the rebel ranks in gray:
The smoke that rolled between them,
The balls that whistled through,
And the little drummer as he beat
His *rat-tat-too!*

VII.

His comrades dropped around him—
By fives and tens they fell,
Some pierced by Minie bullets,
Some torn by shot and shell;
They played against our cannon,
And a caisson's splinters flew;
But still the little drummer beat
His *rat-tat-too!*

VIII.

The right, the left, the centre—
The fight was everywhere;
They pushed us here—we wavered—
We drove and broke them there.
The gray-backs fixed their bayonets,
And charged the coats of blue;
But still the little drummer beat
His *rat-tat-too!*

IX.

"Where is our little drummer?"
His nearest comrades say,
When the dreadful fight is over,
And the smoke has cleared away.
As the rebel corps was scattering
He urged them to pursue,
So furiously he beat and beat
The *rat-tat-too!*

X.

He stood no more among them,
For a bullet as it sped,
Had glanced and struck his ankle,
And stretched him with the dead!
He crawled behind a cannon,
And pale and paler grew:
But still the little drummer beat
His *rat-tat-too!*

XI.

They bore him to the surgeon,
A busy man was he;
"A drummer-boy—what ails him?"
His comrades answered, "See!"
As they took him from the stretcher,
A heavy breath he drew,
And his little fingers strove to beat
The *rat-tat-too!*

XII.

The ball had spent its fury:
"A scratch," the surgeon said,
As he wound the snowy bandage
Which the lint was staining red!
"I must leave you now, old fellow."
"Oh! take me back with you,
For I know the men are missing me,
And the *rat-tat-too!*"

XIII.

Upon his comrade's shoulder
They lifted him so grand,
With his dusty drum before him,
And his drum-sticks in his hand!
To the fiery front of battle,
That nearer, nearer drew—
And evermore he beat, and beat,
His *rat-tat-too!*

XIV.

The wounded, as he passed them,
Looked up and gave a cheer;
And one in dying blessed him,
Between a smile and tear!
And the gray-backs—they are flying
Before the coats of blue,
For whom the little drummer beats
His *rat-tat-too.*

XV.

When the west was red with sunset,
The last pursuit was o'er;
Brave Lyon rode the foremost,
And looked the name he bore!
And before him on his saddle,
As a weary child would do,
Sat the little drummer fast asleep,
With his *rat-tat-too.*

FLAG-SONG OF THE MICHIGAN VOLUNTEERS.

BY D. BETHUNE DUFFIELD.

Adapted to the Anvil Chorus from Trovatore.

I.

TRUMPET, and ensign, and drum-beat are calling,
From hill-side and valley, from mountain and river,
"Forward the flag!" e'en though heroes are falling,
Our God will his own chosen standard deliver.

Chorus.

Star-Spangled Banner! our hopes to thee are clinging,
Lead us to victory, or wrap us in death—
To thee stanch are we, while yet a breath
Remains to sing thee:
Or arm to fling thee,
O'er this fair land, wide and free.

II.

"Union and Freedom!" our war-cry is rolling,
Now over the prairie, now wide o'er the billow,
Hark, 'tis the battle, and soon will be tolling
The knell of the soldier, who rests 'neath the willow.
Star-Spangled Banner, etc.

III.

Banner triumphant! though grand is thy story,
We'll stamp on thy folds, in this struggle to-day,
Deeds of our armies, transcending in glory
The bravest yet chanted in Poesy's lay.
Star-Spangled Banner, etc.

IV.

Wise were our fathers, and brave in the battle,
But treason uprises their Union to sever,
Rouse for the fight! shout aloud 'mid War's rattle,
The Union must triumph, must triumph for ever!
Star-Spangled Banner, etc.

V.

Trumpet, and ensign, and drum-beat are calling,
From hill-side and valley, from mountain and river,
"Forward the flag!" e'en though heroes are falling,
Our God will his own chosen standard deliver.

Chorus.

Star-Spangled Banner! our hopes to thee are clinging,
Lead us to victory, or wrap us in death.

DETROIT, April 29, 1861.

Loyal Publication Society.—No. 863 Broadway.

No. 49.—PART 2nd.

SOLDIERS' AND SAILORS'

PATRIOTIC SONGS.

THE VARUNA.

SUNK APRIL TWENTY-FIFTH, 1862.

BY GEORGE H. BOKER.

WHO has not heard of the dauntless Varuna?
Who has not heard of the deeds she has done?
Who shall not hear, while the brown Mississippi
Rushes along from the snow to the sun?

Crippled and leaking she entered the battle,
Sinking and burning she fought through the fray,
Crushed were her sides and the waves ran across her,
Ere, like a death-wounded lion at bay,
Sternly she closed in the last fatal grapple,
Then in her triumph moved grandly away.

Five of the rebels, like satellites, round her,
Burned in her orbit of splendor and fear;
One, like the pleiad of mystical story,
Shot, terror stricken, beyond her dread sphere.

We who are waiting with crowns for the victors,
Though we should offer the wealth of our store,
Load the Varuna from deck down to kelson,
Still would be niggard, such tribute to pour
On courage so boundless. It beggars possession,
It knocks for just payment at heaven's bright door!

Cherish the heroes who fought the Varuna;
Treat them as kings if they honor your way;
Succor and comfort the sick and the wounded;
Oh! for the dead, let us all kneel to pray.

THE STARS AND STRIPES.

BY THOMAS WILLIAMS, OF ALLEGHANY, PENN.

AIR—*Irish Jaunting Car.*

BROTHERS of free descent were we, and native to the soil,
Knit soul to soul, in one great whole, fruit of our fathers' toil:
But when that bond of love was rent, the cry rose near and far,
To arms! to arms! long live the stripes! we know no "single star."
Chorus—Hurrah! Hurrah! for the Union Flag, hurrah!
Hurrah for the Union Flag, that knows no "single star."

So long as Southern arrogance forbore to touch that flag,
Full many a taunt we meekly bore, and many an idle brag:
But when on Sumter's battlements, the traitors did it mar,
We flung abroad that Union Flag, that ne'er shall lose a star.
Hurrah! hurrah! for the Union flag, hurrah!
Hurrah for the Union flag, that ne'er shall lose a star.

And first the gallant Keystone State, from every mountain-glen,
From hill and valley, lake and town, sent down her stalwart men;
And all New-England rose amain, as blew the trump of war,
And raised on high their fathers' flag that knows no single star.
Hurrah! etc.

From Saratoga's tree-crowned heights, from Monmouth's bloody plain,
The men of York and Jersey, too, both swelled the mustering train,
As onward — onward — fierce it rushed o'er all opposing bars,
To punish those who dared insult our glorious Stripes and Stars.
Hurrah! hurrah! for the Union flag, hurrah!
Hurrah for the Union flag, with all its Stripes and Stars!

And next the hardy pioneers, the dauntless and the brave,
From those domains by Freedom won, that never knew a slave,
Their trusty rifles all in hand, with eye and port like Mars,
Grasped once again with iron hand, the staff that bears our stars!
Hurrah! hurrah! for the Union flag, hurrah!
Hurrah for the Union flag, that bears our Stripes and Stars!

And from the bison's prairie-haunts, o'er Mississippi's flood,
From Minnehaha's sparkling falls, from Kansas' land of blood,

New-England's youngest scions there have heard the din of wars,
And grasped their fathers' ancient brand, and reared their stripes and stars,
And belted on their fathers' brand and reared their fathers' stars.
Hurrah! etc.

And farther still, where sunset-seas bathe California's shore,
And grim Sierras darkly frown its golden treasures o'er,
Our Western Twins have heard the call, and answered from afar,
We come! we come! Rear high the flag, that knows no single star.
Hurrah! etc.

Missouri, too, her garments red, and little Delaware,
With heart as big as when of old she bore a lion's share,
Have burst the chain which cramps the soul, and all that's noble mars,
And wheeled in line, come weal or woe, beneath the Stripes and Stars.
Hurrah! etc.

And "Maryland, *our* Maryland," though called with "fife and drum,"
And "old-line bugle," too, to fight against the "Northern scum,"
Has thought of Camden's bloody field and Eutaw's iron scars,
And lo! she stands, where erst she stood, beneath the Stripes and Stars.
Hurrah! etc.

Would we could say the same of thee, thou dark and bloody ground!
Whose sexless sages, false of heart, a way of *peace* have found!
Shame on you! No half faith would we! Up, gird ye for the wars,
And take your place as *men* once more, beneath the Stripes and Stars.
Hurrah! etc.

From thy Medusa glance we turn, with hearts of cheer and pride,
To West-Virginia, virgin rib, torn from false mother's side.
Daughter of strife! Fair Freedom's child! Thy mountains ring afar,
With echoing shouts for that best flag that counts another star.
Hurrah! etc.

And more 'twill count, no Pleiad lost, of all that shining host,
Though dim eclipse have veiled their fires, and traitors loudly boast;
But one by one those wand'ring lights shall gem our heavens, like Mars,
And all the nations bless our stripes and coronet of stars!!
Hurrah! etc.

No other flag shall ever float above our homes or graves,
Save yonder blazing *oriflamme*, that flutters o'er our braves;
Its rainbow-stripes, our Northern lights—with no sinister bars;
Our ancient flag! our fathers' flag; our glori ous Stripes and Stars!
Hurrah! etc.

Then bear that banner proudly up, young warriors of our land,
With hearts of love, and arms of faith, and more than iron hand!
Down with the Northern renegade! and join our gallant tars,
In rearing high, in victory, our deathless Stripes and Stars!
Hurrah! etc.

A NATIONAL HYMN.

BY PARK BENJAMIN.

GREAT God! to whom our nation's woes,
Our dire distress, our angry foes,
In all their awful gloom are known,
We bow to thee and thee alone.

We pray thee mitigate the strife,
Attended by such waste of life,
Such wounds and anguish, groans and tears,
That fill our inmost hearts with fears.

Oh! darkly now the tempest rolls,
Wide o'er our desolated souls;
Yet, beaten downward to the dust,
In thy forgiveness still we trust.

We trust to thy protecting power
In this, our country's saddest hour,
And pray that thou wilt spread thy shield
Above us in the camp and field.

O God of battles! let thy might
Protect our armies in the fight—
Till they shall win the victory,
And set the hapless bondmen free.

Till, guided by thy glorious hand,
Those armies reünite the land,
And North and South alike shall raise
To God their peaceful hymns of praise.

A BATTLE HYMN.

BY GEORGE H. BOKER.

GOD, to thee we humbly bow,
With hand unarmed and naked brow;
Musket, lance, and sheathéd sword
At thy feet we lay, O Lord!
Gone is all the soldier's boast
In the valor of the host:
Kneeling here, we do our most.

Of ourselves we nothing know:
Thou, and thou alone canst show,
By the favor of thy hand,
Who has drawn the guilty brand.
If our foemen have the right,
Show thy judgment in our sight
Through the fortunes of the fight!

If our cause be pure and just,
Nerve our courage with thy trust:
Scatter, in thy bitter wrath,
All who cross the nation's path:
May the baffled traitors fly,
As the vapors from the sky
When thy raging winds are high!

God of mercy, some must fall
In thy holy cause. Not all
Hope to sing the victor's lay
When the sword is laid away.
Brief will be the prayers then said;
Falling at thy altar dead,
Take the sacrifice, instead.

Now, O God! once more we rise,
Marching on beneath thy eyes;
And we draw the sacred sword
In thy name and at thy word.
May our spirits clearly see
Thee, through all that is to be,
In defeat or victory.

PARTING HYMN.

BY OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES.

AM—*Dundee.*

FATHER of Mercies, Heavenly Friend,
We seek thy gracious throne;
To thee our faltering prayers ascend,
Our fainting hearts are known!

From blasts that chill, from suns that smite,
From every plague that harms;
In camp and march, in siege and fight,
Protect our men-at-arms!

Though from our darkened lives they take
What makes our life most dear,
We yield them for their country's sake
With no relenting tear.

Our blood their flowing veins will shed,
Their wounds our breast will share;
Oh! save us from the woes we dread,
Or grant us strength to bear!

Let each unhallowed cause, that brings
The stern destroyer, cease,
Thy flaming angel fold his wings,
And seraphs whisper Peace!

Thine are the sceptre and the sword,
Stretch forth thy mighty hand—
Reign thou our kingless nation's Lord,
Rule thou our throneless land!

HYMN OF THE CONNECTICUT TWELFTH.

TUNE—*America.*

BE Thou our country's Chief,
In this our year of grief,
All Father great;
Go forth with awful tread,
Crush Treason's serpent head,
Bring back our sons misled,
And save our State.

Uphold our Stripes and Stars
Through war's destroying jars
With thy right hand;
O God of battles! lead
Where our swift squadrons speed;
Where our brave brothers bleed
For Fatherland.

Break every yoke and chain,
Let truth and justice reign
From deep to deep;
Make all our statues right
In thy most holy sight;
Light us, O Lord of Light,
Thy ways to keep.

God bless our Fatherland,
God make it strong and grand
On sea and shore;
Ages its glory swell,
Peace in its borders dwell,
God stand its sentinel
For evermore.

BATTLE-HYMN OF THE REPUBLIC.

BY MRS. JULIA WARD HOWE.

MINE eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord;
He is trampling out the vintage where the grapes of wrath are stored;
He hath loosed the fateful lightning of his terrible swift sword:
His truth is marching on.

I have seen him in the watchfires of a hundred circling camps;
They have builded him an altar in the evening dews and damps;
I have read his righteous sentence by the dim and flaring lamps:
His day is marching on.

I have read a fiery gospel writ in burnished rows of steel;
"As ye deal with my contemners, so with you my grace shall deal;
Let the Hero, born of woman, crush the serpent with his heel,
Since God is marching on."

He has sounded forth the trumpet that shall never call retreat;
He is sifting out the hearts of men before his judgment-seat;
Oh! be swift, my soul, to answer him! be jubilant, my feet!
Our God is marching on.

In the beauty of the lilies Christ was borne across the sea,
With a glory in his bosom that transfigures you and me;
As he died to make men holy, let us die to make men free,
While God is marching on.

BATTLE-HYMN OF THE REPUBLIC.

BY MRS. JULIA WARD HOWE.

1. Mine eyes have seen the glo - ry of the com - ing of the Lord: He is tramp-ling out the vin - tage where the grapes of wrath are stored; He hath loosed the fate - ful light-ning of his ter - ri - ble swift sword: His truth is march-ing on.

CHORUS.

Glo - ry, glo - ry, hal - le - lu - jah! Glo - ry, glo - ry, hal - le - lu - jah! Glo - ry, glo - ry, hal - le - lu - jah! His truth is marching on!

I have seen him in the watch-fires of a hundred
circling camps;
They have builded him an altar in the evening
dews and damps;
I have read his righteous sentence by the dim
and flaring lamps:
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In the beauty of the lilies Christ was born
across the sea,
With a glory in his bosom that transfigures you
and me:
As he died to make men holy, let us die to make
men free,
While God is marching on.

THE STAR-SPANGLED BANNER.

1. { O, say, can you see by the dawn's ear - ly light, What so proud-ly we
{ Whose broad stripes and bright stars thro' the peril-ous fight, O'er the ramparts we

Semi-Chorus.

hailed, at the twilight's last gleaming, }
watch'd were so gal - lant - ly streaming? } And the rockets' red glare, the bombs bursting in

Full Chorus.

air, gave proof thro' the night that our flag was still there. O, say, does that star-spangled

ban - ner yet wave, O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave!

On the shore, dimly seen through the mist of the deep,
Where the foe's haughty host in dread silence reposes,
What is that which the breeze o'er the towering steep,
As it fitfully blows, half conceals, half discloses?
Now it catches the gleam of the morning's first beam,
In full glory reflected now shines on the stream—
'Tis the star-spangled banner, oh! long may it wave
O'er the land of the free, and the home of the brave.

And where is that band who so vauntingly swore,
That the havoc of war, and the battle's confusion,
A home and a country should leave us no more?
Their blood has washed out their foul footsteps' pollution.
No refuge could save the hireling and slave
From the terror of flight, or the gloom of the grave.
And the star-spangled banner in triumph doth wave
O'er the land of the free, and the home of the brave.

Oh! thus be it ever, when freemen shall stand
Between their loved homes and the war's desolation!
Blessed with victory and peace, may the heaven-rescued land
Praise the Power that hath made and preserved us a nation.
Then conquer we must, when our cause it is just,
And this be our motto—"*In God is our trust!*"
And the star-spangled banner in triumph shall wave
O'er the land of the free, and the home of the brave.

OUR UNION.

Written for the great Sumter Mass Meeting, at Union Square, April 11th, 1863.

BY ALFRED B. STREET.

AIR—*Red, White and Blue.*

Maestoso.

1. Our U - nion the gift of our fa - thers! In wrath was the tem - pest a - bove; The dark - er and near - er the dan - ger, The warmer and clo - ser our love. Though bleeding, it nev - er shall per - ish; It bows but not sinks to the blast; Fierce foes, eager rush on to rend it, But we will be true to the last.

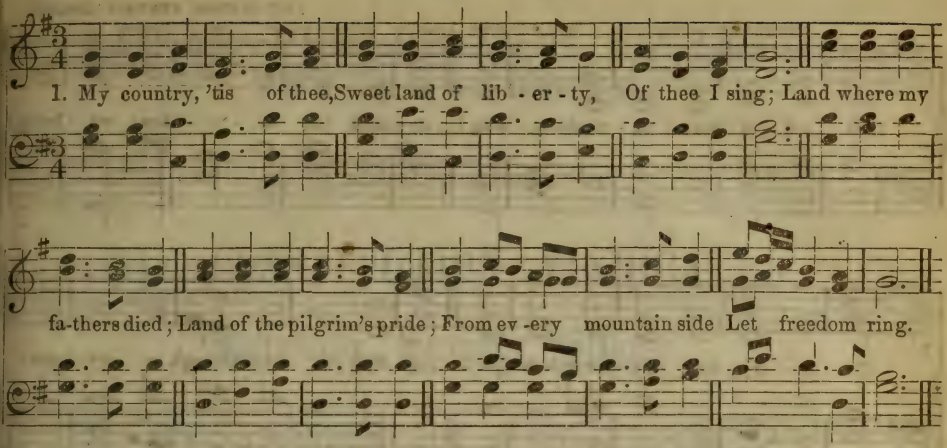
2. Our U - nion, ordained by Je - ho - vah! Man sets not the fi - at a - side; As well cleave a - sun - der the wel - kin, As the one mighty sys - tem di - vide. The grand Mis - si - sip - pi sounds ev - er, From pine down to palm, the de - cree; The spindle, the corn and the cot - ton One pæ - an shout, Union, to thee!

3. Our U - nion! the lightning of bat - tle, First kin - dled the flame of its shrine; The blood and the tears of our peo - ple, Have made it for - ev - er di - vine. In bat - tle we then will sus - tain it, Will strive till the triumph is won; Till the states form the realm of the Union, As the sky forms the realm of the sun.

CHORUS.

Then hail to our U - nion of pride! Stand guard till the tempest is past! We all, in de - fence of the U-nion, Will ral - ly and fight to the last.

AMERICA.



My native country, thee,
Land of the noble free,
Thy name I love;
I love thy rocks and rills,
Thy woods and templed hills,
My heart with rapture thrills,
Like that above.

Let music swell the breeze,
And ring from all the trees
Sweet freedom's song;
Let mortal tongues awake,
Let all that breathe, partake,
Let rocks their silence break,
The sound prolong.

Our fathers' God, to thee,
Author of liberty,
To thee we sing;
Long may our land be bright
With freedom's holy light,
Protect us by thy might,
Great God, our King.

GOD SAVE OUR NATIVE LAND.

BY JAMES WALDEN.

God save our native land
From the invader's hand—
Home of the free!
Though ruthless traitors aim
To crush our nation's fame,
Yet still in Freedom's name,
We cling to thee!

O Lord! we humbly pray,
Far distant be the day
Ere that shall be;
Though lawless bands combine
To shatter Freedom's shrine
With faith and hope divine
We cling to thee!

O Lord! when hand to hand,
Brothers as foes shall stand,
Shield thou the right!
Stay these unhappy wars,
Join us in our great cause,
To guard our nation's laws,
With freemen's might!

Lord! may this strife soon cease;
Grant us a lasting peace—
Parted we fall!
Long may our banner wave
Over the free and brave—
O Lord! our country save—
God save us all!

GOD PROTECT US.

BY GEORGE G. W. MORGAN.

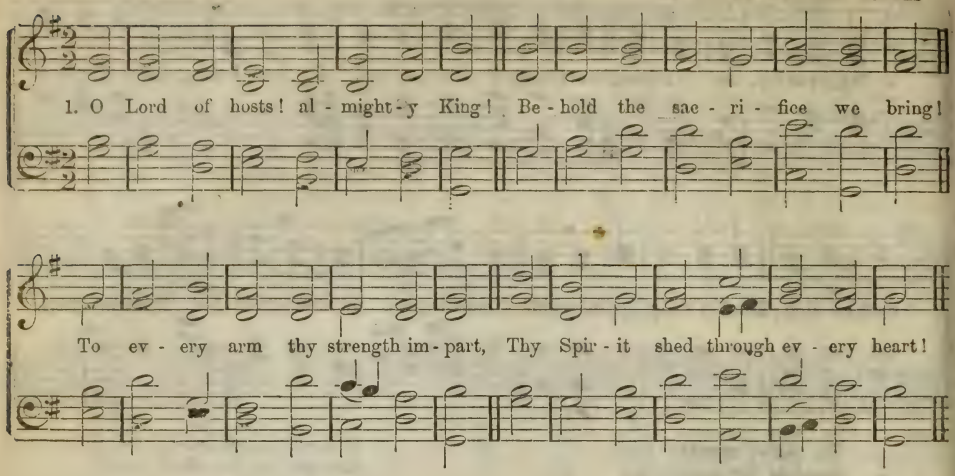
O Lord! we humbly pray,
Thy blessing here to-day
On us may fall;
Grant us our earnest prayer,
Shield those who need our care,
Let them thy blessings share—
God save us all!

O Lord! we'd lead the van,
E'er in behalf of man,
When held in thrall;
Be with us in the fight,
Now in the cause of right;
Cursed be the slaver's might—
God save us all!

O Lord! we fain would pray,
Thy grace for ever may
Direct this war;
And where our flag's unfurled,
Be Freedom's gauntlet hurled,
Bid Justice rule the world
For evermore.

ARMY HYMN.

BY OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES



ARMY HYMN.

O Lord of hosts! Almighty King!
Behold the sacrifice we bring!
To every arm thy strength impart,
Thy Spirit shed through every heart!

Wake in our breasts the living fires,
The holy faith that warmed our sires:
Thy hand hath made our nation free;
To die for her, is serving thee.

Be thou a pillared flame, to show
The midnight snare, the silent foe;
And when the battle thunders loud,
Still guide us in its moving cloud.

God of all nations! Sovereign Lord!
In thy dread name we draw the sword;
We lift the starry flag on high,
That fills with light our stormy sky.

From treason's rent, from murder's stain,
Guard thou its folds till peace shall reign;
Till fort and field, till shore and sea,
Join our loud anthem, PRAISE TO THEE!

THE SOLDIER'S HYMN.

O God of our fathers, on the earth,
Girt for the fight, thy servants stand;
O bless us ere the trumpet sound,
With strength from thy almighty hand.

The cloud of war comes from the South;
The battle-storm bursts o'er our heads;
Our starry flag a rainbow bright,
A glory round our pathway sheds.

Our fathers' spirits watch that flag
They left to us without a stain;
We take their motto in our hearts—
"To die for liberty is gain."

And when victorious we return,
Oh! may those folds be pure and free
As when our father Washington
Gave us our flag and liberty.

Thou God of battles, hear our prayer!
From western plains to eastern coasts,
Strong in thy blessing forth we march—
Our trust is in the Lord of hosts.

LOYAL PUBLICATION SOCIETY,
863 BROADWAY.

No. 50.

THE CONSTITUTION VINDICATED.

Nationality, Secession, Slavery.

BY JAMES A. HAMILTON.

The Government of the United States, the result of the earnest and patriotic labor of the most illustrious body of practical statesmen ever assembled for any political purpose, is perseveringly represented, not only by its enemies now in rebellion, but by leading partisans and influential men in public stations, who sympathize with treason, as a mere compact between sovereign and independent States. They dare to say, "The Government of the United States is the agent through whom the States communicate with foreign nations." Dr. Thomas Cooper, of South Carolina, taught the people of that State, thirty years past, to believe that, "The citizens of the various States owe their obedience to the Government of the United States, because their own State, as part of the Confederation, enjoins it; but allegiance is a term applicable only to that submission which we owe to our own sovereign State." "The Government of the United States was created by the existing separate States." Jeff. Davis said, "*State sovereignty leads legitimately to secession, and thus the right of a State to secede from the Union is an essential attribute of State sovereignty.*" Let the States' Rights party take the legitimate consequences of the dogmas they teach, and avow that they are secessionists. Thus we find that by the apostles of secession we are thrown back to the political condition in which we were before the existing Constitution was established.

The Government thus described was that formed by "The Articles of Confederation," and no other. It was an impracticable absurdity. That disastrous experiment brought the

country in less than seven years "*to a condition almost of anarchy.*" Mr. Madison, speaking of the situation of the Nation under *the Confederation*, says, "She finds she is held in no respect by her friends; that she is the derision of her enemies; and that she is a prey to every nation which has an interest in her fluctuating councils and embarrassed affairs."

The Federalist, No. 15.—"We may, indeed, with propriety be said to have reached the lowest stage of national humiliation," &c. Again, speaking of the *States' Rights democrats* who opposed the adoption of the now existing Constitution, said, "They aim at sovereignty in the Union, and complete independence in the members; they cherish with blind devotion *the political monster of an Imperium in imperio.*" Again, "The great and "radical vice in the construction of the confederacy is the prin-"ciple of legislation for States or Governments in their corpor-"ate or collective capacities, and as contradistinguished from the "individuals of whom they consist. This was the bane of that "Government, and is entirely incompatible with the idea of a "government." "A principle, in short, which, if executed at "all, must substitute the violent and sanguinary agency of the "sword for the mild influence of the Magistracy."

Hamilton: "Experience is the oracle of truth, and when its "responses are unequivocal, they ought to be conclusive and "sacred."

The important truth which is unequivocally produced in the present case, is, that *a sovereignty over sovereigns; a government over governments;* a legislation for *communities*, as contradistinguished from *individuals;* as it is a solecism in theory, so in practice it is subversive of the order and ends of civil polity; by substituting *violence* in place of *law*, or the destructive coercion of the *sword* in place of the mild and salutary *coercion* of the Magistracy. Such was the government established by the *Articles of Confederation*, a league between sovereign and independent States. (See Articles 2d and 3d.)

The following statement of facts will prove how completely it had run down, and that the country was only saved from *anarchy* by the establishment of *a National Government.*

The former Government had power only to make requisitions for men and money upon the sovereign States. During the last

five years of that Government, a period of peace, the States of *Georgia*, *South Carolina* and *North Carolina*, did not contribute *one dollar* to the National Treasury; and only one State (New York) contributed her full quota. In the year 1786 the amount contributed was only $200,000, and that by two States only. During the war the delinquency of the States was universal.

Such was the fatal result of that *political monster* called a Government. To destroy it, the Convention of 1787 was called, and they formed, in the name of *The People of the United States of America*, a Constitution of Government, which *The People adopted* by conventions, whose members were elected by the people of the different States.

Mr. Madison says: "The characteristic distinction between free Governments and Governments not free, is that the former are founded on compact, not between the Government and those for whom it acts, but among the parties creating the Government. Each of these being equal, neither can have more right to say that the compact has been violated, than every other has to deny the fact, and to insist on the execution of the bargain. An inference from the doctrine that a single State has a right to secede at will from the rest, is that the rest would have an equal right to secede from it; in other words, to turn it out." "In the case of a State seceding from the Union, its domain would be dismembered."

To insist that the Convention of 1787 formed a Government with the inherent vice of independent State sovereignties not only violates the truth of history, but imputes to its members the folly of proposing for the adoption of the people of the United States a system of government which had been proved to be a palpable failure. But, when proposed by Mr. Patterson, and known as the *Jersey plan*, was rejected—thus "Mr. King moved that the committee rise and report that the *Jersey plan* was inadmissible." * * * "This motion was carried by *seven* States for the motion, *three* against, and one divided." Thus the plan of a confederacy of sovereign and independent States was rejected and never taken up again. Mr. Madison, in debate, said: "It is impossible that the articles of confederation "can be amended; they are too tottering to be invigorated; "nothing but the present system (the Virginia plan) or some-

"thing like it, can restore the peace and harmony of the coun-
"try."

Luther Martin, a delegate from Maryland, objected to the Virginia plan, saying: "It is in its very introduction declared to be a compact of the *People* of the United States as *individuals*, and is to be ratified by the *People at large* in their capacity of individuals." He insisted, as an objection to the Constitution, "that the representatives, instead of being drawn from the *people at large* as *individuals*, ought to be drawn from *the States, as States*, in their *sovereign* capacity; that the system of Government ought to be ratified *by the States*, and not by *the people* as *individuals*."

That in denial of these historical truths, the Secessionists, or the *State Rights* Democrats who sympathise with treason, should aver that our Government is a compact between sovereign States—that its whole power is derived from the State Governments, and consequently that, as sovereigns, the States have a right to secede, is so like "the baseless fabric of a vision," as justly to be denounced *a base imposture.*

In the preamble to that Constitution which constituted *a sovereign power*, it was declared: "We the People of the United "States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, "ensure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, "promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty "to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Con-"stitution for the United States of America."

It is worthy of note in regard to this glorious preamble, that, as the Article of Confederation had declared "*the Union shall be perpetual*," it was only necessary to make that which was decreed to be a "perpetual," "*a more perfect union*," by destroying those powers in the respective State governments which could endanger the Union; and above all, by changing their character of "sovereign and independent states." Their *State Legislatures* were not made parties to it by being called to ratify the proposed constitution, but, *the people* were. Although this preamble may not be considered as a source of power, it must unquestionably be an *index* to the objects for which the Government was formed, and a guide, in the examination of its powers.

These objects having been declared, it is to be presumed, the

powers necessary and proper to carry them out, would be found, as they are, in the *Constitution;* thus *ordained and established.*

We hold that "*sovereignty is the supreme ultimate authority in a country.*" In our country, such authority was in the people of the United States, they having "been made *one people* by a federal act."—Hamilton. The Declaration of Independence; and when they formed the existing constitution of government, they conferred that supreme ultimate authority upon the National Government, making the State Governments constituent parts of the Government, and leaving with them those residuary authorities required to be exercised for local purposes.

When the people of the several States, by their delegates in convention, adopted the *National Constitution*, they, by that act necessarily eliminated from their respective State constitutions all such powers as were inconsistent with, or repugnant to, the powers conferred by them on the Government of the United States by that *Constitution*, and this was as effectually done as if they had declared *seriatim* that such and such powers before conferred by them on their State Governments should no longer exist. For instance: therefore the State constitution and laws were the supreme authority over the people within the limits of the respective States, but when, by the adoption of the National Constitution, The People declared, as they did in the most emphatic manner, "This Constitution, and the laws of the United "States which shall be made in pursuance thereof," &c., "*shall* "*be the supreme law of the land*, and the Judges in every State "shall be bound thereby, anything in the constitution or laws of "any State to the contrary notwithstanding." They necessarily *decreed* that their State Governments should no longer possess "the supreme ultimate authority" over the people of such States, and thus the people deprived their State Governments of that *sovereign and independent* character before asserted.

The Articles of Confederation were *not* ratified by the people of any State, or of the Nation, whereas the existing Constitution having been so ratified, "*The fabric of American empire rested* "*upon the solid basis of* '*The consent of the American People;*' "*the pure original fountain of all legitimate authority.*"—Hamilton.

We now ask the judicious reader what ground can there be

for the dogma, "That the States are sovereign and independent powers, when the source of all powers—The People of the United States—have declared, that the people of the States shall be governed by the constitution and laws of another Government? "*Supreme is sovereign power.*" The sovereign power to make all laws, pursuant to the National Constitution, the rule of action of the people of the States, deprived the State governments of sovereign power over all *those subjects* which were committed to the United States Government.

This brings us to the examination of those powers, and we here assert, without the fear of contradiction, that they will be found to embrace all the essential attributes of sovereignty.

Article 1, sec. 8, declares:

The Congress shall have power:

To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises; to pay the debts, and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States.

To borrow money on the credit of the United States.

To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States.

To establish a uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States.

To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures.

To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities of, and current coin of the United States.

To establish post offices and post roads.

To promote the progress of science and useful arts, &c.

To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court; to define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offences against the laws of nations.

To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water.

To raise and support armies, &c.

To provide and maintain a navy.

To make rules for the government of the land and naval forces.

To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions.

To provide for organizing the armies, and disciplining the militia, &c.

To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatever over such "district,"—the seat of government of the United States—"and over forts," &c.

To *make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.*

The above powers speak for themselves, and now we call upon the advocates of State sovereignty and independence to make the experiment theoretically, how could their State governments get along as independent or sovereign States without the foregoing powers? They are, with one exception, (the collection of taxes,) exclusive powers.

In addition, the power of making treaties, and of admitting new States, is given exclusively to the United States. Here, again, we find these vastly important powers are expressly denied to the States.

We forbear to go further on this point, and proceed to examine the powers conferred by the seventeenth clause, which we have underlined, and to show, as we hope to do, beyond all controversy, that the Congress has power *to abolish Slavery throughout the United States.*

All persons who have read the debates well know that the convention persistently rejected details of means to an end, as the illustrious Webster said: "It was not their intention in "those cases to enumerate particulars." It may be truly said, that of all parts of the Constitution, this seventeenth clause is the part which manifests the most skill and dexterity on the part of the distinguished statesmen who formed that great charter of the temple of human liberty.

It not only gives power to Congress to make all laws necessary and proper, (which the Supreme Court of the United States has decided to mean "*appropriate*") for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and among them the power to do

what? "To pay the debts," yes—and in addition thereto, and above all, "*to provide for the common defence and the general welfare of the United States.*"

That is, as to *defence*, to employ the money of the Government to raise, equip, and sustain armies, and a navy, to be employed in the common defence of the nation, or in doing whatever else is appropriate to that great and vital national end and purpose; and also, to employ the money so obtained in all other ways which will promote the "*general welfare.*" It is absurd to say that this power to obtain money by taxation is confined to the payment of debts, and that it does not extend to the two other important purposes expressed. Why should the great power of taxation be thus confined to the debts; and the other two great national objects enumerated be considered as obsolete or expunged? On the contrary, the true interpretation of the clause must be, that "the common defence and general welfare" should be secured and provided for by the employment of money, and by the exercise of the power by Congress to make necessary and proper laws.

One, and a most important, mode of using the money obtained by taxes to provide for the general welfare, would be, by opening channels of communication of a national character to facilitate commerce between the States, and thus provide, in an eminent degree, for the general welfare of the United States.

This, the first clause, is of vast importance; it clearly imports that among the foregoing powers, the Congress is to make laws to provide for the payment of debts, the common defence, and the general welfare. To give this clause that narrow interpretation which confines it to the appropriation of money to pay the debts only, would be to expunge the two other equally important objects.

The great rule by which the Constitution is to be construed, is well laid down by Mr. Madison, thus: "The different parts of "the same instrument ought to be so expounded as to give meaning to every part which will bear it; shall one part of the same "sentence be excluded altogether from a share of the meaning; "and shall the more doubtful and indefinite terms be retained "in their full extent, and their clear and precise expressions be "denied any signification whatever."

This rule was laid down in reply to objections made to this clause: "To raise money to provide for the general welfare." Let us test this very important clause by this rule: "The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes," &c., "*to pay the debts.*" That is one part which is not denied. Another part is, "*and to provide for the common defence.*" This is not denied. Indeed, there are powers which have been exercised without question through the whole course of our Government. The other part is, *and to provide "for the general welfare of the United States.*" This last part of the instrument is as clearly and precisely expressed as the two other parts; and by strict constructionists it is denied any significance whatever."

It was objected, says Mr. Madison, that "the above clause "amounted to an unlimited commission to exercise every power "which may be alleged to be necessary for the common defence "and general welfare." He adds: "A power to destroy the "freedom of the press, the trial by jury, or even to regulate the "course of descents, or the forms of conveyance, must be very "singularly expressed by the terms: To raise money for the "general warfare." He further says: "The objection here is "the more extraordinary as it appears the language used by the "Convention is a copy from the articles of the Confederation. "The objects of the union among the States, as described in Ar-"ticle 3d, are their common defence and general welfare." And here it is to be remarked, that the old Congress of the Confederation, in order to provide for the general welfare in 1787, passed that ordinance which excluded slavery from all the territory then held by the United States. Thus was this grant of power to provide for the *general welfare*, wisely carried out by the Congress of the Confederacy."

As to the objection that giving power to Congress to provide for the general welfare, was a grant of unlimited power; the answer is, that, as we find the grant in the Constitution it must be deemed authoritative, and to be expounded in order to give meaning to every part of that instrument, to give effect to the two other objects of the clause; and to pretend to deny any signification to this one would be absurd. There it stands in the Constitution a clear and precise expression of *power*, and *duty*, and one of the purposes indicated by the preamble, whatever effect, as to the character of the instrument may be attributed to it. It cannot, therefore, be expunged or ignored.

John Quincy Adams, in relation to this clause, wrote:

"To pay the debts of the United States was the first object "for which by the Constitution of the United States—the power "to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, was con- "ferred upon Congress. To provide for the common defence "and general welfare was the second object; and these expres- "sions, broad and comprehensive in their import, far from be- "ing without meaning in the intention of the founders of the "Constitution, embraced the great purpose for which the Con- "stitution was formed. They are introduced in the solemn pre- "amble in which the people of the United States, speaking in "the first person—'We the people of the United States,' an- "nounce the great purpose for which they ordain and establish "this Constitution. They are emphatically repeated in the 8th "section of the 1st article containing the grants to Congress of "power *and they are not only grants of power but trusts to be* "*executed, duties to be discharged, for the common defence and* "*general welfare of the Union.*"

By the 17th clause of Section 8, Art 1, it is declared that "The Congress shall have power to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper *for carrying into execution* the foregoing powers and *all* other powers *vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States*, or in any department or officer thereof.

"The Supreme Court of the United States, in the case of McCulloch *vs.* State of Maryland, 4 Wheaton, have said: "We think the sound construction of the Constitution must allow to the National Legislature that discretion with respect to the means by which the powers it confers are to be carried into execution, which will enable that body to perform the high duties assigned to it in the manner most beneficial to the people. *Let the end be legitimate ;* let it be *within the scope of the Constitution, and all means which are appropriate, which are plainly adapted to that end ; which are not prohibited*, but consistent with the letter and spirit of the Constitution, are constitutional."

It is incontrovertible, that under the first clause, 8th Sec., Art. 1, the power to pay the debts, to provide for the common defence and general welfare, are "powers "*vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States*, and that Congress has power to make all laws which shall be in their discretion and in obedience to the high duty of the Government, to *provide for the general welfare ;* to make all such laws as shall be necessary or proper for carrying into execution all powers vested by the Constitution in the Government of the United States, and among other laws to abolish slavery and to enlist or

draft all such male persons as are held to service and labor in any States by the laws thereof, who are competent to perform the duties of soldiers, and thus by both these measures to provide for the general welfare, if such measures are deemed proper to provide for the general welfare.

It has been wisely said, and with axiomatic truth by the judicious and well informed in our country: "That a Government ought to contain in itself every power requisite to the full accomplishment of the objects committed to its care, and the complete execution of the trusts for which it is responsible, free from every other control, but a regard to the public good, and to the sense of the people." (Hamilton No. 31 *Federalist*).

The highest object committed to the care of the Government is *to preserve the life of the Nation*, and next to that is, "*To provide for the general welfare.*" These high trusts are vested by the Constitution in the Government of the United States, and the power for the complete execution of these powers free from every other control is given to Congress in the section quoted.

The National life is to be preserved by all the accustomed means of war. The general welfare is to be provided for by facilitating and regulating commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States; by providing a sound currency; by regulating commerce with foreign nations and among the States; by establishing Post-offices and post-roads; by promoting the progress of science and the useful arts; by securing to the citizens of each State all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States; by guaranteeing to every State in the Union a Republican form of Government.

It is made by the Constitution the express duty of the President, "*To preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States.*"

This is a power vested in him by the Constitution, and therefore Congress has the power, which they are bound to exercise, to pass all such laws as may be necessary and proper to enable him to perform that duty.

The people of several of the States are in rebellion; their purpose is to destroy the Union and the powers of the Constitution and laws as a rule of action for them. The President has declared by his Proclamation that slavery gives these people a vast power in conducting that war. The Congress has passed acts of like import. Can it be denied that the Congress has the power to pass a law abolishing slavery in order to deprive their enemy of a vast power used by them in sustaining this atrocious war? Hamilton says, "The right of war is to take life and to attack and seize all property, in order to ob-

"tain indemnification for any injury received; *to disable our* "*enemy from doing us any further harm; to force him, to* "*submission to the laws;* TO REPRESS AN OVERBEARING AMBI-"TION."

By the preamble to the Constitution, the people of the United States of America declared to the world that they ordained and established a Government for the United States of America, among other things, in order "*to secure the blessings of liberty*" for themselves and their posterity. Thus are we assured that the great democratic principle of *universal liberty* is the foundation of our political structure.

It is absurd to attempt to confine this sublime declaration to any particular race or class of men, or to exclude any persons from its blessings. It was practically carrying out the great truths of the Declaration of Independence, "All men are created equal, and are endowed by their Creator with the inalienable right *to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.*"

This declaration has been subjected to illiberal criticism. It does not mean to assert that all men are equal in their physical, mental, or moral qualities; but that all are equal before the law, and equally entitled to protection for their lives, their liberty, and in the pursuit of happiness. It declared that great Christian truth, "The brotherhood of man in fellowship with Christ."

If freedom to all is the basis of our Constitution; and if to secure its blessings to all men was one of the purposes of the people in ordaining and establishing that Constitution, does it not necessarily follow, as effect from cause, that all the laws of States holding persons as slaves are in direct and palpable violation of, and antagonistic to, that Constitution? That such laws should have been recognized as existing in some of the States was a grievous violation of duty, for which we are now tasting the bitter fruits. This war to protect and extend slavery gives to Congress *the power and the opportunity* to suppress this barbarism. The civilized world calls upon us vigorously and sternly to perform that sacred duty. By promptly doing so, some atonement will be made for the past; the Union will be restored, reinvigorated; the general welfare will be promoted and secured, by the blessing of God, to future generations.

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SPEECH OF

HON. CHARLES SUMNER,

ON THE

PROPOSED AMENDMENT OF THE CONSTITUTION ABOLISHING SLAVERY THROUGH THE UNITED STATES.

In the Senate of the United States, April 8th, 1864.

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IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES, APRIL 8, 1864.

"May not Congress pronounce all slaves free? *The Constitution speaks to the point. They have the power in clear and unequivocal terms, and will clearly and certainly exercise it.*—PATRICK HENRY.

Mr. SUMNER. Mr. President, if an angel from the skies or a stranger from another planet were permitted to visit this earth and to examine its surface, who can doubt that his eyes would rest with astonishment upon the outstretched extent and exhaustless resources of this Republic of the New World, young in years but already rooted beyond any dynasty in history? In proportion as he considered and understood all those things among us which enter into and constitute the national life, his astonishment would increase, for he would find a numerous people, powerful beyond precedent, without a king or a noble, but with the schoolmaster instead. And yet the astonishment which he confessed, as all these things appeared before him, would swell into marvel as he learned that in this Republic, which had arrested his admiration, where there was neither king nor noble, but the schoolmaster instead, there were four million human beings in abject bondage, degraded to be chattels, under the pretense of property in man, driven by the lash like beasts, despoiled of all rights, even the

right to knowledge and the sacred right of family; so that the relation of husband and wife was impossible and no parent could claim his own child; while all were condemned to brutish ignorance. Startled by what he beheld, the stranger would naturally inquire by what authority, under what sanction, and through what terms of law or Constitution, this fearful inconsistency, so shocking to human nature itself, continued to be upheld. But his growing astonishment would know no bounds. when he was pointed to the Constitution of the United States, as the final guardian and conservator of this peculiar and many-headed wickedness.

"And is it true," the stranger would exclaim, "that in laying the foundations of this Republic, dedicated to human rights, all these wrongs have been positively established?" He would ask to see that Constitution and to know the fatal words by which the sacrifice was commanded. The trembling with which he began its perusal would be succeeded by joy as he finished it; for he would find nothing in that golden text, not a single sentence, phrase, or word even, to serve as origin, authority, or apology, for the outrage. And then his astonishment, already knowing no bounds, would break forth anew, as he exclaimed, "Shameful and irrational as is slavery, it is not more shameful or irrational than that unsupported interpretation which undertakes to make your Constitution the final guardian and conservator of this terrible and unpardonable denial of human rights."

Such a stranger as I have described, coming from afar, with eyes which no local bias had distorted, and with understanding which no local custom had disturbed, would naturally see the Constitution precisely as it is in its actual text, and he would interpret it in its true sense, without prepossession or prejudice.—Of course he would know, what all jurisprudence teaches and what all reason confirms, that human rights cannot be taken away by any indirection or by any vain imagining of something that was intended but was not said, and, as a natural consequence, that slavery can exist—if exist it can at all—only by virtue of a *positive text*, and that what is true of slavery is true also of all its incidents; and the enlightened stranger would insist that in all interpretation of the Constitution, that cardinal principal must never for a moment be out of mind, but must be kept ever forward as guide and master, that *slavery cannot stand on inference*, nor can any support of slavery stand on inference. Thus informed, and in the light of a pervasive principle,

"How far that little candle throws its beams!"

he would peruse the Constitution from beginning to end, from its opening preamble to its final amendment, and then the joyful opinion would be given.

There are three things which he would observe: first and foremost, that the dismal words "slave" and "slavery" do not appear in the Constitution; so that if the unnatural pretension of property in man lurk anywhere in that text, it is under a feigned name or an *alias*, which of itself is cause of suspicion, while an imperative rule renders its recognition impossible. Next, he would consider the preamble, which is the key to open the whole succeeding instrument; but here no single word can be found which does not open the Constitution to freedom and close it to slavery. The object of the Constitution is announced to be "in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of *liberty* to ourselves and our posterity;" all of which, in every particular, is absolutely inconsistent with slavery. And thirdly, he would observe those time-honored, most efficacious, chain-breaking words in the Amendments: "*No person shall be deprived of* life, *liberty*, or property, *without due process of law.*" Scorning all false interpretations and glosses which may have been fastened upon the Constitution as a support of slavery, and with these three things before him, he would naturally declare that there was nothing in the original text on which this hideous wrong could be founded anywhere within the sphere of its operation. With astonishment he would ask again by what strange delusion or hallucination the reason had been so far overcome as to recognize slavery in the Constitution, when plainly it is not there, and cannot be there? The answer is humiliating, but it is easy.

People naturally find in texts of Scripture the support of their own religious opinions or prejudices; and, in the same way, they naturally find in texts of the Constitution the support of their own political opinions or prejudices. And this may not be in either case because Scripture or Constitution, when truly interpreted, support these opinions or prejudices; but because people are apt to find in texts simply a reflection of themselves. Most clearly and indubitably, whoever finds any support of slavery in the Constitution of the United States has first found such support in himself; not that he will hesitate, perhaps, to condemn slavery in words of approved gentleness, but because from unhappy education or more unhappy insensibility to this wrong, he has already conceded to it a certain traditional foothold of immunity, which he straightway transfers from himself to the Constitution. In dealing with this subject, it is not the Constitution, so much as human nature itself, which has been at fault. Let the people change, and the Constitution will change also; for the Constitution is but the shadow, while the people are the substance.

But under the influence of the present struggle for national life, and in obedience to its incessant exigencies, the people have already changed, and in nothing so much as slavery. Old opinions and prejudices have dissolved, and that traditional foothold which slavery once possessed has been gradually weakened until now it scarcely exists. Naturally this change must sooner or later show itself in the interpretation of the Constitution. But it is already visible even there, in the concession of powers over slavery which were formerly denied. The time, then, has come when the Constitution, which has been so long interpreted for slavery, may be interpreted for freedom. This is one stage of triumph. Universal emancipation, which is at hand, can be won only by complete emancipation of the Constitution itself, which has been degraded to wear chains so long that its real character is scarcely known.

Sometimes the concession is made on the ground of *military necessity*. The capacious war powers of the Constitution are invoked, and it is said that in their legitimate exercise slavery may be destroyed. There is much in this concession; more even than is imagined by many from whom it proceeds. It is war, say they, which puts these powers in motion; for they forget that wherever slavery exists there is perpetual war—that slavery itself is a *state of war* between two races, where one is for the moment victor—pictured accurately by Jefferson when he described it as "permitting one half of the citizens to trample on the rights of the other, transforming those into enemies, and these into despots." Therefore, wherever slavery exists, even in seeming peace, the war powers may be invoked to put an end to a condition which is internecine, and to overthrow pretensions which are hostile to every attribute of the Almighty.

But it is not on military necessity alone that the concession is made. There are many who, as they read the Constitution now, see its powers over slavery more clearly than before. The old superstition is abandoned; and they join with Patrick Henry when, in the Virginia convention, he declared the power of manumission was given to Congress. He did not hesitate to argue against the adoption of the Constitution because it gave this power. And shall we be less perspicacious for freedom than this Virginia statesman was for slavery? Discerning this power he confessed his dismay; but let us confess our joy.

We have already seen that slavery can find no support in the Constitution. Glance now at the positive provisions by which it is brought completely under the control of Congress.

1. First among the powers of Congress and associated with the power to lay and collect taxes, is that "to provide for the

common defence and general welfare." It has been questioned whether this is a substantive power, or simply incident to that with which it is associated. But it seems difficult, if not absurd, to insist that Congress has not this substantive power. Shall it not provide for the common defence? Shall it not provide for the general welfare? If it cannot do these things in a great crisis it had better abdicate. In the discussions on the Constitution in the Virginia convention, Mr. George Mason, one of its most decided opponents, said: "That Congress should have power to provide for the general welfare of the Union, *I grant.*" (2 Eliot's Debates, 327.) But the language of Patrick Henry, to which allusion has been already made, was still more explicit. He foresaw that this power would naturally be directed against slavery, and he said:

"Slavery is detested. We feel its fatal effects. We deplore it with all the pity of humanity. Let all these considerations, at some future period, press with full force on the minds of Congress. Let that urbanity which, I trust, will distinguish Americans, and the necessity of national defence—let all these things operate on their minds; they will search that paper [the Constitution] and see if they have the power of manumission. And have they not, sir? Have they not the power *to provide for the general defence and welfare?* May they not think that they call for the abolition of slavery? May they not pronounce all the slaves free? And will they not be warranted by that power? This is no ambiguous implication or logical deduction. *The paper speaks to the point. They have the power in clear and unequivocal terms, and will clearly and certainly exercise it.*"—*Eliot's Debates*, vol. 3. p. 590.

Language could not be more positive. To all who ask for the power of Congress over slavery, here is a sufficient answer; and remember that this is not my speech, but the speech of Patrick Henry, who says that the Constitution "speaks to the point."

2. Next comes the clause, "Congress shall have power to declare war; to raise and support armies; to provide and maintain a navy." A power like this is from its very nature unlimited.—In raising and supporting an army, in providing and maintaining a navy, Congress is not restrained to any particular class or color. It may call upon all and authorize that *contract* which the Government makes with an enlisted soldier. But such a contract would be in itself an act of manumission; for a slave cannot make a contract. And if the contract be followed by actual service, who can deny its completest efficiency in enfranchising the soldier-slave and his whole family? Shakspeare, immortal teacher, gives expression to an instinctive sentiment when he makes Henry V,

on the eve of the battle of Agincourt, encourages his men by promising,

> "For he to-day that sheds his blood with me,
> Shall be my brother; *be he ne'er so vile,*
> *This day shall gentle his condition.*"

3. There is still another clause: "The United States shall guaranty to every state in this Union a *republican form of government.*" There again is a plain duty. But the question recurs, what is a republican form of government? John Adams, in the correspondence of his old age, says:

"The customary meanings of the words *republic* and *commonwealth* have been infinite. They have been applied to every Government under heaven; that of Turkey and that of Spain, as well as that of Athens and of Rome, of Geneva and San Marino."—*John Adam's Works*, volume 10, page 378.

But the guarantee of a republican form of government must have a meaning congenial with the purposes of the Constitution. If a Government like that of Turkey, or even like that of Venice, could come within the scope of this guarantee, it would be of little value. It would be words and nothing more. Evidently it must be construed so as to uphold the Constitution according to all the promises of its preamble, and Mr. Madison has left a record, first published to the Senate by the distinguished Senator from Vermont, [Mr. COLLAMER,] the chairman of the Committee on the Library, showing that it was originally suggested in part by the fear of slavery, so that in construing it we must not forget slavery. The preamble and the record are important, disclosing the real intention of this guarantee. But no American need be at a loss to designate some of the distinctive elements of a republic according to the idea of American institutions. These will be found, first, in the Declaration of Independence, by which it is solemnly announced "that all men are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." And they will be found, secondly, in that other guarantee and prohibition of the Constitution, in harmony with the Declaration of Independence; "*No person* shall be deprived of life, *liberty* or property *without due process of law.*" Such are some of the essential elements of a "republican form of government," which cannot be disowned by us without disowning the very muniments of our liberties; and it is these which the United States are bound to guaranty. But all these make slavery impossible. It is idle to say that this result was not anticipated. It would be, then, only another illustration that our fathers "builded wiser than they knew."

4. But, independent of the clause of guarantee, there is the clause just quoted, which in itself is a source of power: "No *per-*

son shall be deprived of life, *liberty*, or property *without due process of law.*" This was a part of the amendments to the Constitution proposed by the First Congress, under the popular demand for a Bill of Rights. Though brief, it is in itself alone a whole Bill of Rights. Liberty can be lost only by "due process of law," words borrowed from the old liberty-loving common law, illustrated by our master in law, Lord Coke, but best explained by the late Mr. Justice Bronson, of New York, in a judicial opinion where he says:

"The meaning of the section then seems to be, that *no member of the State shall be disfranchised or deprived of any of his rights or privileges* unless the matter shall be adjudged against him upon trial had according to the course of common law. The words 'due process of law' in this place cannot mean less than a prosecution or suit instituted and conducted according to the prescribed forms and solemnities for ascertaining guilt or determining the title to property."—4 *Hill's Reports*, 146.

Such is the protection which is thrown by the Constitution over every "person," without distinction of race or color, class or condition. There can be no doubt about the universality of this protection. All, without exception, come within its scope. Its natural meaning is plain; but there is an incident of history which makes it plainer still, excluding all possibility of misconception. A clause of this character was originally recommended as an amendment by two slave States, North Carolina and Virginia, but it was restrained by them to *freemen*, thus: "No *freemen* ought to be deprived of his life, *liberty*, or property but by the *law of the land.*" But, when the recommendation came before Congress, the word "person" was substituted for "freemen," and the more searching phrase "due process of law" was substituted for "the law of the land." In making this change, rejecting the recommendation of two slave States, the authors of this amendment revealed their purpose, that *no person* wearing the human form should be deprived of *liberty* without due process of law; and the proposition was adopted by the votes of Congress and then of the States as a part of the Constitution. Clearly on its face it is an express guarantee of personal liberty and an express prohibition against its invasion anywhere.

In the face of this guarantee and prohibition—for it is both—how can any "person" be held as a slave? But it is sometimes said that this provision must be restrained to places within the exclusive jurisdiction of the national Government. Let me say frankly that such formerly was my own impression, often avowed in this Chamber: but I never doubted its complete efficacy to render slavery unconstitutional in all such places, so that "no per-

son" could be held as a slave at the national Capitol or in any national territory. Constitutionally slavery has always been an outlaw wherever that provision of the Constitution was applicable. Nobody doubted that it was binding on the national courts, and yet it was left unexecuted—a dead letter, killed by the predominant influence of slavery, until at last Congress was obliged by legislative act to do what the courts had failed to do, and to put an end to slavery in the national Capitol and national territories.

But there are no words in this guarantee and prohibition by which they are restrained to any exclusive jurisdiction. They are broad and general as the Constitution itself; and since they are in support of human rights they cannot be restrained by any interpretation. There is no limitation in them, and nobody can supply any such limitation, without encountering the venerable maxim of law, *Impius et crudelis qui libertati non favet*—"Impious and cruel is he who does not favor liberty." Long enough courts and Congress have merited this condemnation. The time has come when they should merit it no longer. The Constitution should become a living letter under the predominant influence of freedom. It is this conviction which has brought petitioners to Congress, during the present session, asking that the Constitution shall be simply executed against slavery and not altered. Ah! sir, it would be a glad sight to see that Constitution, which we have all sworn to support, interpreted generously, nobly, gloriously for freedom, so that everywhere within its influence the chains should drop from the slave. If it be said that this was not anticipated at the time of the adoption of the Constitution, I remind you of the words of Patrick Henry at the time when he said, "the paper speaks to the point." No doubt. It does speak to the point, especially since the adoption of the amendments. Cicero preferred to err with Plato rather than to think right with other men. And pardon me if on this occasion, when my country is in peril from slavery, and when human rights are to be rescued, I prefer to err with Patrick Henry, in assuming power for freedom, rather than to think right with Senators who hesitate in such a cause.

Mr. President, thus stands the case. There is nothing in the Constitution on which slavery can rest, or find any the least support. Even on the face of that instrument it is an *outlaw;* but if we look further into its provisions we find at least four distinct sources of power, which, if executed, must render slavery impossible, while the preamble makes them all vital for freedom: first, the power to provide for the common defense and general welfare; secondly, the power to raise armies and maintain navies; thirdly,

the power to guaranty to every State a republican form of government; and fourthly, the power to secure *liberty* to every person restrained without due process of law. But all these provisions are something more than powers; *they are duties also.* And yet we are constantly and painfully reminded in this Chamber that pending measures against slavery are unconstitutional. Sir, this is an immense mistake. *Nothing against slavery can be unconstitutional.* It is only *hesitation* which is unconstitutional.

And yet *slavery* still exists—in defiance of all these requirements of the Constitution; nay, more, in defiance of reason and justice, which can never be disobeyed with impunity—it exists, the perpetual spoiler of human rights and disturber of the public peace, degrading master as well as slave, corrupting society, weakening Government, impoverishing the very soil itself, and impairing the natural resources of the country. Such an outrage, so offensive in every respect, not only to the Constitution, but also to the whole system of order by which the universe is governed, is plainly a *national nuisance*, which, for the general welfare, and in the name of justice, ought to be abated. But at this moment, when it menaces the national life, it will not be enough to treat slavery merely as a nuisance, for it is much more. It is a public enemy and traitor wherever it shows itself, to be subdued, in the discharge of solemn guarantees of Government and of personal rights, and in the exercise of unquestionable and indefeasable rights of *self-defense.* All now admit that in the rebel States it is a *public enemy and traitor*, so that the rebellion may be seen in slavery, and slavery may be seen in the rebellion. But slavery throughout the country, everywhere within the national limits, is a *living unit, one and indivisible*—so that even outside the rebel States it is the same public enemy and traitor, lending succor to the rebellion, and holding out "blue lights" to encourage and direct its operations. But whether regarded as national nuisance or as public enemy and traitor, it is obnoxious to the same judgment and must be abolished.

If, in abolishing slavery, any injury were done to the just interests of any human being, or to any rights of any kind, there might be something "to give us pause," even against these irresistible requirements. But nothing of the kind can ensue. No just interests and no rights can suffer. It is the rare felicity of such an act, as well outside as inside the rebel States, that, while striking a blow at the rebellion, and assuring future tranquility, so that the Republic shall no longer be a house divided against itself, it will add at once to the value of the whole fee simple wherever slavery exists, will secure individual rights, and will advance civilization itself.

There is another motive to abolish slavery at this time. Embattled armies now stand face to face, on the one side fighting for slavery. The gauntlet that has been flung down we have yet taken up only in part. In abolishing slavery entirely we take up the gauntlet entirely. Then we can look with confidence to the blessings of Almighty God apon our arms. "'Till America comes into this measure," said John Jay during the Revolution, "her prayers to Heaven will be impious." So long as we sustain slavery, so long as we hesitate to strike at it, the heavy battalions of our armies will fail in power. Sir Giles Overreach found his sword, as he attempted to draw it, "glued with orphan's tears." Let not our soldiers find their swords "glued" with the tears of the slave.

There is one question and only one which rises in our path; and this only because the national representatives have so long been drugged and drenched with slavery, which they have taken in all forms, whether of dose or *douche*, that, like a long-suffering patient, they are not yet emancipated from its influence. I refer, of course, to the question of compensation under the shameful assumption that there can be property in man. Sir, there was a moment when I was willing to pay money largely, or at least to any reasonable amount, for emancipation; but it was *as ransom*, and never as compensation. Thank God! that time has now passed, never to return; and simply because money is no longer needed for the purpose. Our fathers, under Washington, never paid the Algerines for the emancipation of our enslaved fellow-citizens, except as ransom, and they ceased all such tribute when emancipation could be had without it. Such must be our rule now. Any other rule would be to impoverish the Treasury for nothing. The time has come for the old tocsin to sound, "Millions for defense, not a cent for tribute." Ay, sir; millions of dollars—with millions of strong arms also—to defend our country against slave-masters; but not a cent for tribute to slave-masters.

But if money is to be paid as compensation, clearly it cannot go to the master, who for generations has robbed the slave of his toil and all its fruits, so that, in justice, he may be regarded now as the trustee of accumulated earnings with interest which he has never paid over. Any money paid as compensation must belong, every dollar of it, to the slave. If the case were audited in Heaven's chancery, there must be another allowance for the denial of inestimable rights. The loss of wages may be estimated, but where is the tariff or price-current by which those other losses which have been the lot of every slave shall be determined? Mortal arithmetic is impotent to assess the fearful sum total. In

presence of this infinite responsibility the whole question must be referred to that other tribunal where master and slave will be equal, while infinite wisdom tempers justice with mercy.

But the proposition of compensation is founded on the intolerable assumption of property in man, an idea which often intrudes into these debates, sometimes from its open vindicators and sometimes from others, who reluctantly recognize it, but allow it to influence their conduct which is thus "sicklied o'er" with slavery. Sir, parliamentary law must be observed; but if an outburst of indignant hisses were ever justiable in a parliamentary assembly it ought to break forth at every mention of this proposition, whatever form it may take—whether of daring assumption, or the mildest suggestion, or equivocation even. Impious toward God and insulting toward man, it is disowned alike by the conscience and the reason; nor is there any softness of argument or phrase by which its essential wickedness can be disguised. The fool hath said in his heart that there is no God; but it is kindred folly to say that there is no Man. The first is Atheism, and the second is like unto the first.

Foremost of all persons in history who have vindicated human liberty, and associated their names with it forevermore, stands John Milton, the Secretary of Oliver Cromwell and the author of Paradise Lost. Cradled under a lawless royalty, he helped to found and support the English Commonwealth, while in all that he wrote he pleaded for human rights now in defense of the English people, who had beheaded their king, and now in immortal poems which show how wisely and well he loved the cause which he had made his own. Nowhere has the assumption of property in man been encountered more completely, than in the conversation between the Archangel and Adam, after the former had pictured a hunter whose game was "men, not beasts:"

> "*O execrable Son!* so to aspire
> Above his brethren, to himself *assuming*
> Authority usurped, from God not given!
> He gave us only over beast, fish, fowl,
> Dominion absolute; that right we hold
> By His donation; but man over men
> He made not Lord, such title to Himself
> Reserving, human left from human free.
> *Paradise Lost, Book Twelve*—64—73.

But every asserter of property in man puts himself in the very place of this hunter of "men, not beasts," who is described as "execrable son so to aspire." The language is strong, but not too strong. "Execrable" is the assumption; "execrable" wherever made; "execrable" on the plantation; "execrable" in this chamber; "execrable" in all its forms; "execrable" in all its consequences; especially "execrable" as an apology for hesitation against slavery. The assumption, wherever it shows itself, must

like Satan himself, in whom it has its origin, be beaten down under our feet.

Again, we are brought by learned Senators to the Constitution, which requires that there shall be "just compensation" where "private property" is taken for public use. But plainly on the present ocasion the requirement of the Constitution is absolutely inapplicable, for there is no "private property" to take. Slavery is but a bundle of barbarous pretensions, from which certain persons are to be released. At what price shall these pretensions be estimated? How much shall be paid for the controlling pretension of property in man? How much shall be allowed for that other pretension to shut the gates of knowledge, and keep the victim from the Book of Life? How much shall be expended to redeem the pretension to rob a human being of all the fruits of his toil? And, sir, what "just compensation" shall be voted for the renunciation of that Heaven-defying pretension, too disgusting to picture, which, trampling on the most sacred relations, makes wife and child the wretched prey of lust or avarice? Let these pretensions be renounced, and slavery ceases to exist; but there can be no "just compensation" for any such renunciation. The human heart, reason, religion, the Constitution itself, rise in judgment against it. As well vote "just compensation" to the hardened offender who renounces his disobedience to the Ten Commandments, and promises that he will cease to steal—that he will cease to commit adultery—and that he will cease to covet his neighbor's wife! Aye, sir, there is nothing in the Constitution to sanction any such outrage. Such an appropriation would be unconstitutional.

Mr. Madison said in the convention that "it was wrong to admit in the Constitution the idea that there could be property in man." (3 Madison Papers, 1769.) Of course it was wrong, It was criminal and unpardonable. Thank God! it was not done. But Senators admit this "idea" daily. They take it from themselves, and then introduce it where Mr. Madison said it was "wrong." But if it was "wrong" at the adoption of the Constitution to do this thing, how much worse is it now! There is no instinct of patriotism, as there is no conclusion of reason, which must not be against the abomination; and yet, sir, it is allowed to enter into these debates. Sometimes it stalks, and sometimes it skulks; but whether stalking or skulking, it must be encountered with the same indignant rebuke, until it shall no longer venture to show its head.

Putting aside, then, all objections that have been interposed, whether proceeding from open opposition or from lukewarm support, the great question recurs—that question which dominates

this whole debate, how shall slavery be overthrown? The answer is three-fold: first, by the courts, declaring and applying the true principles of the Constitution; secondly, by Congress, in the exercise of the powers which belong to it; and, thirdly, by the people, through an amendment to the Constitution. Courts, Congress, people, all may be invoked, and the occasion will justify the appeal.

1. Let the appeal be made to the courts. But alas! one of the saddest chapters in our history has been the conduct of judges, who have lent themselves to the support of slavery. Injunctions of the Constitution, guarantees of personal liberty, and prohibitions against its invasion, have all been forgotten. Courts, which should have been asylums of liberty, have been changed into strongholds of slavery, and the Supreme Court of the United States, by a final decision as shocking to the Constitution as to the public conscience, proclaimed itself the tutelary stronghold of all. It has been part of the calamity of the times, that, under the influence of slavery, justice, like Astræa of old, had fled. But now at last, in a regenerated Republic, with the power of slavery waning, and the people rising in judgment against it, let us hope that the judgments of courts may be reconsidered, and that the powers of the Constitution in behalf of liberty may be fully exercised, so that human bondage shall no longer find an unnatural support from the lips of judges.

> "—— and ancient frauds shall fail.
> Returning Justice lift aloft her scale."

Sir, no court can afford to do an act of wrong. Its business is justice; and when, under any apology, it ceases to do justice, it loses those titles to reverence which otherwise are so willingly bestowed. There are instances of great magistrates who have openly declared their disobedience to laws "against common right and reason," and their names are mentioned with gratitude in the history of jurisprudence. There are other instances of men holding the balance and the sword, whose names have been gathered into a volume as "atrocious judges." If our judges, who have cruelly interpreted the Constitution in favor of slavery, do not come into the latter class, they clearly can claim no place among those others who have stood for justice, like the rock on which the sea breaks in idle spray. Vainly do you attempt to frame injustice into a law, or to sanctify it by any judgment of court. From Cicero we learn that "if laws were made merely by the ordinances of the people, the decrees of princes, *or the sentences of judges*, then the setting up forged wills might be lawful, adultery might be lawful." (*De Legibns*, Lib. I, § 16;) and Augustine tells us with saintly authority, that what is unjust cannot be law. Every

law and every judgment of court, to be binding, must have at its back the everlasting, irrepealable law of God. Doubtless the model decision of the American Bench, destined to be quoted hereafter with the most honor, because the boldest in its conformity with the great principles of humanity and social order, was that of the Vermont judge, who refused to surrender a fugitive slave *until his pretended master could show a title-deed from the Almighty.*

But the courts have no longer any occasion for such boldness. They need not step outside the Constitution. It is only needed that they should follow just principles in its interpretation. Let them be guided by a teacher like Edmund Burke, who spoke as follows:

"*Men cannot covenant themselves out of their rights and their duties;* nor by any other means can arbitrary power be conveyed to any man. *Those who give to others such rights, perform acts that are void as they are given.*" * * * * * * * * "Those who give and those who receive arbitrary power are alike criminal, and there is no man but is bound to resist it to the best of his power, wherever it shows its face in the world. It is a crime to bear it wherever it can be rationally shaken off."—*Speech on Impeachment of Warren Hastings.*

Or, let them be guided by that other teacher, Lord Chatham, when he said:

"With respect to the decisions of the courts of justice, I am far from denying their due weight and authority; yet placing them in the most respectable view, I will consider them, not as law, but as an evidence of the law; and before they can arrive at even that degree of authority, it must appear that they are founded in, and confirmed by, reason; that they are supported by precedents, taken from good and moderate times; that they do not contradict any positive law; that they are submitted to without reluctance by the people; that they are unquestioned by the legislature, (which is equivalent to a tacit confirmation); *and what, in my judgment is by far the most important, that they do not violate the spirit of the Constitution.*"—*Speech of Lord Chatham in* 1770, *with regard to the proceedings on the Middlesex Election.*

If courts were thus inspired, it is easy to see that slavery would disappear under their righteous judgment.

2. But unhappily the courts will not perform the duty of the hour, and we must look elsewhere. An appeal must be made to Congress; and here, as has been fully developed, the powers are ample, unless in their interpretation you surrender in advance to slavery. By a single brief statute, Congress may sweep slavery out of existence. Patrick Henry saw and declared that, under

the influence of a growing detestation of slavery and the increasing "urbanity" of the people, this must be expected, while all the capacious war powers proclaim trumpet-tongued that it can be done constitutionally, and the peace powers now echo back the war powers.

Of course we encounter here again the "execrable" pretension of property in man, and the claim of "just compensation" for the renunciation of Heaven-defying wrongs. But this pretension is no more applicable to abolition by act of Congress than to abolition by an amendment of the Constitution; so that if the claim of "just compensation" can be discarded in one case it can be in the other. But the votes that have already been taken in the Senate on the latter proposition testify that it is discarded. Sir, let the "execrable" pretension never again be named, except for condemnation, no matter how or when it appears or what the form it may take. Let the "idea," which was originally branded as so "wrong" that it could not find a place in the Constitution, never find a place in our debates.

But even if Congress be not prepared for that single decisive measure which shall promptly put an end to this whole question and strike slavery to death, there are other mensures by which this end may be hastened. The towering Upas may be girdled, even if it may not be felled at once to the earth. Already, by acts of Congress, slavery has been abolished in the national capital and in the national territories. But this is not enough.

The fugitive slave bill, conceived in iniquity and imposed upon the North as a badge of subjugation, may be repealed.

The coastwise slave trade may be deprived of all support in the statute book.

The traffic in human beings, as an article of "commerce among the States," may be extirpated.

And, above all, that odious rule of evidence, so injurious to justice and discreditable to the country, excluding the testimony of colored persons in national courts, may be abolished.

And there is one other thing which must done. The enlistment of colored persons must be encouraged by legislation in every possible form; for enlistment is emancipation. That contract by which the soldier-slave promises service at the hazard of life, like the contract of marriage, fixes the equality of the parties, which Congress, for the national defense, and the national character also, must sacredly maintain.

All these things at least may be done, and, when they are done, Heaven and earth will be glad, for they will see an assurance that all will be done.

But even these will not be enough. The people must be summoned to confirm the whole work. It is for them to put the capstone upon the sublime structure. An amendment of the Constitution may do what courts and Congress decline to do, or, even should they act, it may cover their action with its panoply. Such an amendment, in any event, will give completeness and permanence to emancipation and bring the Constitution into avowed harmony with the Declaration of Independence. Happy day, long wished for, destined to gladden those beautified spirits who have labored on earth to this end, but died without the sight.

And yet let us not indiscreetly take counsel of our hopes. From the nature of the case such an amendment cannot be consummated at once. Time must intervene, with opportunities of opposition. It can pass Congress only by a vote of two-thirds of both branches. And when it has passed both branches of Congress it must be adopted by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the States. Even under the most favorable circumstances it is impossible to say when it can become part of the Constitution. Too tardily, I fear, for all the good that is sought. Therefore I am not content with this measure alone. It postpones till to-morrow what ought to be done to-day; and I much fear that it may be made an apology for indifference to other propositions, which are of direct practical significance; as if it were not unpardonable to neglect for a day the duties we owe to Human Rights.

> "To-morrow, and to-morrow, and to-morrow,
> Creeps in this petty pace from day to day,
> To the last syllable of recorded time;
> And all our yesterdays have lighted fools
> The way to dusty death"

For myself let me confess that, in presence of the mighty events of the day, I feel how insignificant is any individual, whether citizen or Senator; and yet, humbly longing to do my part, I cannot consent to put off till to-morrow what ought to be done to day. Beyond my general desire to see an act of universal emancipation that shall at once and forever settle this great question, so that it may no longer be the occasion of strife between us, there are two other ideas which are ever present to my mind as a practical legislature: first, to strike at slavery wherever I can hit it; and secondly, to clean the statue book of all existing supports of slavery, so that it may find nothing there to which it may cling for life. To do less than this at the present moment, when slavery is still menacing, would be an abandonment of duty.

So long as a single slave continues anywhere beneath the flag of the Republic I am unwilling to rest. Too well I know the vitality of slavery with its infinite capacity of propagation, and how little slavery it takes to make a slave State with all the cruel

pretensions of slavery. The down of a single thistle is full of all possible thistles, and a single fish is said to contain two hundred millions of eggs, so that the whole sea might be stocked from its womb.

The founder of political science in modern times, writer as well as statesman, Machiavelli, in his most instructive work, the Discourses on Livy, has a chapter entitled, "To have long life in a republic, it is neccessary to draw it back often to its origin:" and in the chapter he shows how the original virtue in which a republic was founded becomes so far corrupted, that, in the process of time, the body-politic must be destroyed; as in the case of the natural body, where, according to the doctors of medicine, there is someting added daily which perpetually requires cure, *quod quotidie aggregatur aliquid, quod quandoque indiget curatione.* He teaches under this head that republics are brought back to their origin, and the principles in which they were founded, by pressure without where prudence fails within, and he affirms that the destruction of Rome by the Gauls was necessary that the republic might have a new birth, and thus acquire new life and new virtue, all of which ensued when the barbarians had been driven back. The illustration, perhaps is fanciful, but there is wisdom in the counsel, and now the time has come for its application. The Gauls are upon us, not, however, from a distance, but domestic Gauls, and we, too, may profit by the occasion to secure for the Republic a new birth, that it may acquire new life and new virtue. Happily, in our case the way is easy, for it is only neccessary to carry the Republic back to its baptismal vows, and the declared sentiments of its origin. There is the Declaration of Independence: let its solemn promises be redeemed, There is the Constitution: let it speak, according to the promises of the Declaration.

Mr. President, the immediate question now before us is on the proposition to prohibit slavery everywhere throughout the whole country by constitutional amendment; and here I hope to be indulged for a moment with regard to the form which it should take. A new text of the Constitution cannot be considered too carefully even in this respect, especially when it embodies a new article of freedom. Here for a moment we are performing something of that duty which belongs to the *conditores imperii*, placed foremost by Lord Bacon among the actors in human affairs, and "words" become "things." From the magnitude of the task we may naturally borrow circumspection, and I approach this part of the question with suggestion rather than argument.

Let me say frankly that I should prefer a form of expression different from that which has the sanction of the committee. They

have selected what was intended for the old Jeffersonian ordinance sacred in our history, although, let me add, they have not imitated it closely. But I must be pardoned if I venture to doubt the expediency of perpetuating in the Constitution language which, if it have any signification, seems to imply that "slavery or involuntary servitude" may be provided "for the punishment of crime." It is supposed that there was a reason for this language when it was first employed, but that reason no longer exists. There can be no reason why slavery should not be forbidden positively and without exception, especially as "imprisonment" cannot be confounded with this "peculiar" wrong. If my desires could prevail, I would put aside the ordinance on this occasion, and find another form.

I know nothing better than these words:

"All persons are equal before the law, so that no person can hold another as a slave: and the Congress shall have the power to make all laws necessary and proper to carry this declaration in to effect everywhere within the United States and the jurisdiction thereof."

The words in the latter part supersede all questions as to the applicability of the declaration to the States. But the distinctive words in this clause assert the *equality of all persons before the law.* The language may be new in our country, but it is already well known in history. And here let me show how it has grown to its present place of authority. We must repair for a moment to France.

The first constitution adopted by France, September, 1791, in the throes of revolution, was preceded by a Declaration of Rights, which, after setting forth that "ignorance, forgetfulness, or contempt of the rights of man are the sole causes of public evils and of the corruption of Governments." undertakes to announce "the natural rights of man, inalienable and sacred, to the end that this Declaration, constantly present to all the members of the social system, may without cessation recall their rights and duties; to the end that the acts of the legislative power and those of the executive power capable at each instant of being compared with the object of every political institution, may be more respected; to the end that the claims of citizens, founded on simple and incontestable principles, may turn always to the maintainance of the constitution, and the happiness of all." After this too elaborate preamble the declaration begins with an article, which has a generality of expression, not unlike that of our own Declaration of Independence.

"ART. 1. Men are born and continue free and *equal in rights.*"

Next came the Constitution of June, 1793, which after a preamble, sets forth a series of articles, beginning with three, as follows:

"ART. 1. The object of society is the common happiness. Government is instituted to guaranty to man the enjoyment of his natural and imprescriptible rights.

"2. These rights are equality, liberty, security, property.

"3. *All men are equal* by nature and *before the law.*"

Here the declaration in question begins to show itself. Men are equal by nature and *before the law.*

This same Constitution concludes with what is called a guaranty of rights, in the following article:

"ART. 122. The Constitution guarantees to all Frenchmen equality, liberty, security, property, the public debt, the free exercise of worship, common instruction, public assistance, the indefinite liberty of the press, the right of petition, the right to assemble in public meetings, the enjoyment of all the rights of men."

Then came the constitutional charter of June, 1814, following the restoration of the Bourbons, which begins in the following article:

"ART. 1. *Frenchmen are equal before the law*, whatever may be otherwise their title and ranks."

This is followed by another, as follows:

"ART 4. Their individual liberty is equally guarantied, so that nobody can be prosecuted or arrested except in cases provided for by law, and in the form which it prescribes."

The constitutional charter of August, 1830, at the installation of Louis Philippe as king, with La Fayette by his side, contains the articles already quoted from that of Louis XVIII, in the same words, placing the declaration of *equality before the law* in the front.

And this article has been adopted in the charters of Belgium, Italy, Greece; so that it is now the well-known expression of a commanding principle of human rights.

It will be felt at once that this expression; "*equality before the law*," gives precision to that idea of human rights which is enunciated in our Declaration of Independence. The sophistries of

Calhoun, founded on the obvious inequalities of body and mind, are all overthrown by this simple statement, which, though borrowed latterly from France, is older than French history. The curious student will find in the ancient Greek of Herodotus a single word which supplies the place of this phrase, when he tells us that "the government of the many has the most beautiful name of *ισονομία*," or *equality before the law.* (Book 3, p. 80.) The father of history was right. The name is most beautiful; but it is not a little singular that, in an age when *equality before the law* was practically unknown, the Greek language, so remarkable for its flexibility and comprehensiveness, supplied a single word, not to be found in modern tongues, to express an idea which has been authoritatively recognized only in modern times. Such a word in our own language to express that equality of rights which is claimed for all mankind might have surperseded some of the criticism to which this declaration has been exposed.

Enough has been said to explain the orign of the expression which is now proposed. Though traced to distant antiquity and now adopted in various countries, it derives its modern authority from France, where it is the "well-ripened fruit" of an unprecedented experience in the discussion of great problems of political science. Naturally, it does not come from England; for the idea itself finds little favor in that hierarchical kingdom. In France equality prevails more than liberty. In England liberty prevails more than equality. Here among us both should find a home, and such a declaration as I now propose, embodying *liberty and equality*, will keep the double idea perpetually in the public mind and conscience, "to warn, to comfort, and command." The denial of Liberty in the rebel States begins with a denial of Equality, so that our work is not completely done without the assertion of both principles.

Should the Senate not incline to this form, there is still another which I would suggest, as follows:

"Slavery shall not exist anywhere within the United States or the jurisdiction thereof; and the Congress shall have power to make all laws neccessary and proper to carry this prohibition into effect."

This is simple, and avoids all language which is open to question. The word "slavery" is explicit, and describes precisely what it is proposed to blast. There is no doubt with regard to its signification. It cannot be confounded with "the punishment of crime:" for imprisonment is not slavery; nor can any punishment take the form of a wrong which stands by itself, peculiar,

terrible, outrageous. Therefore nothing about punishment should find a place in the rule which we ordain.

But if the Senate is determined to adhere to the Jeffersonian ordinance, then I prefer that it should be the ordinance actually, and not as reported by the committee. And I would complete the work by expelling from the Constitution all those words which have been misconstrued, perverted and tortured to a false support of slavery.

But while desirous of seeing the great rule of freedom which we are about to ordain embodied in a text which shall be like the precious casket to the more precious treasure, yet I confess that I feel humbled by my own endeavors. And whatever may be the judgement of the Senate, I am consoled by the thought that the most homely text containing such a rule will be more beautiful far than any words of poet or orator, and that it will endure to be read with gratitude when the rising dome of this Capitol, with the statue of Liberty which crowns it, has crumbled to dust.

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THE ORIGINAL

ANTI-SLAVERY AGITATORS.

"THERE is not a man living who wishes more sincerely than I do to see a plan adopted for the abolition of slavery."—*George Washington, April 12th*, 1786.

"The scheme, my dear Marquis which you propose as a precedent to encourage the emancipation of the black people in this country from the state of bondage in which they are held, is a striking evidence of the benevolence of your heart."—*Washington to Lafayette*, 1783.

"It is the most earnest wish of America to see an entire stop forever put to the wicked, cruel, and unnatural trade in slaves."—*Meetting at Fairfax, Va, July, 18th*, 1774, *presided over by Washington.*

"I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just. His justice cannot sleep forever."—*Jefferson's Notes on Slavery in Virginia*, 1782.

"The King of Great Britain has waged cruel war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty, in the persons of a distant people who never offended him; captivating them and carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere, or to incur miserable death in their transportation hither."—*Jefferson's Original Draft of the Declaration of Independance.*

"After the year 1800 of the Christion era, there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any of the said States" (all of the territories then belonging to the United States).—*Jefferson's Ordinance of* 1787, *unanimously approved by Congress and signed by Washington.*

"We have seen the mere distinction of color made, in the most enlightened period of time, a ground of the most oppressive dominion ever exercised by man over man."—*James Madison.*

"We have found that this evil has preyed upon the very vitals of the Union and has been prejudicial to all the States in which it has existed."—*James Monroe.*

"The tariff was only the pretext, and disunion and a Southern Confederacy the real object. The next pretext will be the negro or slavery question."—*Andrew Jackson, May*, 1833.

"Sir, I envy neither the heart nor the head of that man from the North who rises here to defend slavery on principle."—*John Randolph of Roanoke.*

"The people of Carolina form two classes, the rich and the poor. The poor are very poor; the rich, who have slaves to do their work, give them no employment. The little they get is laid out in brandy, not in books and newswapers; hence they know nothing of the comparative blessings of our country, or of the dangers which threaten it; therefore they care nothing about it."—*General Francis Marion to Baron De Kalb.*

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REBELLION, SLAVERY, AND PEACE.

BY HON. N. G. UPHAM.

Friends and Fellow-Citizens:

I wish to say a few words by way of preface to the remarks I propose to make on this occasion. There are various matters involved in the controversy in which we are now engaged, requiring the examination and candid consideration of every intelligent mind. In the midst of times of excitement like the present, it is difficult to gain such consideration, but it is, notwithstanding, the basis of all consistent, reliable action. I shall attempt, therefore, to persuade your judgment in anything I may say, rather than arouse your feelings by impassioned appeals.

I propose to address you on the subject of *Rebellion, Slavery and Peace, in their mutual bearings and relations to each other, and so far as a right understanding of those relations may affect our destiny and duty as a people.*

Rebellion is armed opposition against the government of a country to which one owes allegiance. Such opposition is necessarily vested in the control of some leader, committee of safety, directory, or other mode of rule extemporized or adopted for the occasion. The rebellion may extend throughout the limits of a city, a county, or a state, and the ordinary government of such organizations be perverted into agencies to carry on and maintain such rebellion. But whether it as-

sumes to act through any such prior agency, or originates an entirely new agency for this purpose—whether it is made up of the people of parts of states, of whole states, or of a combination of various states, is immaterial. If the action is a concerted disavowal of allegiance to the government, and an armed opposition to it—it is in all such cases alike rebellion, under whatever name it may be called.

Such a rebellion, if resisted, becomes at once civil war—one of the most deadly and destructive calamities known to man; and, when commenced against a government of a well-ordered, beneficent character, is a crime of unparalleled enormity.

In such a war, all concerned are principals, and are subject to the forfeiture of life and estate. But when large numbers of a population are in arms, the crime assumes, for the time being, the proportions and character of a strife between nations, and must be governed in its conduct by the ordinary rules of war, to abide in the end the result it merits.

Such is the character of the war in which we are engaged. Treason extends through one third of the Union. It has usurped state organizations, turning them against us, and wields, for the time being, practical sovereignty over their limits. It has been declared, by our highest judicial authority, "a territorial civil war." It is a war of enormous extent and terrific power, as its continuance for three lamentable years so fully testifies.

EFFECT OF REBELLION ON SLAVERY.

The controversy exists between a section of country where slavery prevails, and one where the people, with a slight exception, are wholly free; and the very first question raised in the encounter, to which we propose to direct your attention, is, what is to become of the slave as our armies advance into the enemy's territory?

We contend that the power of the master over the slave is not of a character that a belligerent, by any of the established rules of war, is bound to respect. This seems well sustained by various reasons.

1. We may rightfully seize and appropriate to our use all articles contraband of war.

As our armies moved into Southern territory, people previously held in involuntary servitude rushed to them for protection. What was to be done with them? This question was promptly solved by General Butler, on whom the contingency was forced. "I know what they are," he says; "they are contraband of war." This decision is well sustained against slaveholders on every principle. The whole history of the contest shows that slaves have been used by the South, wherever they could be made available in the maintenance of the war, against us, and it is not for the confederate govvernment to deny that we can seize such property and apply it in our defence, as we would a cannon or locomotive.

Or, if the slaves are to be regarded as men, bound like their masters in loyalty to the government, they have an undoubted right to escape from the perverted power asserted over them by the South to the control of the only government to which they owe allegiance, and they may thus strike home with us, as free and loyal men, against a common enemy.

John Quincy Adams saw this result as inevitable in case of intestine collision, and if the South saw it not, in their hasty secession, it was the fault of their own recklessness, and is another instance of that

> Vaulting ambition which o'erleaps itself,
> And falls on the other side."

The Southern slaveholder may declaim against this result, and the barbarity of turning the exasperated slave against his former master, but, under his new military life, he becomes thoroughly drilled, and is held subject, in his hostility, to all the rules of war. Beside, if exasperated, we may well ask, who made him so? and how this compares with his happy and contented condition, which has been so often presented to us? Thus far the conduct of the liberated slaves has been commendable. There certainly have been no outrages committed by them comparable to those habitually

manifested by Southern men against Union citizens within their precincts.

2. In the second place, we contend, if the slave escapes, in consequence of the war, from his master's control, it is to be regarded as a voluntary relinquishment of him by the master.

If a Southern slaveholder brings his slave with him to a Northern state, he voluntarily liberates him. If he is once within a free state, and is not a fugitive, there is no law which can hold him in bondage.

So where the treason of the master causes war, the master voluntarily accepts all the results embraced in his acts; and if his hold over his slave is loosened thereby, so that he is captured, or escapes to the enemy, it is a voluntary surrender of him to those incidents that work out his freedom. When peace returns, should the master follow him to a free state, to reassert his right, the escape, under the circumstances, would be held as, in effect, a voluntary manumission by the master, which he would be estopped from denying. It may be considered a maxim, that the slaveholder who declares war subjects himself, of his own free choice, to the loss of all slaves that may be swept from him in its vortex.

3. Again, the slave, under such circumstances, is liberated, because all law that could hold him is, for the time being, practically abrogated.

While secession is paramount in any section of country, it dissolves all connection with this government. Victory, after a longer or shorter period, may reinstate our power, and revive the rights we once held, but, in the meantime, there is an entire *interregnum;* and if, during that period, the slave comes within our limits, he comes where there is no law in force to bind him; he is a free man, and no subsequent revival of any such law can react on him. It might react on certain rights of property, known as such by public law, but could not revive to reinslave a person held only by local statute, from under which he had escaped while inoperative by the voluntary action of such local power. No case is known, after peace has been declared, of the compulsory return of slaves that escaped to a belligerent in time of war; and a

civil war, especially, should form no exception to the general rule.

4. Farther—treason, on the part of the master, subjects his slaves and other property to forfeiture by confiscation or liberation.

By act of Congress of July 17, 1862, the slaves of all persons adjudged guilty of treason are declared to be, and are made, free ; and no slave, on application, can be surrendered up, or in any way hindered or impeded in his liberty, unless oath shall first be made that the master of such slave hath not borne arms against the United States in the present rebellion, or in any way given aid or comfort thereto. The open war waged by the South, embracing in it for the most part its entire residents as aiders and abettors of treason, renders this law practically an entire abolition of slavery.

THE PRESIDENT'S PROCLAMATION.

In connection with these views of the necessary operation of war on slavery, I propose to consider the effect of the President's proclamation. This is a war measure, based substantially on the rights we have asserted ; making them prominent, by official announcement, and conclusive and absolute, unless prevented by a return to loyalty within a specified period. This measure was rendered necessary, as the South seems to have entered into the war to sustain slavery with the belief that during its continuance, and until its final result, slavery could not be affected by it. The same feeling prevailed to some extent at the North.

The early events of the war, as managed by us, encouraged this idea. Many among us entertained the belief that the South would early return to reason and loyalty, and were opposed to the full exercise of the powers of war, lest it should interpose new obstacles to such return. Experience soon banished this delusive hope. It was found that the leaders of the rebellion had staked their all on the issue of the contest. Bad as their cause was, in emulation of our fathers they had determined that, sink or swim, live or die, survive or perish,

they would have no connection with a government where freedom was the rule and slavery the exception. They had fully determined they would have a government where slavery was not regarded as a merely incidental matter, but as its chief corner-stone ; and based, in their own phrase, "on the proper relations of labor and capital, where they might vindicate, on their own chosen arena, their selected type of social characteristics."* Our people talked of peace commissioners, peace propositions, and a return to the Union. They scoffed at the suggestion ; trampled upon it ; spit upon it. No ! Slavery they would have under their own independent "homogeneous nationality ;" a Union with free states they would not have. Such is the exact position assumed toward us by the South.

But the President, notwithstanding all this, concludes to try them once more. "You may have slavery," he says, "if you return to loyalty and the Constitution within a given time, but if you do not return we will dispose of that cause of controversy, and, as a penalty for your farther persistence in the war, we will confiscate your interest in slave property."

Three objections have been taken to this proclamation. The first is, that the President should have offered no such terms to traitors with arms in their hands. This objection is now of no avail. It is sufficient, perhaps, to say that it clearly manifested a desire on the part of the President for peace.

The second objection is, that the proclamation is unconstitutional. This I will endeavor to consider by-and-by.

A third objection seems to come from the South. "Why," say they, "in much the larger portion of our territory, where you propose to abolish slavery, you have no possession ; how, then, can you, by mere proclamation, emancipate slaves over whom you have no control ? Suppose you fail of getting possession of the country ?" Ay, there is the rub ! But when a great country, embracing the entire Northern, Western, and Middle States, is engaged in maintaining its government and preserving the Union, so vital to the cause of freedom here, and of suffering humanity throughout the world, the effort is

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* See address of the Confederate Congress to the Southern people.

not very likely to fail. This is what troubles the South. The President makes the proclamation, and runs his risk. Time only can tell the result. But this is certain: just so fast and just so far as our armies advance, slavery is overthrown, and the proclamation is a reality!

It was important, moreover, that the precise issue raised in this struggle, and persisted in by the South, should be known—that our army, as it bore the broad standard of the nation southward, should understand that no man who fled from Southern traitors to stand beneath its folds could stand there as a slave. It was important, also, that our friends abroad, who consist of the entire mass of the population of Europe, saving only their hereditary rulers and their immediate satellites, who are the enemies of freedom everywhere—it was important, in this long night of our affliction, while they were bending forward to see through the thick darkness how went the battle, that they should know what was involved in this direful struggle.

> "Watchman! tell us of the night,
> What it signs of promise are!
> Traveller! o'er yon mountain's height,
> See that glory-beaming star!"

The President did not make this issue. The South made it. He merely announces to the world the fact. Their war-cry, from the first, ringing along the line of all their hosts, has been, "Down with the Union to save slavery!" If this be so, what *can* our war-cry be but the exact reverse of it: "Down with slavery, down with any interposing force or obstacle, whatever it may be, to save the Union!"

FUTURE INSUBORDINATION OF THE SLAVE.

But there is another mode in which the *Rebellion is affecting slavery*, which I wish to consider, and that is, its home aspect, as it operates on the mind of the slave himself.

Not only the free people of the North and South have an interest in the controversy now going on, but the poor slave himself. It is in vain to suppose that he does not fully understand the moving cause of this contest. Early in the war,

Mr. N. P. Willis, of the *Home Journal*, visited the Custis estate, the property of General Lee, then and now held as a military post, at Arlington ; and seeing there an aged, gray-headed negress remaining sitting in apparent lethargy in the garden grounds, he asked her the meaning of this controversy. She roused herself a moment from her stupor to say, "It's all about what we've been suffering so long." The slaves everywhere understand this. The surging of troops backward and forward through the land ; the digging of trenches ; the strife ; the bearing back of the wounded ; the burial of the dead ; the direful changes wrought on the whole surface of the South, tell the tale in a thousand ways to eagerly listening ears. No breeze, no sigh, no suppressed groan, no muttering thunder of distant cannon escapes them. They all know, in their own phraseology, "It's all about what we've been suffering so long !"

This awakened excitement never can be put down. Out of all civil war there necessarily comes some shock, and some changes. When the sturdy oak of the forest is struck by lightning, the trunk is not only seamed and scorched and riven, but its weaker branches are usually hurled to the ground, so that no reconstruction can repair it. And it is often the case that the abuses or perverted institutions of society that have caused civil war, have been broken down, consumed or annihilated by the strife, so that, when it ceased, the stake for which the party had thrown down the gauge of battle is destroyed, or has become shattered, deteriorated, or worthless.

The South are in danger of finding such to be the result in their case. It is questionable whether, in any event, they will ever again be able to drive the blacks to their daily tasks with any hope of profit. They may find their only alternative from this issue, even if left to their own nationality, to be, everlasting bloodshed, or an utter change in their constitutions of society, from a state of slavery to one of compensated labor, so infinitely more beneficial both to master and slave !

I have thus far attempted to define *the rights of war as*

bearing on the institution of slavery; the nature and effect of the President's Proclamation, as a war measure, and the influence of the war on the character of the slave himself.

AUTHORITY TO MAKE PEACE, AND WHAT CONSTITUTES PEACE.

I now propose to consider the question of peace. But, in doing this, it is necessary to determine the preliminary matters—in whom rests the power to make peace, and what constitutes a state of peace in transition from rebellion to loyalty. I farther propose to consider the reasons and grounds on which alone peace can be made, consistently with permanence, and insuring the best interests and harmony of the whole people.

There are individuals who propose to extend the absurd doctrine of a constitutional right of any state to secede at pleasure from the Union, to the farther right to secede back from the Confederacy to our councils, at their own pleasure, without query on our part; and who contend such return of a state constitutes peace. If, in the meantime, they say, their citizens have been guilty of any crime against the government, in their temporary absence, they must be indicted by a grand jury, and tried for treason, and this is our remedy. But we do not so regard it. The South rejected the jurisdiction of our civil tribunals, and resorted to war, and war, once appealed to, is the arbiter of its own difficulties.

It is for the government to determine when the hostility of a state ceases, and the rebellion has terminated. If the rebellious states come back to the Union, we wish to know whether they come back claiming a right to secede again at their pleasure, or to resume their constitutional place as a component and subordinate part of the government? Whether they come back trumpeting aloud their defiant heresies, succumbing temporarily to gain strength for new collisions; or, repudiating their past errors, ready, joyfully to follow the national flag, and keep time to the music of the Union.

Until these questions are rightly answered, we can have no assurance that we are to have the Constitution as it is, or the

Union as it was, except subject to the construction of those who have, without cause or just sanction of any kind, traitorously overthrown both.

The Constitution, as we claim it, and swear to abide by it, is as different from the Constitution asserted to exist by the South, as light from darkness. The Constitution, as the South claim it, is a pitiful delusion ; a travestie on government ; a mere disintegrating mass, where each individual atom of which it is composed is greater than the whole.

It is not for the succumbing or yielding party to dictate terms of peace, and such consideration, especially, is not due to one that has held the position of a rebel. The hoisting of a white flag or the throwing down of arms is not peace. There may still be a refusal to take the oath of allegiance, or to assume or discharge any of the duties of a loyal citizen.

It is a difficult matter, where each state has its own separate organization, and, at the same time, is part and parcel of the general government, to change its people in rebellion into good and loyal citizens. But this difficulty only increases the necessity of care and caution in making such change. Surely the loyalty of the citizen can not be safely admitted till he is relieved from all taint as a rebel. The participator in rebellion has forfeited his life, and, much more, any reasonable claim to his rights of franchise, which can only be extended to him by the government, through pardon to him, when the rebellion is suppressed. Questions, then, of the proper restoration of the citizen to his rights of franchise, and reconstruction of the government, become all-important at a time like this.

On this point various theories have been suggested, which, for some time to come, must occupy, *in a marked degree, the public attention.* These several theories contemplate action by the government, and amnesty to some extent. The difference is only in degree

The President holds that, with regard to the masses of the people, the amnesty, with a view to peace, should be an entire pardon, with the single exception that property in slaves should be abandoned by them. The so-called peace party re-

bel at this suggestion, and allege that the interference of the President with slavery, in his proclamation and amnesty, is both unconstitutional and unwise.

CONSTITUTIONALITY OF THE PRESIDENT'S PROCLAMATIONS AS TO SLAVERY AND AMNESTY.

The charge as to the unconstitutionality of these measures I propose here to examine. It resolves itself into the question which we have just been discussing in part, whether the nation, through its chief executive magistrate, has power to dictate terms of peace to rebels? He either has this power, or there is some precise limitation of it, which his act transcends. If the latter be the case, what is the limit to such power, and by whom is it to be exercised?

Congress has the power to control the acts of the President in most matters relating to war, and measures to enforce the laws of the United States, and to suppress insurrections and invasions. But, until such action of Congress, the measures of the President, within the scope of his war powers as chief executive officer of the government, and as commander-in-chief of the army and navy, are valid. Within such scope, which has a wide limit, all his acts are discretionary.

In addition, he has an unlimited power to grant reprieves and pardons for all offences against the United States, except in cases of impeachment. In time of foreign war, he may make a truce or armistice at his pleasure, and a peace, subject to the approval of the Senate. In case of rebellion, it is his duty to persist in measures for its suppression until it is terminated; of which termination he alone is to be the judge, unless Congress interfere by its supervisory power over him. It is an exercise of judgment which no judicial authority has a right to reverse or declare unconstitutional. So long as Congress does not assume the control of such measures, the acts of the President are to be regarded as sound and just; or, if they are otherwise, the only proper remedy is by impeachment.

Subject to these limitations and restrictions, had the Presi-

dent power to order armies, as they marched into the rebellious states, to liberate the slaves of rebels? It is undoubtedly a perfectly legitimate exercise of the war power, as we have already shown. But it is said he undertook to liberate slaves in large tracts of country, far beyond the immediate reach of the army. He did undertake to do this, unless the parties then in rebellion returned to their allegiance within a given time. But does the fact that the slaves were not then immediately within the reach of his armies make any difference, provided the power of the government ultimately reaches them? It seems to me the difference of time in perfecting the liberation announced makes no difference in principle. At all events there is no *constitutional* objection to the act. There is no power that can reverse it but Congress; and, so far as it is an act done, it is questionable whether Congress has power over it.

The power of amnesty in the President, in case of treason, is a direct constitutional grant, which all concede can not be interfered with.

From the remarks made it must be apparent that, *the movements of our armies to put down rebellion their interference with local institutions, as a rightful effect of war, the offers of amnesty as a preliminary to peace, aud the determining when peace and order are so established that it is safe to withdraw our armies, and trust to the efficiency of the civil arm of government for the due exercise of its authority, are all legitimate exercises of the powers of government.* And in the discharges of these powers it is but fair to presume the President and representatives of the people will endeavor to act for the best interests of the public.

TERMS OF PEACE.

I now propose to consider the question of terms of peace wholly independent of any measures the government may have taken in regard to it, and solely on what I conceive to be its just merits.

In doing this I set aside altogether any idea of peace in

connection with a dissevered Union. God and nature seem to have determined, in the configuration of our country, that we must remain one in union and one in destiny. There has been no contingency suggested which presents such a perpetual store-house of evils as a divided empire. Our people will not consent to be thrust back as an interior nation, cut off from the free outlet to the ocean through our large bays and rivers, or our being restricted to a limited or doubtful control over them. They will tolerate no hostile nation on our shores in alliance, offensive and defensive, with foreign despotisms. We have passed that contingency, I trust, if it ever existed, and stand firmly on the old Jackson ground—the Union, it must and shall be preserved!

Any question of peace which I shall consider will be peace where it alone is admissible—PEACE WITHIN THE UNION.

And I lay down here this proposition, that it is the duty of the government to make peace *whenever it can do so with a reasonable assurance that peace will be permanent.*

PEACE INCONSISTENT WITH THE CONTINUANCE OF SLAVERY.

In the second place, I lay down the further proposition *that there can be no reasonable assurance of a permanent peace while slavery exists.*

The reasons for this opinion I will endeavor to give. The history of the past shows that slavery has been a constantly disturbing element in our government. On the first establishment of the Constitution our western boundary was on the Mississippi river. Our whole country at that time was, for the most part, substantially settled, saving the Northwestern territory, which, under the impulse of those days in favor of liberty, was early set apart for a free population. Since that time our territory has been so enlarged that the Mississippi river now nearly disects us into two equal regions of country. Our flag floats alike on the shores of the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. In the words of an early New Hampshire poet—

> "No pent-up Utica contracts our powers,
> For the whole boundless continent is ours."

These changes have vastly multiplied the grounds of collision between the free and slave states, so that the battle has been fought between them over the acquisition of each foot of territory, the admission of each new state, the preliminary occupation and organization of each new territorial government, and in a thousand other instances where the lines of demarcation of their respective interests seemed to clash.

Europe has changed in the meantime. The Bourbon dynasty has gone down. New ideas of liberty have thrilled through the people of Europe. The spirit of the age is tending toward freedom everywhere. An emigration has flocked from the Old World, and peopled the Northern free states with unexampled rapidity, and the vanguard of millions, yet to come, are on the way.

A strife of opinions has been awakened among us, acting and reacting on each other, through the movements of extremists of either party, until their antagonistic forces have ultimately come in collision with a power and fearfulness that show the desperate nature of the encounter, and the question now arises, when will this strife stop? I answer that it will stop when the winds stop their motion; when the waves cease to roll; when truth shall succumb to falsehood; when darkness shall settle down on the earth like a pall, and the sun of light, and glory, and civilization, shall cease to shine. Never until then!

In prior portions of our history the efforts of many noble, loyal men, including Webster, Clay, and Jackson, have been put forth to conciliate, ward off, or repel the numerous evils, actual and threatened, arising from this conflict; but the result of their efforts was temporary. The danger was merely delayed. The hostility continued until slavery, at last, manifested its true character in sundering the Union and waging war against the government; and the question now arises whether there is any possibility of greater hope of the future than has existed in the past?

After the appalling calamities visited upon us by slavery, and the greatly increased hatred that exists toward it, can it be expected, if slavery should, under any circumstances, be

received back again into our councils, that Northern men will be ready, on account of any constitutional requirement, to rush to the South to put down servile insurrections? If a slave flees to the North, will our people henceforth rally, unitedly and harmoniously, to send him back to slavery? Shall we be willing to retain forever, as part of our inheritance, the balancing of free state against slave; the strife, the hatred, the antagonism between the systems of free and slave labor? Shall free speech be violently prohibited at the South, as heretofore, leaving the safety of Northern men, who may be casually there, at the mere caprice of an infuriate mob? Shall continual collisions exist as to the right of the South to extend slavery at their pleasure into the territories? And shall new efforts and raids be made against friendly governments, to acquire slave territory to be annexed to the Union, involving us in continual difficulties both at home and abroad? In fine, shall we have for ever reënacted the same disturbances, divisions, and animosities, that have characterized our position, arising from our connection with slavery, and which have culminated in the fearful controversy in which we are now involved?

These questions demand *the earnest consideration and fair answer* of all who are desirous of peace. They are not questions for the North to consider merely, but for the South, and for every reflecting man throughout the country.

If in time past these things were barely tolerated; if peace was then uncertain, and for ever trembling in the balance, can we expect anything better in the future? Is it possible that our excited, suffering people will endure again, willingly, all these tribulations? and is this endurance peace?

Besides, the question of peace with slavery appeals directly to the South on account of the bearing of the Rebellion on the character of the slave on his own soil—the home aspect of slavery—to which I have before adverted, but to which I will again recur.

The armies of the Union have penetrated in various directions far into the Confederate territory; have sundered its states into two sections, and have either shut up its promi-

nent seaports, or hold them by an armed force, and the pervading influence of freedom is reaching the slave on every threshold and hearthstone of the South.

It has become exceedingly doubtful whether the African race, with their newly awakened ideas of liberty, can be henceforth kept in slavery, in any contingency. Secession, that was designed to sunder the Union, has thus far sundered merely the bonds of slavery, or has so far weakened or paralyzed the rule of the master as to render the institution dangerous to him, and, in a prudential point of view, nearly or quite worthless.

The hope of freedom, now so prominent before the slave, is the only remaining safety-valve of slavery. Remove this, and there is danger, to say the least, of its being a mere lifelong insurrection, either destroying or placing in perpetual peril the happiness and best interests of the South.

COMPARATIVE VALUE OF THE UNION AND SLAVERY.

But there are other considerations bearing on this question, worthy of examination, arising from the comparative value of slavery and the Union.

If any one should doubt whether slavery was *necessarily the death of the Union*, still, if he believed its existence *would seriously endanger and imperil it*, that danger should insure its overthrow.

The value of the Union cannot be calculated. If our mountains were transmuted into gold they would form no appreciable commencement toward its valuation. There is no known quantity by which to estimate it.

On the other hand, the value of slavery can be calculated. The Southern planter will readily tell you the value of his best slaves, and the average value of the whole, reckoning together the young, the middle-aged, the old and infirm, of both sexes.

Now the North alone has paid two thousand millions of dollars on account of slavery, and will necessarily pay quite as much more by way of interest before this debt is liquidated.

It has sacrificed also two hundred thousand lives, and yet slavery is still crying, "Give! Give!"

Is this not enough to pay for slavery? And if this is the price we have already paid for it, and which we may have to pay again, is it not too great a risk to incur, to receive it back without terms and without question, to citizenship and life, when it is now a convicted felon, under sentence of death for its treason? Is it not altogether too much to put at hazard, if by so doing there is a *possibility* that it may at some future day destroy the Union?

COMPARATIVE VALUE OF SLAVE LABOR AND COMPENSATED LABOR.

Again, if the South would give this subject its due consideration, it might be clearly shown to them that their best interests are by no means dependent on slavery, and never have been; and for this reason there should be no reluctance or misgiving on their part in the surrender of slavery for the sake of peace.

There are two states of society—two systems of labor—either of which the South can select at its own option. The Southern planter may purchase his slaves at a considerable outlay of capital; be subject to interest upon it; provide his slaves with their homes and their clothing; pay their bills in sickness; maintain them in infancy and old age, and furnish them with such comforts as they may have beyond a mere subsistence; incur the risk as to their life and health; their habits of industry or insubordination; the expenses of the overseer; the risk of insurrection; the necessity of arming himself and his wife and children for protection, and be subject to the sleepless nights—the ever-watchful anxiety of the system. Or he may deal with his servants and laborers as men; devolving on them the responsibility of their own maintenance in such state and condition as the just recompense of their industry and faithfulness entitles them to; leaving them to rear up their children under their own care as parents; encouraging them to educate and elevate their race, mentally and morally; permitting them to own themselves and such

property as they may acquire, and to enjoy the sweets and blessings of liberty, coupled with those kind and beneficent influences that ever exist between a just and humane landlord and his tenantry, where mutual good offices can be rendered and reciprocated ; coupled, also, with the peace and harmony that is ever the attendant on relations thus sustained. Surely, there can be little doubt which of these systems can work the most good.

The opinion of Reverdy Johnson on this subject, who has always been a native of a slave state, is worthy of consideration. He says : "I believe, and have ever believed, since I was capable of thought, that slavery is a great affliction to any country where it prevails ; and, so believing, I can never vote for any measure calculated to enlarge its area, or to render more permanent its duration. In some latitudes, and for some agricultural staples, slave labor may be to the master the most valuable species of labor, though this I greatly doubt. In other states, and particularly in Maryland, I am convinced that it is the very dearest species of labor, and in all, as far as national wealth, and power, and happiness, are concerned, I am persuaded it admits of no comparison with the labor of freemen—and, above all, disguise it as we may, *if the laws of population shall not be changed by Providence, or man's nature shall not be changed, it is an institution sooner or later pregnant with fearful peril.*"

If this be so, slavery is a thriftless, improvident system, as well as dangerous in itself, and the South will lose nothing—indeed, will be every way the gainers—in the voluntary surrender of it for the sake of peace ; a peace as dear to them and their children as to Northern fathers and sons.

With freedom granted to the slaves, and proper treatment, remuneration and education, I believe they would form, in those sections of country where the climate is congenial to them, the most faithful, devoted peasantry in the world.

Simultaneously with the liberation of the slave, all the base acts of certain Northern states, expelling the colored race from their borders, and subjecting them to obnoxious penalties and provisions, should be repealed. They form a stigma of in-

justice and oppression in the legislation of those states, second only to the greater crime of the maintenance of African slavery.

RELIGIOUS ASPECT OF THE QUESTION OF SLAVERY.

A further and most controlling reason why slavery should be surrendered to SECURE A SAFE AND PERMANENT PEACE, is the religious aspect of the question.

How can we look for peace, and a blessing upon it, if we fail to regard the eternal principles of right and justice? The Almighty seems to have designed this continent to be the scene of a new dispensation in government, which should form a marked improvement as compared with the despotic and feudalistic governments of the Old World.

For this reason this country lay long hid from the rest of the world, until the great leading events in the history of man had opened hopes of better progress—until the advent of the benign dispensation of the Saviour, the discovery of the mariner's compass, the invention of printing, and the commencement of the long roll of march of the Reformation through the ages. At such an era our fathers sought a new clime, as a refuge from the persecutions of the Old World, where they might found institutions after their own model, and enjoy "Freedom to worship God."

Their great destiny subjected them, as a necessary prerequisite, to great trials, a struggle with the gloom and deprivations of the wilderness; wars with a savage foe, with the French Canadian provinces, and, ultimately, with England, for the preservation of those great principles of liberty they had come hither to gain. But a still greater trial awaited them. Bound up with the new institutions they had established was the bane of slavery, for which there was but one antidote—early and systematic efforts for its entire removal.

Our fathers knew the evil. They had proclaimed it in remonstrances to the throne of England against the refusal of the colonial governors to approve of laws prohibiting the slave-trade. They protested against the introduction of slaves, as an evil of "most alarming nature, and which might, in time,

have a most destructive influence on the security and happiness of the people ;" and the measures of the home government, in his respect, were, by one of the leading slave states, in her first constitution, alleged as a ground of separation from England.

Jefferson knew and foretold the consequences of slavery, and thought he saw "the way preparing, under the auspices of heaven, for its quiet, total emancipation." But, unfortunately, in the trial assigned to test our appreciation of the boon of liberty which Providence had granted to us, and our sense of justice and integrity as a people, *we failed*, and the judgments of God have at length come down upon us as directly as though they had been previously proclaimed against us from some Mount Ebal, as the certain reward of crime.

Had our fathers of the Revolution, after achieving their independence and establishing the Constitution, strenuously exerted themselves to procure the gradual abolition of slavery, it would long since have been terminated ; but the golden moment of a peaceable solution of the difficulty passed away. The institution became radically fixed upon us, until its own desperate disease threatens to become its cure, amid great calamities wrought upon us as a people.

The present strife comes not of men's asking. There is an inquisition for blood on our hands. God is as apparent now in history as when he released his own people with an outstretched arm and great judgments. Is it not in vain, then, for us, in this hour of our calamity, to attempt to compound for the evils of slavery ? Can we propitiate a just Providence by so doing ? Can we hope for peace unless we put the accursed thing away from us ?

I have thus completed my remarks on the several points proposed—*the effect of the rebellion on slavery in war, and the various considerations bearing on the question of peace ; a peace which shall be a final solution, and rest from all our difficulties.*

Permit me now to advert, very briefly, to one or two objections urged to the views I have advanced, and to the consistency of advocating them.

CONSTITUTIONALITY OF MEASURES PUT FORTH AGAINST SLAVERY IN DEFENCE OF THE UNION.

It is contended to be unconstitutional to exert the power of the government to put down slavery. I concede it to be so, so far as slavery is recognized and upheld in the Constitution. But when slavery changes the form under which only it is recognized in the Constitution, and becomes reason, and slaveholders become traitors, then I say we may *constitutionally* put down alike both the treason and the traitor.

Slavery has been perverted from its original position in this government. It is now arrayed against it as an antagonistic force. It is the lifeblood and motive power of the rebellion. It rears its snaky folds, and strikes its poison virus directly at the Constitution. On account of this foul attempt it has become accursed of God and man, and the person who fails to strike at the monster, who weeps at his death or sympathizes at his fall, greatly misunderstands his position if he thinks, by so doing, he maintains the Constitution and the Union, or supports the principles or patriotism of its founders.

RECONSTRUCTION.

One word on reconstruction. The shock of rebellion has left the body politic of our state governments, which have been partially recovered to us, wounded, shattered, and bleeding, at the best. Time must be granted for their recovery. The decayed, gangrene flesh must have opportunity to slough off, until, through the agency of new men, or at least of men who have been healed from the leprosy of treason, new life shall be imparted, and such states, through the people representing them, may once more resume their position as bright stars in the Union, redeemed, emancipated, and disenthralled.

A change from rebellion to loyalty, from the horrors of war to the blessings of peace, from a position in the Confederacy to one in this blessed Union, prepared for the full and proper discharge of its duties, is not a slight matter or without its difficulties. Wise measures must be adapted to this end,

securing the action of just and loyal men. Any exception taken to the necessary and essential qualifications required to perfect a change in such manner, is merely an exception to those laws which God has established for the recovery of any broken down, wounded, shattered, yet living thing of his creation.

CONSISTENCY OF UNION MEN SHOWN ALIKE IN OPPOSITION TO NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN ULTRAISTS.

The charge of inconsistency is sometimes made against those who have heretofore opposed abolition disunionists, but who now stand arrayed by the flag of their country, to strike down rebellion, though, in so doing, slavery is struck down with it.

This charge is made by so-called peace party men. Its unfounded character will appear from a moment's examination, while the clearest evidence of inconsistency will attach to those who make it.

The distinctive character of true democracy has been, at all times, its firm, consistent, devoted, undying love to the Union. It was this attachment that caused its opposition, in connection with that of all true Union men, to that phase of political abolitionism that sought to override the Constitution and denounce it "as a league with hell," having no binding effect on the people. That caused it to oppose and lament the bitter denunciations fulminated by this interest against the South, as tending to excite hostility and jealousy, and ultimately to react in sundering the ties that bind us together as a people. All true conservative men deeply regretted the existence of slavery among us, but believed the destruction of the Union would tend, in no manner, to remove the evil, but would elevate and enthrone it in an independent nationality along our borders, fraught with incalculable evil to us, and removing all hope of freedom for ever from the slave. While under the Constitution, with due regard to the rights of the states, it was hoped peace might be preserved, until, through the ameliorating influences of the gospel, and a better ultimate civilization, slavery would be done away.

From these views true Union men have never departed. But the same love of the Union that induced them to oppose danger from this source, led them equally to oppose danger to the Union from nullification, secession, and every other unconstitutional and disloyal ultraism of the South. Their consistency has not been bounded by any sectional limit. Their eyes have been fixed on the broad flag of the nation, and the first hand raised to strike it down, North or South, has been to them the hand of an enemy. Death to treason, come whence it may, is their war-cry!

What, on the other hand, has been the course of the so-called peace party men? Have they, at all times, held an even hand against the disturbers of their country's peace? Have they looked with abhorrence at the parricidal course of those men who have severed the Union, and dashed its flag to the earth. Let them answer before God and their country. Especially let them bring no charge against those who have been everywhere, and at all times, for the Union, and who now stand banded together, with all true friends of the country, to put down a godless rebellion!

I trust the bitterness of party feeling on this subject is beginning to give way, and that justice, patriotism, and love of the Union, will ere long be in the ascendant, so that, before another birthday of the Union shall come round, all parties will see that the only way of safety is to inscribe on their flag, —Uncompromising opposition to the rebellion and to its cause. If this be so, it will be comparatively immaterial which party triumphs, provided the country triumphs. There is a fearful responsibility resting upon us in this respect, as *it is an undoubted fact that with a united North, rebellion would at once cease. Disunion here now is its only reliance.*

APPEAL TO THE SOUTH.

May we not hope, also that our brethren of the South may yet see, from their own point of view and their own experience, though late, the ruin they have brought on themselves and the country, and hasten to retrace their steps. Their in-

terests, as well as ours, plead for peace; peace established on principles that will insure its permanence.

To secure this end, is it asking too much, after all the sufferings we have endured, to demand a release of slave property, now rendered almost worthless by their own acts, and around which have clustered all the causes of dissension between us? Especially is it asking too much, if, in so doing, we remit all other claim of indemnity, and remove, at the same time, an evil, which, if continued, would for ever hang over them and us, as a black cloud of impending doom? Surely these questions can admit of but one answer from any dispassionate mind. Could they be submitted to those noble patriots who framed our Constitution, they would meet with no dissenting voice.

Why, then, should not peace, tendered on the only ground which can insure its permanence, be accepted? The outcry of an attempt at subjugation will hardly stay a claim believed to be alike for the mutual benefit of all parties. There is a determination on the part of the people to see an *end* in this matter, and put down a rebellion unexampled in the baseness of its instigation and in the atrocity of its progress: and to put it down in a manner so that it shall not arise again to harm us. When the evil spirit that has possessed our Southern brethren is expelled from them, and they are once more in their right mind, we shall have no farther difficulty with them. But there will be nothing left to contingency—no smothered embers, to break out again into a blaze—no declaration of peace, where there is no peace. That angelic visitor will not be permitted to come to us in such a questionable shape that we shall not know whether

"She brings us airs from heaven, or blasts from hell!"

The accursed vampire that has fed on the blood of our children, North and South, will not be allowed to rear his head again, to molest any future generation! Our government, henceforth, never will fulfill its high destiny until it shall be indeed free—the hope and blessing of all nations; *without treason and temptation to treason;* and WITHOUT A SLAVE!

LOYAL PUBLICATION SOCIETY,
863 BROADWAY.

No. 53.

Wie der Krieg angefangen wurde.

Eine Berufung auf die Dokumente.

Mit besonderer Anführung südlicher Dokumente.

(Aus dem "Daily Commercial" von Cincinnati.)

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LOYAL PUBLICATION SOCIETY,

863 BROADWAY.

No. 53.

Wie der Krieg angefangen wurde.

Unter allen Ränken, welche die Copperheads anwenden, steht oben an die Behauptung, der Krieg, in den wir verwickelt sind, sei von den „Abolitionisten" herbeigeführt worden. Dieser Gegenstand bedarf einer Auseinandersetzung. Die folgenden einfachen Thatsachen, welche alle unter der Administration von James Buchanan statt fanden, werden die Sache klar machen:

December 10, 1860, Süd-Carolina secedirt.
Januar 8, 1861, Mississippi secedirt.
Januar 16, 1861, Florida secedirt.
Januar 19, 1861, Georgia secedirt.
Januar 31, 1861, Louisiana revoltirt.
Februar 1, 1861, Texas revoltirt.
Februar 5, 1861, Arkansas revoltirt.
Februar 9, 1861, Jefferson Davis wird als Präsident der südlichen Conföderation eingesetzt.

Nun, wer hat die Rebellion gemacht?
Und unter welchem König?

Eine Berufung auf die Dokumente.

Es war eine Zeit, in der wenige Personen im Norden eine andere Ansicht hatten oder aussprachen, als die, daß die Secessionisten ganz allein zu tadeln seien für den Krieg, der das Land verheert. Fast allgemein, ja selbst von den Gegnern der Administration war es anerkannt, daß der Krieg von der Regierung der Vereinigten Staaten nur zur Selbstvertheidigung und aus unvermeidlicher Nothwendigkeit geführt werde. Der „Cincinnati Enquirer" sagte nach der Beschießung von Fort Sumter: „die Schuld die-

ses Vergehens ruht auf den Rebellen und kann von denselben nicht abgewälzt werden." Später brandmarkte dieses Blatt mit glühenden Worten als unzeitig und thöricht alle Zumuthungen von Versöhnung und Compromiß; es sagte seinen Lesern: „In dem Werke der Wiederherstellung der Union müßt Ihr euch allein auf das Schwerdt verlassen—Grasbüschel haben Nichts ausgerichtet, die Zeit ist nun gekommen, es mit Steinen zu versuchen."

Wir haben zu wiederholten Malen diese Artikel des „Enquirer" abgedruckt, indem wir die Datums ihrer Veröffentlichung angaben; deren Authenticität ist unbestritten und unbestreitbar. Parteigeist aber hat das Alles geändert. Männer, die sich selbst nicht für Verräther oder in irgend einer Weise für Feinde ihres Landes halten, erklären nun täglich, stündlich, der Krieg sei von den Abolitionisten begonnen worden, er sei vom Anfang seinem Wesen nach unconstitutionell und in einen Krieg für den Neger umgewandelt worden. Selbst der Ex-Senator Allen geht umher und fragt, ob es überhaupt Krieg gegeben haben würde, wenn es keine Abolitionisten gäbe und die dickköpfigen Butternuts jauchzen bei dieser Frage und wiederholen sie als ob sie der Kern der ganzen Sache, unbeantwortbar, und die Entscheidung der ganzen Streitfrage sei. Es ist darum an der Zeit, auf die Thatsachen, auf die Dokumente dieses Prozesses zurückzugehen.

Ueber die Antisklaverei-Agitation.

Es ist behauptet worden, die Antisklaverei-Agitation in diesem Lande sei dem Süden nachtheilig gewesen, und habe den Sklavenbesitz beschädigt und das Volk des Südens in unbeherrschbare Wuth versetzt. Hören wir das Zeugniß, welches der Süden selbst über diesen Punkt ablegt!

(Aus einer Rede des Senators Hammond von Süd-Carolina. Oktober 24, 1858.)

„Und was war denn damals (1833) die öffentliche Stimmung in dem Süden? Washington hatte seine Sklaven frei gegeben. Jefferson hatte das System mit Bitterkeit denunzirt und was er nur konnte für dessen Vernichtung gethan. Unsere Clays, Marshalls, Crawfords und viele andere hervorragende Männer des Südens traten als Verfechter des Colonisationsplans auf. Die unvermeidliche Folge davon in dem Süden war, daß derselbe die Sklaverei für ein Uebel, eine Schwäche, eine Schmach,—ja für eine Sünde hielt und vor der Diskussion über dieselbe zurückschrack. Er beugte sich feige vor jeder Drohung. Er versuchte sich zu rechtfertigen und zu entschuldigen, indem er, der Wahrheit gemäß, geltend machte, daß England ihm die Sklaverei aufgedrungen habe und so erwartete der Süden

in Furcht und mit Zittern das Todesurtheil, welches er für unvermeidlich hielt.....

„Nun denn, es würde jetzt schwer sein einen Südländer zu finden, dem das System eine Gewissenslast wäre; der nicht in der That glaubte, daß es gleich vortheilhaft für den Herrn wie für den Sklaven ist, und daß es beide höher bringt; der es nicht für eine Quelle des Reichthums, der Stärke, der Macht hielte; der nicht in ihm einen der Hauptpfeiler und der leitenden Einflüsse der modernen Civilisation erblickte; der nicht bereit wäre, es um jeden Preis zu erhalten. Dies waren die glücklichen Folgen jener Abolitions-Diskussion.....

„Während eines Vierteljahrhunderts war die Sklaverei dem Toben des wüthenden, unbarmherzigsten Sturmes ausgesetzt. Im Norden und in Europa hätte man selbst alle Kriegsfurien auf uns loslassen mögen. Und wie steht es nun? Nun, in demselben Vierteljahrhundert hatte die Zahl unserer Sklaven sich verdoppelt und der Preis eines jeden Sklaven ist mehr als verdoppelt."

(Aus einer Rede von A. H. Stephens von Georgia, Juli 1859, als derselbe, wie er selbst glaubte, im Begriffe war, sich vom öffentlichen Leben zurückzuziehen.)

„Auch gehöre ich nicht zu jenen, welche glauben, daß wir durch jene Agitation irgend einen Schaden gelitten haben. Es ist wahr, wir waren nicht verantwortlich für dieselbe. Wir waren nicht die Angreifer. Wir handelten nur zur Selbstvertheidigung. Wir wiesen den Angriff der Verläumdung und der Schmähung durch Beweisführung, Vernunft und Wahrheit zurück. Aber weit entfernt, daß diese Diskussion die Institution der afrikanischen Sklaverei in unserem Gebiete geschwächt oder unsicher gemacht habe, halte ich entschieden dafür, daß dieselbe sie bedeutend gestärkt und befestigt hat — gestärkt und befestigt nicht nur in der Meinung, in der Ueberzeugung und dem Gewissen der Menschen, sondern auch durch die Handlung der Regierung."

Ueber das nach Lincoln's Erwählung vorgeschlagene Compromiß.

(Aus der Rede des Herrn Iverson, Senator aus Georgia, December 5, 1860. "Congressional Globe," Session 1860—61, Theil I., von Seite 10 an:)

„Herr Präsident,—Vor dem 4. März, vor der Einsetzung Ihres Präsidenten werden gewiß fünf Staaten, wenn nicht acht aus der Union geschieden sein und eine Constitution und eine Regierung für sich geschaffen haben.....

„Sie sprachen von Concessionen. Sie sprachen von der Abschaffung der

Gesetze für persönliche Freiheit als von einem Zugeständnisse zu Gunsten des Südens. Schaffen Sie dieselben alle morgen ab und die Revolution wird nicht aufgehalten werden. . . . .

„Auch nehmen wir gar nicht an, daß Herr Lincoln sich irgend einer offenen Handlung wird schuldig machen. Ich für meinen Theil fürchte nicht diese offenen Handlungen. Ich bin aber nicht gesonnen, dieselben abzuwarten.“ . . . .

(Aus der Rede von Robert Toombs in dem Senate der Vereinigten Staaten, Jan. 7, 1861. "Congress. Globe," Theil I. Zweite Session. Sechs und dreißigster Congreß. Seite 267, in der dritten Spalte.)

„Die Union ist aufgelöst. Das ist auf dem Wege dieser Debatte eine vollendete Thatsache, welche man wohl in Erwägung zu ziehen hat. Einer unserer Bundesgenossen hat bereits wacker, kühn, muthig der öffentlichen Gefahr sich ausgesetzt und er ist seinen Brüdern nur darum voraus, weil er mit größerer Leichtigkeit zu rascher That schreiten konnte. Die große Mehrheit jener Bruderstaaten betrachtet unter gleichen Verhältnissen, seine Sache als die ihrige und ich rufe Ihnen heute in deren Namen zu: „Rührt Sagunt nicht an!“ Es ist nicht nur deren Sache, es ist eine Sache, welche die Sympathie von Zehn, von Hundert Tausenden ehrbarer, patriotischer Männer in den Nicht-Sklaven-Staaten hat und deren Unterstützung erhalten wird.

„Ich werde nicht viel Zeit für die Frage verschwenden, welche meinem achtbaren Freunde (Herr Crittenden) so sehr wichtig zu sein scheint—das constitutionelle Recht eines Staates aus der Union zu scheiden. Vielleicht wird er etwas später ausfinden, daß dies eine vollendete Thatsache ist. Sie haben die Trennung bereits im Süden so ziemlich in beider Weise. Süd-Carolina gab sie Ihnen regelmäßig nach dem gebilligten Plan. Sie erhalten sie eben jetzt dort unten (in Georgia) wie ich glaube, unregelmäßig, auf nicht gesetzlichem Wege, ohne regelmäßige Handlung. Sie können sie in irgend einer Weise in die Hand nehmen. Sie werden Männer finden, welche beide mit den Waffen vertheidigen.“

Es wird vier Mal auf die Amerikanische Fahne vor dem Bombardement von Fort Sumter geschossen.

Am 9. Januar 1861, als von Morris Island auf den „Star of th West“ geschossen wurde, fiel der erste feindliche Schuß auf ein Schiff unter dem Schutze des Unions Banners in Amerikanischem Gewässer. In welchem Geiste dies geschah wird Folgendes zeigen:

(Aus einem Leitartikel des „Charleston Mercury," Januar 10, 1861.

„Süd-Carolina hat nicht gezögert, dem Beleidiger den ersten Schlag in's Gesicht zu geben. Mag die Regierung der Vereinigten Staaten nach Belieben den Schlag, welcher noch ihre Ohren sausen macht, hören oder zurückgeben; er ist die Folge ihrer eigenen Banditenkühnheit. Wir würden nicht für Millionen diesen Schlag zurücknehmen! Er hat ein halbes Jahrhundert von Hohn und Schmähung weggewischt! Süd-Carolina kann wieder, ohne Schamröthe für seine gegenwärtige Ehre, stolz sein auf seinen historischen Ruf und seine Ahnen. Bereits hat das stolze Echo seiner Kanone von Maine bis Texas durch jedes Dorf im Norden und hinunter bis zu den Gewässern des Süd-Westens wiedergehallt."

(Der Eindruck, den die auf dem „Star of the West" wehende Amerikanische Fahne machte, wird in folgender Weise von dem „Charleston Courier" vom 10. Januar geschildert:)

„Eine Kugel wurde vor dem Bugspriet des Dampfers hingesandt. Der „Star of the West" entfaltete das Sternenbanner. Sobald die Fahne sich entrollte, feuerte das Fort zu wiederholten Malen."

In der Nacht von Sonntag, den 13. Januar 1861, wurden bei Vicksburg auf dem Mississippi auch andere Amerikanische Schiffe die Zielscheibe des Rebellenfeuers. Artillerie war zu diesem Zwecke dahin gesandt worden. Die Zeitungen von Vicksburg gaben zur Zeit eine prahlende Schilderung dieser Beleidigung der Union, aus welcher der Staat so eben durch die Secessionsordonnanz vom 9. Januar getreten war.

Unmittelbar nach der Organisation der Regierung der Conföderation zu Montgomery, erließ der Finanzminister, Herr Memminger, Circulare, durch welche er die Mauthbüreau's bei Nelm's Landing an dem Mississippi unterhalb des Staates Tennessee errichtete, der damals noch nicht secedirt hatte. Diese Circulare erschienen am 6. Februar 1861. Ihr Inhalt beweist die stürmische Eile, mit welcher die Rebellen den Handel auf dem Mississippi mit Abgaben belegten.

(Der dritte Fall des Feuerns auf Amerikanische Schiffe wird von dem „Savannah Republican" vom 2. August 1861 mitgetheilt.)

„Zwei Kugeln wurden gegen das Dampfboot „George's Creek" von Baltimore gesandt."

Im Laufe der ersten Woche von April 1861 wurde im Hafen von Charleston auf einen Schooner gefeuert.

(Der „Savannah Republican" vom 5. April 1861 sagt unter Anderm:)

„Derselbe wurde von Morris Island mit einem Kanonenschuß begrüßt. Sogleich zog er die Unionsfahne auf, aber diese Demonstration schien keine

genügende Antwort auf die Aufforderung. Mehrere Kugeln wurden in sein Tackelwerk gesandt; eine davon fuhr durch das Hauptsegel und das Marssegel."

Die Versöhnungslust der Rebellen.

Wir geben hier einen Artikel von den Hunderten, welche in der südlichen Presse zur Zeit als die Räumung des Fort Sumter im Norden besprochen wurde und als man da allgemein glaubte, es werde dieselbe auf Grund „einer militärischen Nothwendigkeit" stattfinden.

(Aus dem „Houston [Texas] Patriot" April 5, 1861.)

„Die Ritterschaft" hat triumphirt und der Norden „frißt Koth." . . .

— — — — — — — —

Sie haben Koth fressen und sich vor der herrschenden Race des Südens beugen müssen und Nichts hört man im Norden als deren Wuthgeschrei. Von der Presse, aus den Werkstätten, von der verhungernden Volsmasse; von den ruinirten Kaufleuten, aus allen Ständen und Klassen kommt der Ruf: Gebt die Forts auf; laßt uns Koth fressen und leben; laßt uns wieder vor der höhern Race des Südens niederfallen; wir wollen leben. Die feigen Millionen des Nordens sagten uns, daß wir die Union nicht verlassen könnten. Wir thaten es offen und kühn und demüthig anerkannten sie unsere Regierung als eine Nothwendigkeit. Sie jubelten für ihr Sternenbanner und forderten die „Ritterschaft" heraus, dieses heilige Symbol anzurühren. Wir haben es herabgerissen. An dessen Stelle haben wir das Banner der Conföderation gesetzt. Wir haben sie herausgefordert uns zu bezwingen und den Schimpf zu ahnden; wir haben ihre gerühmten Kriegshaufen auf das Schlachtfeld beschieden, aber von den feigen Hunden hört man nur den Schrei: Militärische Nothwendigkeit, gebt die Forts auf, zieht die Truppen zurück. Wir wollen Koth fressen und leben. Ekelerregend ist der Gedanke, je mit einem solchen Volke unter derselben Regierung gelebt zu haben, aber freuen wir uns über die Trennung und blicken wir nach dem Süden.

Das Treiben im Norden ist selbst unserer Verachtung nicht würdig, während Mexiko durch einen Einfall von Texas uns einladet unsere frühere Thätigkeit wieder aufzunehmen.

(Welche Gesinnung die Rebellen gegen die Unionsmänner deutscher Abkunft hegen, mit welcher Rohheit und Verachtung die südliche Aristokratie von der deutschen Race spricht, mag folgender Auszug aus dem „Knoxville Register," Juni 12, 1863, zeigen.

„Neuerdings haben wir in allen Schlachten und bei allen von der Bundes-Cavallerie gemachten Einfällen gefunden, daß die große Masse der nörd-

lichen Soldaten aus „Dutchmen" besteht. Die von Forrest gefangen genommenen plündernden Diebe, welche die Hälfte der Juwelen und der Uhren in einem Dutzend von Counties in Alabama stahlen, waren reine „Dutchmen." Der Nationalgeruch der „Dutchmen," dieser Race eben so eigenthümlich wie der, welcher beständig aus den ausgespannten Nasenlöchern des Negers zum Himmel emporsteigt, ist ebenso unverkennbar als der ganz eigenthümliche Geruch eines Stinkthieres, einer alten Pfeife, oder eines Lagerbier-Salons. Verbrechen, Diebstähle und Schandthaten an den Frauen des Südens verübt, bezeichnen stets den Pfad dieser stinkenden Truppenkörper von belebtem Sauerkraut. Rosenkranz selbst ist ein unvermischter Dutchman, er gehört der verfluchten Race an, welche das unendliche Gebiet des Nordwestens überfluthet hat. . . . . Wir haben mehr Achtung vor einem Aethiopier in den Reihen des nördlichen Heeres als vor einem stinkenden Dutchman, der kein denkbares Interesse in dieser Rebellion haben kann. . . . . Warum sollte nicht jeder gefangene Dutchman gehängt werden? Wir werden künftig alle Weißen, welche in Negerregimentern kommandiren erhängen, erschießen oder auf Lebenszeit einsperren und die Neger selbst wieder zu Sklaven machen. Das ist nicht zu hart. Niemand wird das Gegentheil behaupten. Warum sollten wir denn nicht einen Dutchman hängen, der viel weniger unsere Sympathie verdient, als Sambo. Die lebenden Massen von Bier, Sauerkraut, Tabak und faulem Käse, die zu Fuß und zu Pferd plündernd durch den Süden streifen, sollten dazu benutzt werden, die Sandebenen und öden Hügelabhänge von Alabama, Tennessee und Georgia zu düngen . . . Sobald ein Regiment von Dutchmen die Aeste eines südlichen Waldes schmückt, werden deren kühne Cavalleri-eeinfälle in den Süden aufhören. . . . Der Präsident Davis braucht nicht besonders befragt zu werden und wenn einer plündernden Bande, wie der, welche Forrest gefangen nahm, ein Unfall zustoßen sollte, glauben wir nicht, daß unser Präsident sehr ärgerlich werden würde."

Das Sumter-Ereigniß.

(In dem „Charleston Courier" vom 4. April 1861, befindet sich der Bericht einer Rede, welche der Senator Wigfall von Texas bei einem Ständchen hielt. General Beauregard, der Gouverneur Pickens und andere Personen desselben Schlages waren gegenwärtig. Der hier folgende Satz der Rede von Wigfall drückt vollkommen den Geist aus, welcher damals in Charleston herrschte.

„Ob Major Anderson durch Beschießung oder Aushungerung aus dem Fort getrieben werden soll, ist nur eine Frage der Zweckmäßigkeit. Die

Ehre des Südens wurde gerettet, als man auf das Banner der Vereinigten Staaten schoß und sie bleibt für immer gerettet, da die Feinde es nicht gewagt haben, ihre Erbitterung über diesen Schuß an den Tag zu legen."

Möge der Leser jedes dieser Worte wohl erwägen, denn sie müssen in der Erinnerung leben! Wigfall sagte die Wahrheit in Bezug auf Anderson's Lage. Es war für die südliche Conföderation „Eine Frage der Zweckmäßigkeit," ob sie den Major Anderson durch Beschießung oder Aushungerung vertreiben sollten; und die Absicht der Beschießung war, die Grenzstaaten in die südliche Conföderation zu stürzen. Diese Staaten zögerten; Virginien besonders hielt zurück. In seiner Convention befand sich eine Unions-Majorität und die Freunde der Union behaupteten entschlossen ihre Stellung, trotz des heulenden Pöbelhaufens, der unter der Leitung von Individuen, wie O. Jennings, Wise und Roger A. Pryor um das Capitol von Virginien her tobte und den Freunden der Union den Tod drohte.

Pryor war damals im Congreß der Vertreter von Petersburg (Va.) Er kam mit einer Mission von Seiten der Virginischen Secessionisten zu den unter Waffen stehenden Süd-Carolinern. Am 10. April 1861 kam er in Charleston an und hielt am Abend eine Rede, welche wörtlich in dem „Charleston Mercury" mitgetheilt wurde. „Ich kam," sagte er, „um Süd-Carolina den Ausdruck meiner unbegrenzten Dankbarkeit zu bringen. So hoch ich auch dasselbe früher achtete, so hatte ich doch nie vorher den Charakter von Süd-Carolina in seiner ganzen Größe gewürdigt." —

(Folgendes ist ein wörtlicher Auszug aus Pryor's Rede.)

„Ich danke Ihnen, meine Herren, ganz besonders dafür, daß Sie endlich diese verfluchte Union, deren Corruption uns entgegen stinkt, deren Tyrannei alle Grenzen überschreitet, vernichtet haben. (Beifall.) Gott sei Dank, endlich hat sie der Blitzstrahl eines entrüsteten Volkes versengt und zerrissen. (Lauter Beifall.) Sie ist nicht blos vernichtet,—sondern auch für immer. (Zuruf: Sie haben Recht!—und Beifall.) Sie ist, wie die Bibel sagt, auf den Boden gegossenes Wasser, das nicht mehr aufgeschöpft werden kann. (Beifall.) Wie Lucifer, der Sohn des Morgens, ist sie gefallen, um nie wieder aufzustehen. (Anhaltender Beifall.) Was mich betrifft, so würden vergebens morgen Abraham Lincoln und Hannibal Hamlin ihre Aemter niederlegen und mir einen weißen Bogen Papier geben, um die Bedingungen der Rückkehr zu der gestorbenen Union darauf zu schreiben; ich würde mit Verachtung deren Anerbieten zurückweisen.

„Ich fordere Sie auf und richte gewissermaßen die persönliche Bitte an

Sie, insofern es sich darum handelt, uns in Virginien zu unterstützen, ich fordere Sie auf, in Ihrem Ausdruck der öffentlichen Meinung, in der Darlegung Ihrer offiziellen Absicht den Gedanken der Reconstruction nicht zu billigen. (Viele Stimmen mit Nachdruck „Nie! Nie! und Beifall.) Jedermann sagt in Virginien, daß man im äußersten Falle die Sache des Südens gegen die Interessen des Nordens aufnehmen werde, aber im Geheimen flüstert man von Reconstruktion und von der Nothwendigkeit in der Union zu bleiben mit dem Gedanken, die Union, die Sie vernichtet haben, zu reconstruiren. Ich bitte Sie, meine Herren, nehmen Sie jenen Leuten diese Idee. Verkünden Sie der Welt, daß unter keiner Bedingung Süd-Carolina je wieder in eine politische Verbindung mit den Abolitionisten von Neu-England treten wird. (Beifall und Geschrei: Nie! Nie!)

„Mißtrauen Sie Virginien nicht. So gewiß, als morgen die Sonne über uns aufgehen wird, wird Virginien ein Mitglied der südlichen Conföderation sein. (Beifall.) Und ich will Ihnen sagen, meine Herren, was Virginien in weniger als einer Stunde bei einer Shrewsbury-Uhr in die Conföderation bringen wird.—Thuen Sie einen Schlag! (Stürmischer Beifall.) Sobald Blut vergossen ist, wird Virginien gemeinschaftliche Sache mit seinen Brüdern des Südens machen. (Beifall.) Es kann unmöglich anders handeln."

So entledigte sich Pryor seiner Mission. Man wird sich erinnern, daß Wigfall, der am 4. die Frage der Zweckmäßigkeit aussprach, und Pryor, der einen Schlag verlangte und Blut forderte, als Adjutanten des Generals Beauregard bei dem Angriff auf Fort Sumter thätig waren.

Nachdem beschlossen war, daß Zweckmäßigkeit die Vertreibung des Majors Anderson aus Fort Sumter durch eine Beschießung und nicht durch Aushungerung verlange, daß ein Schlag gethan werden müsse, um das alte Virginien aus der Union zu bringen, daß Blut vergossen werden müsse, wurde Major Anderson aufgefordert, Fort Sumter zu übergeben. Eine eigenthümliche, höchst bedeutungsvolle Correspondenz fand statt. Am 11. April 1861, 11 Uhr des Morgens, wurde von General Beauregard an Anderson folgende Mittheilung gesandt:

Major,—In Folge der Ihnen durch meine Adjutanten, die Herren Chestnut und Lee gemachten mündlichen Mittheilung in Bezug auf Ihre Vorräthe und den Umstand, daß Sie in wenigen Tagen ausgehungert werden würden, wenn nicht unsere Kanonen Sie zusammenschössen,"—schlug nun General Beauregard vor, daß Anderson angebe, wann seine Vorräthe erschöpft sein würden, und gab vor, das Blutvergießen vermeiden zu wollen.

Major Anderson erwiederte am 12. April 1861, 2 Uhr 30 Minuten Vormittags:

„Wenn ich mit den nöthigen Transportmitteln versehen werde, will ich Fort Sumter am Vormittage des 15. April räumen, falls ich nicht vorher von meiner Regierung bindende Befehle oder Zufuhr an Lebensmitteln erhalten habe."

Auf diese Erklärung, daß er dem Verhungern nahe sei, und binnen drei Tagen das Fort werde übergeben müssen, erhielt Major Anderson folgende Antwort:

April 12., 1861, 3½ Uhr Morgens.

Mein Herr,—Auf Befehl des Brigadier-General Beauregard, Commandanten der provisorischen Streitkräfte der Conföderirten Staaten, haben wir die Ehre, Ihnen anzuzeigen, daß derselbe in einer Stunde das Feuer von seinen Batterien auf Fort Sumter eröffnen wird.

Wir haben die Ehre, ꝛc.

James Chestnut, jr. Stephen D. Lee, Adjutanten.

Und demgemäß wurde das Feuer eröffnet.

Nach der Beschießung von Fort Sumter.

In der Nacht nach der Uebergabe von Fort Sumter brachte man Jefferson Davis und seinem Kabinete zu Montgomery ein Ständchen, und der Kriegsminister, L. T. Walker von Alabama, sprach die folgenden bekannten Worte:

„Niemand kann sagen, wo der Krieg, der heute begann, enden wird, aber er wolle die Weissagung aussprechen, daß die Fahne, welche jetzt hier flattert, vor dem 1. Mai auf dem Dome des Capitols zu Washington wehen wird."

Diese Worte wurden gesprochen, ehe der Präsident der Vereinigten Staaten irgend einen Akt vollzogen hatte. Es war eine direkte und offizielle Drohung, daß das Capitol der Vereinigten Staaten von den Rebellen genommen werden solle. Wie dieselbe in dem Rebellengebiete aufgenommen wurde, werden die folgenden Auszüge aus Zeitungen jener Tage zeigen:

(Aus dem „Richmond Enquirer," April 13., 1861.)

„Achtung, Freiwillige!—Nichts ist wahrscheinlicher, als daß der Präsident Davis bald ein Heer durch Nord-Carolina und Virginien nach Washington führen wird. Diejenigen unserer Freiwilligen, welche beabsichtigen, der südlichen Armee bei ihrem Durchmarsch durch unsern Staat sich anzuschließen, würden gut daran thun, sich augenblicklich zu diesem Zwecke zu organisiren und ihre Waffen, Uniformen, Munition und Tornister bereit zu halten."

(Aus der „New-Orleans Picayune," April 18.)

„Die erste Folge der Secession von Virginien wird die Auswanderung Lincoln's und seines Kabinetes sein, mit Allem, was er in die sichere Nachbarschaft von Harrisburg oder Cincinnati— vielleicht nach Buffalo oder Cleveland mitnehmen kann."

(Aus dem „Richmond Examiner," April 28.)

„Nie vorher gab es in dem Volk halb so viel Einstimmigkeit oder ein Zehntel des Eifers in Bezug auf irgend einen Gegenstand, als dies jetzt der Fall ist für die Eroberung von Washington. Von den Bergesgipfeln und den Thälern bis zur Meeresküste ertönt der wilde, stürmische Ruf, Washington um jeden Preis zu nehmen."

(Aus der „Goldsboro [N. C.] Tribune," April 24.)

„Wir erfahren, daß Duncan K. McRae, Esq., der vergangene Nacht hier ankam, besondern Befehl hat, ein Regiment von Nord-Carolina nach Washington zu führen. Dasselbe hat sich bereit zu halten, nach 48 Stunden aufzubrechen. Dies verwirklicht die Worte des Kriegsministers Walker zu Montgomery in Bezug auf die Bundeshauptstadt. Es verlegt die Schlachtlinie von dem Potomac an die Grenze von Pennsylvanien."

(Aus dem „Raleigh [N. C.] Standard," April 24.)

„Nord-Carolina könnte jetzt sein volles Contingent zum Angriff auf Washington senden. Unsere Straßen wimmeln von Soldaten und Offizieren. Washington wird bald zu heiß sein für A. Lincoln und seine Regierung. Nord-Carolina hat sich ausgesprochen und wird seine Erklärung zu verwirklichen wissen."

(Aus dem „Eufala Expreß" [Alabama], April 25.)

„Mit dem unabhängigen Virginien auf der einen Seite und den Secessionisten von Maryland (die ohne Zweifel die Mehrheit der Bevölkerung sind) auf der andern, sollte es jetzt unsere Politik sein, die Bundeshauptstadt zu nehmen und Lincoln und sein Kabinet zu Kriegsgefangenen zu machen. Haben wir erst die Häupter der Regierung in unserer Gewalt, so können wir die uns beliebigen Bedingungen vorschreiben und vielleicht einen langen, blutigen Kampf vermeiden."

Wie Virginien aus der Union gebracht wurde.

Man wird sich erinnern, daß, nachdem Pryor's Schlag zu Charleston gethan war,—jener Schlag, der Virginien in einer Stunde aus der Union bringen sollte,—die Convention, durch den Pöbel eingeschüchtert, die

Secessionsordonnanz annahm, die der Billigung des Volkes durch die Wahlurne unterworfen werden sollte. Dann war es augenblicklich der Plan der Secessionisten, den wahren Ausdruck des Volkswillens unmöglich zu machen. Ein Brief des Senators Mason, geschrieben am 16. Mai zu Winchester in Virginien und veröffentlicht in dem „Winchester Virginian" vom 22. Mai enthüllt das ganze Complott. Der Brief enthält, wie er sagt, die Antwort auf die vielfach an ihn gerichtete Frage:

„Welche Stellung würde Virginien einnehmen, wenn die Secessionsordonnanz bei den bevorstehenden Wahlen vom Volke verworfen werden sollte?"

Er sagte:

„Die Secessionsordonnanz hat den Staat aus der Union genommen, und zwar mit allen aus der Trennung entspringenden Folgen. Zur gemeinschaftlichen Vertheidigung wurde unmittlbar nach der Annahme der Secessionsordonnanz von der Convention im Namen des Volkes von Virginien ein Militärbündniß mit den Conföderirten Staaten des Südens abgeschlossen, demgemäß die letzteren verpflichtet sind, unserem Staate gegen einen Einfall von Seiten der Bundesregierung zu Hülfe zu eilen, und wir haben nun in Virginien zu Harpers Ferry und zu Norfolk dem gemeinsamen Feinde gegenüber mehrere Tausende der tapfersten Söhne von Süd-Carokina, Alabama, Louisiana, Georgia und Mississippi."

Er fährt dann fort, darzuthun, daß, bliebe der Staat in der Union, diese südlichen Truppen den Behörden der Vereinigten Staaten ausgeliefert werden müßten. Und als Schluß fügt er den ganzen Operationsmodus der Secessionisten hinzu:

„Fragt man nun: Was haben die zu thun, welche ihrer Ueberzeugung gemäß Virginien nicht von den Vereinigten Staaten losreißen können, so ist die Antwort einfach und bestimmt: Die Ehre sowohl als die Pflicht verlangt von ihnen nicht über diese Frage abzustimmen; bleiben sie dieser Ueberzeugung getreu, so müssen sie den Staat verlassen.

Die angebliche Vorlage der Secessionsordonnanz vor das Volk war also nur eine Komödie. Der Pöbel von Richmond und andern Orten setzte seinen Fuß auf das „Souveräne Volk" des „Souveränen Staates." Wenn ein Bürger die Secession nicht wollte, so hatte er den Staat zu verlassen. Es stand ihm nicht frei, dagegen zu stimmen.

Die behauptete Veränderung des Charakters des Krieges.

Davon hört man jetzt viel sprechen. Der folgende Generalbefehl des Generals Beauregard, der mehr als einen Monat vor der Schlacht bei Bull

Run erlassen wurde, scheint dem Krieg einen schlimmern Charakter gegeben zu haben, als man es irgend seitdem behauptete:

„Hauptquartier zu Alexandria.
Lager Pickens, Juni 5, 1861.

„Ein ruchloser, principienloser Feind ist in unser Land eingefallen. Abraham Lincoln, ohne Achtung vor den moralischen, gesetzlichen und konstitutionellen Schranken, hat seine Abolitionsbanden in unsere Mitte gesandt; sie morden und kerkern Euere Mitbürger ein; sie confisciren und zerstören Euern Besitz und begehen andere Gewaltthaten, zu schamlos, für das menschliche Gefühl zu empörend, um aufgezählt werden zu können. Alle Regeln einer civilisirten Kriegsführung sind aufgegeben und durch ihre Handlungen, wenn nicht durch ihre Fahnen, verkünden die Feinde, daß ihr Schlachtruf lautet: ‚Beute und Frauen.' Alles, was dem Manne theuer ist, Euere Ehre, die Eurer Frauen und Töchter, Euer Vermögen, Euer Leben—sind in diesem verhängnißvollen Kampfe auf's Spiel gesetzt.

C. T. Beauregard,
Command. Brigadier-General

Th. Jordan, als General-Adjutant-Assistent."

Die demokratische Partei, sagt man uns jetzt, ist gegen den Krieg „wegen seines veränderten Charakters." Ehe man etwas von den Resolutionen Crittenden's hörte, erschien folgender Paragraph:

(Aus dem „Dayton Empire," April 15., 1861.)

„Der „Cincinnati Commercial" verlangt, daß Ohio auf einmal zehntausend Mann stelle. Er sagt, dies sei keine Parteifrage. Allerdings nicht; das ist das alte Losungswort, wenn man die Demokratie ausverkaufen will. Es wird dem „Commercial" viel Zeit kosten, diese zehntausend Mann zu erhalten. Wir hoffen, daß jeder Demokrat in der Legislatur fest gegen Einen Dollar und Einen Mann stimmen wird. Wir hatten mit der Hervorrufung dieses Bürgerkrieges nichts zu thun, und wir beabsichtigen nicht, den Kampf zu übernehmen."

Der „Dayton Empire" war beim Erscheinen dieses Paragraphen das Heimathsorgan von Herrn Vallandigham. Es ist nicht unwahrscheinlich, daß er diesen Artikel schrieb. Es scheint also, daß die Vallandigham-Demokraten genau von dem Standpunkt „keinen Mann, keinen Dollar" ausgingen, auf dem neulich die Platform der „heimlichen Verräther" in Kentucky aufgestellt wurde.

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LOYAL PUBLICATION SOCIETY

863 BROADWAY.

No. 54.

Our Burden and our Strength,

OR,

A COMPREHENSIVE AND POPULAR EXAMINATION OF THE DEBT AND RESOURCES OF OUR COUNTRY PRESENT AND PROSPECTIVE.

BY DAVID A. WELLS.

"AS THY DAYS SO SHALL THY STRENGTH BE."

NEW YORK:

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The object of the Society is expressed in the following Resolution, formally adopted by unanimous vote of the Society, at its first Anniversary Meeting, February 13, 1864.

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OUR BURDEN AND OUR STRENGTH,

OR A

COMPREHENSIVE AND POPULAR EXAMINATION

OF THE

DEBT AND RESOURCES OF OUR COUNTRY,

PRESENT AND PROSPECTIVE.

CAN we pay our present and prospective National Debt, or even the interest upon it? Can we bear without impoverishment as a people, the burden of our present or future necessary taxation? These are questions which the continuance of the war and the exigencies of the times continually call up in the hearts, if they do not prompt to utterance upon the lips, of multitudes of our citizens.

All are more or less familiar with the general facts respecting the increase of the population of our country and its wondrous development in wealth and resources; but few have been enabled to bring the subject so definitely and clearly before them as to draw from it that trust and encouragement for the future, which it is certainly capable of affording. Recognizing this fact, it has occurred to the writer that good and timely service might now be rendered to the country, by instituting a large and accurate inquiry concerning our national ability—present and prospective—to pay our maximum future debt, *interest* and *principal;* and rising from this study, with the highest degree of encouragement, he begs leave to call the attention of his fellow-citizens to the

statistics which he has been enabled to collect; hoping thereby, that the faith they feel in our ultimate and triumphant success, may be made the stronger; that anxiety and fear may be, in a degree, banished from their hearts; and by means of a courage justly entertained, and duties consequently well performed, they may aid in reducing the fluctuations of the currency; may sustain the laborer and the capitalist in their right relations; may help to give the dollar its just value; to labor its full reward; and by seeing that the production of national wealth is still advancing with giant strides, and that the war does not and cannot retard its progress, they may be further assured that the credit and honor of the country are to be amply and perfectly sustained.

The discussion of the topics involved in such an inquiry, must, of necessity, be mainly statistical, and therefore will undoubtedly be judged by some, *à priori*, as dry and uninteresting; for unfortunately there are many disciples, in all countries, of the old Pasha, described by an English traveller, who, when asked to lend his authority to aid in the collection of statistical information, exclaimed, "Oh, joy of my liver, I have been sixty years in this province, and twenty years governor of this town, but never yet have I inquired as to the number of tiles on the houses, nor what kind of dirt the people take away in their carts. Mashallah! life is short, let us enjoy its blessings and ask no questions." If there are any such, perchance, among our readers, to them we shall offer no apology, but enter at once upon our subject.

Previous to 1861, the United States stood before the world in the anomalous position of a great nation, with substantially no national debt. Having since conformed in this respect to the usages of all other civilized people, it is desirable, in the outset of this inquiry, to compare our debt and its distribution *per capita* with the national debt of the leading nations of Europe. For this comparison we assume that the debt of the Federal Government, which at the close of the fiscal year in June, 1864, was about $1,750,000,000, will, at the close of the war, amount to $3,000,000,000 (three thousand millions), an

amount which, with proper annual taxation, certainly ought not to be exceeded. The various figures tabulated, will then afford us the following exhibit:

TABLE

Showing the present and prospective debt, interest and population of the United States, with the present debt, interest and population of Great Britain, France, Austria, Italy, and Holland.

	Public Debt.	Population.	Annual Interest.	Debt to each person.	Av. Interest to each person.
United Loyal States, July, 1864	$1,750,000,000	24,900,000	$ 75,000,000*	$72,92	$3.01
At the close of the war, assumed to take place in 1865	3,000,000,000	34,000,000	180 000,000	82.35	5 35
In 1870, assuming 30 per cent. as the average decennial increase of population†	3,000,000,000	40,950,000	180,000,000	73.26	4.38‡
In 1880, do.	3,000,000,000	53,235,000	180,000,000	56.34	3.38
In 1890, do.	3,000,000,000	69,205,500	180,000,000	43.35	2.60
In 1900, do.	3,000,000.000	89,964,150	180,000,000	33.34	2.00
Great Britain, March, 1863	3,915,000,000	30,000,000	127,564,000	130 46	4.25
France, 1862	2,206,000,000	37,000,000	110,000,000	59.65	3.00
Austria, 1862	1,263,000,000	35,000,000		36.10	
Italy, 1863	764,000,000	22,000,000		34.73	
Holland, 1863	424.500,000	3,600,000	12,244,000	117.00	3.40

It would thus appear from the above table (the figures and estimates of which are, it is believed, entirely reliable) that assuming the actual national debt at the close of the federal fiscal year, June, 1864, to be $1,750,000,000, the apportionment of debt to each individual of the loyal States would be $72.92, and of the annual interest $3.01. If we assume further, that the war termi-

* Of the debt of the Loyal States, July 1st, 1864, as above given, an amount at least equal to $500,000,000 (existing in the form of currency) is not chargeable with interest.

† See table of population from 1790 to 1860, which follows.

‡ It must be borne in mind, in comparing the interest account of the debt of the United States with that of Great Britain and the other European states, that the rate per cent. varies greatly. In Great Britain the average rate of interest paid on the National debt does not exceed 3½ per cent. In France the highest rate paid s 4½ per cent. while much of the French debt pays a rate as low as 3 per cent

nates at or before the close of 1865, and that the national debt has reached at that period the sum of $3,000,000,000, then the debt for the population of the restored Union, will average $82.35 for each individual, and the annual interest $5.35. Supposing the debt to remain the same, (*i. e.*, $3,000,000,000) and the population to increase in the ratio of only 30 per cent. for each decennial period, the table shows the rapid decrease of individual liability for debt and interest during the remaining years of the present century.

The average increase of the population of the United States prior to 1860, has been generally assumed by statisticians, to have been at the rate of three per cent. per annum. That the actual increase has, however, been always in excess of this ratio will be seen by the table on page 5, in which the increase of the population of the United States is given for each decennial period since the establishment of the Constitution, and also the increase of the population of Great Britain during the same period ; of France since the year 1801 ; and of Prussia since 1816.

TABLE

Showing the actual and percentage increase of the population of the United States by decades, from 1790 *to* 1860; *of Great Britain, from* 1793 *to* 1861; *of France, from* 1801 *to* 1861; *and of Prussia, from* 1816 *to* 1861.

	Year.	Population.	Increase per cent. by Decades.
United States	1790	3,929,827	
Great Britain	1793	14,500,000	
United States	1800	5,305,937	Increase 35.02 per cent.
Great Britain	1800	16,000,000	" 10.34 " "
France	1801	27,349,000	
United States	1810	7,239,814	Increase 36.43 per cent.
Great Britain	1812	18,000,000	" 12.50 " "
Prussia	1816	10,319,000	
United States	1820	9,638,191	Increase 33.13 per cent.
Great Britain	1823	21,193,438	" 17.42 " "
France	1821	30,461,000	
Prussia	1822	11,664,000	
United States	1830	12,866,020	Increase 33.49 per cent.
Great Britain	1833	24.304,799	" 14.60 " "
France	1831	32,569,000	
Prussia	1834	13,038,000	
United States	1840	17,069,453	Increase 32.67 per cent.
Great Britain	1841	27,041,031	" 11.35 " "
France	1841	34,230,000	
Prussia	1840	14,051,000	
United States	1850	23,191,876	Increase 35.87 per cent.
Great Britain	1850	27,300,000	" .97 " "
France	1851	35,283,000	
Prussia	1849	16,296,000	
United States	1860	31,445,080	Increase 35.59 per cent.
Great Britain	1861	29,334,788	" .70 " "
France	1861	37,400,000	
Prussia	1861	18,491,000	

SUMMARY.

United States, increase in 70 years....700.41 per cent.
Great Britain, " " 68 " ....102.30 "
France, increase in 60 years....37.00 per cent.
Prussia, " " 45 " ....79.00 "

Having thus presented an exhibit of our present and prospective national liabilities (in comparison with those of the leading nations of Europe), it is proper next to consider the subject of our national assets, and to inquire as to what are the resources on which, as a nation, we can *at present* rely to meet our pecuniary indebtedness.

The officially assessed value of *all* the real and personal property of the United States in 1860, was $16,159,000,000. Of this amount there was credited to the loyal States and territoties the sum of $10,957,448,956 ; and to the disloyal, $5,202,-167,500. Large as this valuation seems, it was, nevertheless, in the opinion of the best statisticians, considerably below a true estimate ; inasmuch as real property, in actual practice, is rarely valued, for census returns and for purposes of assessment, at more than *two thirds* of its real value, while large amounts of personal property, from the facility with which it is concealed, escape valuation and assessment altogether. The increase in the value of real and personal property of the whole United States for the decennial period of 1850-60, was in the ratio of 126.45 per cent., and of the loyal States about 129 per cent. Supposing, for the sake of caution, that the general ratio of decennial increase has been reduced since 1860 from 126 to 100 per cent. (the reverse, however, being probably more in accordance with the truth), then the value of all the real and personal property of the loyal States, on the 1st of July, 1864, would be about $15,300,000,000.

Supposing the whole of the property to be distributed equally *per capita* among the existing population of 24,900,000, then the apportionment to each individual would be $614.95.

Supposing the rebellion to terminate at or before the close of 1865, the population of the restored Union (which was 31,500,-000 in 1860) to be 34,000,000, the debt $3,000,000,000, and the value of the real and personal property of the seceding States to be somewhat less than that prior to 1860 (*i. e.*, $5,000,-000,000), then the value of the real and personal property of the whole Union would be about $21,579,000,000, the average

wealth *per capita* $634.52 ; the average debt *per capita* $82, and the average annual interest *per capita* 5.35. Large though these proportions may seem, yet applying them, practically, we should not consider the case of an individual as particularly one for commiseration, whose debts and liabilities were less than *one seventh* of his available assets, and if not the individual, then certainly not the country, restored, renewed, reinvigorated, as it must be with the termination of the rebellion and extinguishment of Slavery.

But as the payment of our national debt is not a necessity of the present, but of the future, it is pertinent next to inquire as to what are the resources which the future will be able to command for the purpose of meeting the financial burden to be laid upon it. In prosecuting this inquiry, we have to deal with facts and figures of an entirely anomalous character. European history furnishes us with no precedents which can be quoted as either examples or parallels. In fact, there is nothing in all human history, to which the regular increase of the national wealth of this country, since the establishment of the Constitution, can be likened. It is the most wonderful fact of our wonderful national history, and like most other things peculiarly American, must be judged of by our own standard and forecasted entirely from our own precedents. Previous to the year 1840, no attempt was made by the government to obtain, by actual investigation, accurate data for the estimation of the value of the real and personal property of the United States, or of the value of the annual product of the agricultural, manufacturing and commercial operations of the nation. Estimates, however, have been made by several statisticians, from various available data, of the national valuation of the five decennial periods anterior to 1840, which are believed to be approximately accurate ; and since 1840 we have had official valuations of the property of the Union at the end of each census decade. All of these valuations are known to be defective in various particulars, and especially prominent among these, is that of under valuation. This, although a matter to be regretted, has, however, the advantage that it frees an exhibit like the one we

are presenting, from all suspicion of undue overstatement. The following table shows the population of the country and its decennial percentage increase; the estimated or the official valuation of the wealth of the country for each decennial period since 1791; the increased decennial percentage value; the average property to each person, and the average value of the yearly national product.

TABLE

Showing the population and wealth of the United States by decades from 1790 *to* 1860; *population of the loyal States in* 1864; *decennial percentage increase of population; decennial percentage increase of national wealth; average property to each person; average annual value of the national product.*

Year.	Population.	Value of real and personal property.	Decennial percentage increase of populat'n.	Decennial percentage increase of wealth.	Average property to each person.	Average annual value of the national product.
1790	3,929,827	(estimated) $750,000,000			$187,00	$187,500,000
1800	5,305,937	(estimated) 1,072,000,000	35.02 per cent.	43 per cent.	202.13	300,000,000
1810	7,239,814	(estimated) 1,500,000,000	36.43 per cent.	39 per cent.	207.20	420,000,000
1820	9,638,191	(estimated) 1,882,000,000	33.13 per cent.	25.4 per cent.	195.00	526,960,000
1830	12,866,020	(estimated) 2,653,000,000	33.49 per cent.	41 per cent.	206.00	742,840,000
1840	17,069,453	(official) 3,764,000,000	32.67 per cent.	41.7 per cent.	220.00	1,063,135,000
1850	23,191,876	(official) *7,135,780,000	35.87 per cent.	89.6 per cent.	307.67	2,004,000,000
1860	31,500,000	(official) *16,159,000,000	35.59 per cent.	126.42 per cent.	510.00	3,804,000,000
1864	Loyal States 24,900,000	(estimated) 15,300,000,000	four years 12 per cent.	four years 40 per cent.	614.95	4,018,000,000
1865	Rest'd Union assumed 34,000,000	(estimated) 21,574,000,000			634.52	5,713,500,000

* "A question has been raised in some quarters, as to the correctness of these valuations of 1850 and 1860, in embracing in the valuation of 1850 $961,000,000, and in the valuation of 1860 $1,936,000,000, as the assessed value of slaves, insisting that black men are persons and not property, and should be regarded, like other men, only as producers and consumers. If this view of the subject should be admitted, the valuation of 1850 would be reduced to $6,174,780,000, and that of 1860 to $14,223,618,068, leaving the increase in the decade $8,048,825,840.

The advance, even if reduced to $8,048,825,840, is an increase of property over the valuation of 1850 of 130 per cent. while the increase of population in the same decade was but 35.59. As the value of

It thus appears from the statistics of the above table, that while the population of the United States increased from 1850 to 1860 in the large ratio of 35.5 per cent. the wealth of the nation increased during the same period in the much more remarkable ratio of 126.45 per cent. ; or from $7,135,780,000 in 1850 to $16,159,616,000 in 1860 ; or at the rate of more than nine hundred millions ($902,383,584) per annum. During the same period, Great Britain experienced an increase of less than *one* per cent. in population, and an estimated increase of national wealth amounting to about *thirty-three per cent.* But startling and unprecedented as has been this extraordinary increase of our national wealth, one needs but a cursory glance at the details to feel satisfied that the exhibit is every way reliable and correct.

Thus, for example, the wealth of the State of Iowa increased from $23,714,000 in 1850, to $247,338,000 in 1860, or in the decennial ratio of nearly 943 per cent. California, the second State in respect to the rapidity of growth in wealth during the same decade, increased from $22,161,000 in 1850, to $207,874,000 in 1860, or nearly 838 per cent. ; while Wisconsin increased her valuation 550 per cent. ; Illinois 467 per cent. ; and Michigan 330 per cent. Nor was the rapid increase of wealth confined to the new States of the West solely, although the augmentation there during the last census decade, was by far the most remarkable. Thus, Connecticut increased her wealth from $155,707,000 in 1850, to $444,274,000 in 1860, or in the ratio of 185 per cent. ; while Ohio added to her wealth the value of $689,000,000, or 138 per cent. ; and Pennsylvania $694,000,000, or about 96 per cent. New York, though adding not quite 71 per cent. to her wealth of 1850, yet absolutely augmented it by $763,000,000 ; a sum more than $20,000,000 in excess of three times the value of the wealth of Iowa ; $200,000,000 more than has been acquired by South Carolina since her existence as a State ; and exceeding in amount

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slaves to the country as laborers is obviously not affected by transferring them from the schedule of property to that of persons, we have adopted the census estimates of 1850 and 1860 as officially given. In the future the country will undoubtedly be greatly the gainer in wealth by the change in the condition of the Southern laborers from a state of servitude to one of freedom. This point will be considered hereafter.

the entire wealth of any other State in 1860, with the exception of Massachusetts, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Illinois, and Virginia.

The two States which increased their valuation the least during the decade in question, were Vermont and Massachusetts, yet the former added to her wealth 33 per cent., and the latter 42 per cent.; the absolute increase in Vermont being more than $30,000,000; and the absolute increase in Massachusetts $242,000,000. We have, therefore, in these detailed statements, elements which show precisely how and where this enormous increase of 126.45 per cent. in the wealth of the nation from 1850 to 1860, was effected.

Supposing now the war to close at or before the end of 1865, with a restoration of the dominion of the old Union; supposing also the wealth of the loyal States to have increased since 1860 at the decennial ratio of 100 per cent. (an under rather than an over estimate); and the valuation of the disloyal States at that period to be one thousand millions less than in 1860; then the re-united nation will start anew on its era of peace, with a capital of twenty thousand millions, and an annual increase of wealth which certainly cannot be estimated at less than $2,000,000,000.* This sum, it should be borne in mind, is not the *income* of the nation, out of which the population are to pay for their subsistence and their luxuries, but the profit over and above our expenses as a nation; or in other words, it is an actual increase of capital—the product of labor, machinery and commerce—which is to be annually applied to the permanent improvement of the country, and to be made the instrument of earning more wealth. So much, then, for the resources of the country at the close of the war, or at the close of the year 1865.

Let us now cautiously prospect the resources of the future, basing our estimates on the teachings of the present and the past. For this purpose we assume the decennial increase of the population of the country for the remainder of the present

*Adopting the ratio of increase at 100 per cent. for every ten years, instead of 126.45 per cent., the ratio of increase from 1850 to 1860.

century (commencing back with the year 1860) to be 30 per cent., and the decennial increase of our national wealth to be 100 per cent. ; and from these data as the basis of our calculations, we deduce the figures of the following table :

Years.	Population.	National Wealth.	Average property to each person.	Average debt (assumed at $3,000,000,000) for each person.	Annual interest per capita.	Percentage of debt to property.	Average annual value of the national product; the annual ratio of increase assumed being 10 p. c.
1860	31,500,000	$16,159,000,000	$ 510.00				$3,804,000,000
1865	34,000,000	21,574,000,000	634.52	$ 82.35	$ 5.35		5,713,500,000
1870	40,950,000	32,318,000,000	789.00	73.26	4.38	9.28	7,608,000,000
1880	53,235,000	64,636,000,000	1214.00	56.35	3.38	4.64	15,216,000,000
1890	69,205,500	129,272,000,000	1878.00	43.43	2.60	2.32	30,632,000,000
1900	89,964,150	258,514,000,000	2873.00	33.34	2.00	1.16	61,264,000,000

In the above table, one of the points brought out, which is most worthy of interest after the statement of the enormous prospective increase of our national wealth, is the exhibit of the manner in which, in a growing, flourishing state, the burden of a national debt decreases relatively to the burden of the property which must pay it. This, which we show prospectively in the estimates above given for the future, is also strikingly illustrated by actual facts derived from the financial history of Great Britain. Thus in forty-two years, from 1816 to 1858, the percentage of national debt to national wealth fell from 40 to 13 per cent., while the capital of the debt itself was reduced less than three hundred millions on $4,200,000,000 ; or the burden fell as from 40 to 13, while the debt fell only as from 40 to 37 ; or to put the case in a still stronger light, the debt of 1858, which would have been a charge of 37½ per cent. on the whole private wealth of Great Britain in 1816, was only 13.4 per cent. on the property of 1858.*

But objections will naturally arise in the minds of many persons. Surprised at the apparently incredible results deduced from our statistics respecting the future, they will urge that there

* Dr. William Elder. National Almanac, 1864.

must be some mistake in the ratios and estimates we have assumed or calculated upon; or if not this, then that we have no reasonable grounds for believing the future of our country is to develop itself, as respects wealth and population, in anything like the ratios of the past. It is therefore proper before proceeding further in our inquiry, to review in a degree the ground we have gone over, and if possible detect and make allowance for all real or probable errors.

And first, as regards population. The ratio of decennial increase from 1860 to 1900, the conclusion of the present century, we have assumed at 30 per cent. Now the actual increase has not fallen to so low a ratio as this, during any one of the seven decades that have elapsed since the establishment of the Constitution to 1860. During the three most unpromising periods of our national history, viz.: the decade embracing the first federal administration, when order was being restored from the previous revolutionary chaos; the decade of the last war with Great Britain, when the Capitol of the nation was taken and burnt; and the decade which includes the disastrous financial years of 1837-38—the ratios of increase were respectively 35, 33, and 32.67 per cent. It must, therefore, be evident, that so far as all inferences from the past are concerned, we should be justified in fixing the ratio of the prospective increase of population in the United States at considerably above 30 per cent. In the official report of the *eighth census*, published during the present year (1864), the following are the calculated estimates of the population of the country for the remaining four decades of the present century, viz: 1870, 42,300,000; 1880, 56,450,000; 1890, 77,266,000; 1900, 100,355,000. The figures we have assumed in our calculations are considerably less than these official estimates, viz.: 1870, 40,950,000; 1880, 53,235,000; 1890, 69,205,500; 1900, 89,964,150.

Some light on this subject, so far as the present decade is concerned, may also be obtained from an examination of the recent statistics of emigration. The following table exhibits the

amount of foreign emigration into the United States for the forty years included in the *four* last census periods, or from 1820 to 1860:

From 1820 to 1830	244,490
" 1830 to 1840	552,000
" 1840 to 1850	1,558,300
" 1850 to 1860	2,707,624
Total	5,062,414

Being a yearly average of 126,560 for the last forty years, and 270,762 for the last ten years. Immigration reached its maximum in the year 1854, when the number of aliens arriving in this country was reported for that year at 427,833. Subsequent to this year, foreign immigration rapidly diminished, viz.: to 200,000 in 1855; 200,000 in 1856; 251,000 in 1857; 123,000 in 1858; and 121,000 in 1859. Since then, notwithstanding the breaking out and continuance of our domestic troubles, immigration has commenced to flow upon us in rapidly increasing proportion, viz.: 153,640 in 1860; 120,000 (estimated) in 1862; 182,000 in 1863; while, for the present year, the number will probably reach, if not exceed, 300,000; the average arrivals for May and June being reported at about a thousand per day. With the return of peace, and the opening up of opportunities for profitable mining upon the Pacific, of cotton cultivation in the South, and of employment at large wages in the various manufacturing establishments that are sure to originate or increase under a permanent protective tariff, immigration will undoubtedly continue to flow upon us in a rapidly augmenting ratio. So far, then, as our increase of population is dependent upon this agency, we think we are fully justified in believing that the decennial increase will not be less than the figures assumed, viz.: 30 per cent.

We come next to consider the subject of the prospective increase of our national wealth. The great facts developed by the statistics of the census of 1840–50, and of 1850–60, are the

very remarkable ratios, according to which the increase of our national wealth progresses. These ratios constitute, in a great degree, the basis on which our estimates of the future augmentation of national values are founded ; and the direct point of inquiry next before us is, are we justified in assuming them as standards of comparison ? or, in other words, have we reasonable grounds for believing that the future of the country, as respects the development of its resources and the increase of its wealth, is to be, even approximately, like the experience of the past ?

Large as was the official valuation of the national wealth, and the decennial ratio of increase, as returned by the census of 1860, there is, as has been already intimated, abundant and conclusive evidence in proof, that the estimates were considerably lower than the actual. In illustration of this assertion, we submit a few statements, easily capable of verification, relative to the estimated and the actual wealth of portions of the State of New York. We have selected this State simply because the documents embodying the facts in question were readily accessible to us ; and not because we have any reason for inferring that the valuation of New York was more exceptionable than that of any other State.

Thus : It appears from the report of the State Assessors, presented to the Assembly of New York, January 12th, 1863, that the amount of *personal property* belonging to *citizens of New York*, insured December 12th, 1860, in the various insurance companies belonging to, or doing business in the State, was $1,471,000,000, a sum considerably greater than the valuation of all the *real and personal* property assessed by the State during the year 1861 ; and one thousand one hundred millions ($1,138-000,000) in excess of the official valuation of all the personal property of the State for the year 1863.

Again : The value of all the real and personal property of the city of Troy, in the State of New York, as returned to and adopted by the State and county authorities for the purpose of assessment in the year 863, was a little less than $14,000,000. In May, 1862, a fire occurred in this city, which was estimated

to have destroyed from one fifteenth to one twentieth of the property of the entire city. The money value of the property *actually* destroyed was officially estimated by the Fire Commissioners at $2,724,000 (an amount exceeding one half of the assessed valuation of *all the personal* property of the city); on this an insurance was paid of $1,396,000, an amount equivalent to one tenth of the assessed value of *all* the property of the city. If we now assume, as we have every reason to do, that the valuation by the Fire Commissioners of the property destroyed was correct, and that this amount represented as much as one tenth, instead of one fifteenth, of all municipal values, then the correct valuation of the entire city in 1863—making due allowance for the losses over and above the insurance—would be, instead of $14,000,000, $25,912,000. To this must further be added the valuation of the land within the city limits, as the value of this within the burnt district was not impaired by the fire, and consequently was not included in the estimate of the losses returned by the Commissioners. It is thus evident, that the official valuation of the property of one of the large cities of the State and country did not, at its maximum, approximate within fifty per cent. of the true and actual valuation.

But this excessive under-valuation of property in official estimates is not, however, limited to large cities; it extends equally to the small, country, agricultural towns and districts. As an illustration of this, we have selected, at random, for examination, from the latest available official document of the State of New York, the returns of the town of Hoosic, a thriving agricultural, and to some extent, manufacturing town, in the northeast part of Rensselaer County, in the State of New York. The population of this town, by the census of 1860, was 4,446. The value of all the *personal* property of the town, as returned by the county assessors for 1863, was $188,412. For the purpose of testing the correctness of these figures, we propose now to institute an independent inquiry respecting the valuation of the personal property of this town, deriving our data for this

purpose from official documents and other sources of information equally open to the public, and, at the same time, premising that the writer has never visited the town in question, and does not enjoy a personal acquaintance with any of its inhabitants.

We find, first, by referring to the tables of the last New York State census, that the number of sheep returned as belonging to the town of Hoosic, was 22,394, of fleeces 25,800, and a yearly product of wool amounting to 85,519 lbs. Estimating the wool at 50 cents per pound, and the sheep after shearing at $2.50 per head, we have then of personal property in the items of sheep and wool alone, a valuation of $98,729, or more than one half of the officially-returned value of all the personal property of the town. But in addition to the sheep and wool, there was also returned as belonging to the town for the census year, the following other items, which are regarded in valuations as personal property, to wit: 863 horses; 2,600 swine; 1,700 head of cattle; agricultural tools and implements to the value of $46,600; and of farm produce, 69,000 lbs. of butter; 36,000 lbs. of cheese; 6,500 tons of hay; 63,000 bushels of oats; 5,000 bushels of wheat; 13,000 bushels of rye; 6,900 bushels of barley; 4,300 bushels of buckwheat; 52,000 bushels of corn; 33,000 bushels of potatoes; 266,000 lbs. lint of flax; 8,300 bushels of flaxseed; 5,600 bushels of apples; 3,000 lbs. of honey; while the annual value of poultry and eggs sold was returned as upwards of $6,000. The town also contains one of the largest manufactories of agricultural implements in the country; an extensive cotton-mill, a woollen-mill, paper-mill, iron-foundry, saw-mill, grist-mill, &c., &c.; in all, representing personal property to the amount of at least $200,000. In addition to the above, we have also obtained from gentlemen, whose opportunities for forming a judgment have been good, an estimate, that the value of stocks (Government, State, manufacturing and bank), and other interest-bearing securities, held by the inhabitants of this town, could not, at any time within the last

five years, have less than a valuation of from two hundred and fifty to three hundred thousand dollars. If now to the items thus enumerated we allow a fair amount for certain non-enumerated articles, whose valuation is always a matter of difficulty, —such as household furniture, wearing apparel, small stocks of merchandise, jewelry, watches, carriages and the like—we think we are fully warranted in assuming that, at the time the personal property of the town of Hoosic was estimated by the State officials at $188,412, its actual and real value could not have been less than $800,000, and, in all probability, was in excess of a million.

Now whether we are justified in inferring, from the above facts and statistics, that a discrepancy between the real and appraised value of property, equal to that which, we think, we have shown to exist in the State of New York, applies to the whole country, may be a matter of doubt, and we therefore leave it to the judgment of our readers. But this much, we affirm, can most unquestionably be asserted, viz.: that wherever the judgment of competent appraisers can be obtained, respecting the valuation of the real or personal property of any town, city, or district, in any State, such estimate, will be found to exceed by at *least* 30 per cent., any coincident valuation officially made, for census or assessment purposes.

The conclusions to which our investigations therefore lead us are, that the national valuation of sixteen thousand millions in 1860, and the decennial increase of 126 per cent. (remarkable as these results truly are), must have been really much less than the actual and true values and their augmenting ratio. And we think, furthermore, that the facts warrant us in believing, that the total wealth of the country was, in 1860, upward of twenty thousand millions, and the decennial ratio of increase nearer 150 than 126 per cent.

The results of the past, then, as we have stated them in our tables and estimates, do not therefore admit of a doubt, and we

come next to the task of examining the nature of the increase of our wealth and population from 1860 to the present time.

The decennial ratio of increase in the wealth of the loyal States, we assumed to have diminished since 1860, in consequence of the war, from 129 per cent. (the census estimate) to 100 per cent., and we have also adopted these latter figures as the prospective ratio of the increase of the wealth of the whole country for the remaining decades of the present century. As no official valuations (National or State) have been made since 1860, the store of facts from which we can draw, to fortify our assumptions respecting the progress of the last four years and of the future, must be necessarily limited. The few that we have at our command, are, however, interesting and highly significant.

The returns of the various "joint-stock Fire Insurance Companies" of the State of New York, as made to the State Insurance Bureau, show an increase in the property insured against fire during the year 1862, of $173,000,000 over the amount insured in the same companies in 1861; and an increase of 360,000,000 for the year 1863, over the amount insured in 1862. The returns of the Fire Insurance Companies in Massachusetts also show an increase of $29,800,000 in the amount of risks taken in 1862, over those taken in 1861. We are well aware that any deductions which can be drawn from these statistics must be very indefinite; yet they nevertheless truly indicate a great progressive increase of wealth in the country during a most extensive and expensive war.

The returns of Savings Banks, in the few States where annual and accurate reports are officially published, furnish us, however, with more definite information respecting the recent increase of public wealth; and especially of the material condition of the laboring classes. Thus, in the State of New York, the deposits in the Savings Banks increased from 1858 to 1861 (inclusive) as follows:

1858	$41,472,000	1860	$58,178,000
1859	48,194,000	1861	67,440,000

In 1857, the total deposits in all the Savings Banks of Great Britain and Ireland (the United Kingdom) amounted to £37,000,000 ($185,000,000). In 1857, the population of the United Kingdom was estimated to have been about 29,000,000, while that of the State of New York in 1861, was probably about 4,000,000. The latter, therefore, with a population in 1861 a little less than one seventh of that of Great Britain, in 1857 had more than a third as large deposits in her Savings Banks ; a most striking commentary on the relative prosperity of the laboring classes of the two countries.

The returns of the Savings Banks of Massachusetts are more complete than those of New York, and are consequently more interesting. Thus, taking the ten years from 1850 to 1860, the deposits in this State increased 231 per cent. In the same period the population of the State increased about 24 per cent. ; the total valuation, about 50 per cent. ; and the bank capital (the means required to carry on the business of the State), about 75 per cent. The accumulation of industrial savings, therefore, exceeded all the other ratios of State development in the above-mentioned period.* The deposits from 1860 to 1863 (inclusive) have been as follows :

1860	$45,054,000	1862	$50,403,000
1861	44,785,000	1863	56,883,000

Returns from Maine. New Hampshire, Vermont, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, also show a similar progressive increase of deposits during the last few years in their respective Savings Banks ; and the same is also probably true of the Savings Banks of most of the other loyal States, although, from the lack of official reports, this cannot be positively asserted.

Now these facts and statistics, like others previously referred to, have no parallels to the history of the Savings Banks of Great Britain or of Europe. There, on the breaking out of war ; the interruption of great branches of industry ; the failure

* Complete returns of the Savings Banks in the State of New York, prior to 1858, are not obtainable ; but for the four years next subsequent to 1857, the yearly increase of deposits was more rapid than in Massachusetts.

of crops; or during seasons of great financial embarrassment, the deposits are not merely suspended, but they are rapidly withdrawn. Thus, in Great Britain, in nine out of the seventeen years which elapsed from 1841 to 1857 inclusive, the withdrawals exceeded the deposits; and in the years 1847 and 1848, which were periods of great commercial distress in England, the excess of withdrawals over deposits was more than twenty-five millions of dollars. On the other hand, in 1861, when the loyal portion of the United States was entering upon a struggle, growing out of an attempt to destroy the whole future of their Government—thereby involving in a common ruin all public and private credit; when Southern indebtedness to the North, to the estimated amount of $200,000,000, was deliberately repudiated; and when, as a legitimate consequence of this state of things, the trade, industry, and commerce of the country were everywhere extremely depressed; then, in this disastrous year, the withdrawal of deposits from the American savings banks were so small as to be hardly worthy of notice; the decline in the aggregate deposits in Massachusetts being only $269,000 out of a capital of $45,500,000; while in New York, there was an actual excess of deposits over withdrawals of more than six and a half millions, and an aggregate gain in capital of more than nine millions. It should also be borne in mind in this connection, that, since the commencement of the war, large sums have been continually diverted from savings banks to government securities; and it is the opinion of those well qualified to judge, that the decline in the savings bank deposits of Massachusetts for 1861, was due almost entirely to the diversion of investments into this and other channels, and not to the impairment of the popular resources.*

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* For the above statistics relative to Savings Banks, we are mainly indebted to the report of the Bank Commissioners of Massachusetts for 1861 (issued in 1862); a report which, through its exhibit of the condition of the savings banks of Massachusetts and New York for the first year of our civil war, is said to have made so great an impression upon a leading European banker, as to induce him to keep a copy of it constantly by him as a most unanswerable argument in favor of the ample ability of the loyal States to prosecute their war and carry any consequent debt without the slightest aid from European capitalists.

The statistics respecting the production of the great agricultural staples of the loyal States since the year 1859, as published in the reports of the National Bureau of Agriculture, also indicate a continued and large increase in these important elements of our country's wealth and strength. Thus, the product of wheat, which in 1859 was 138,000,000 bushels, was, in 1862, 189,000,000 ; and in 1863, 191,000,000. This great increase of 1862 and 1863 over 1859 cannot, however, be altogether considered as a regular increase, inasmuch as the crop of 1859, on which the last census returns were based, was somewhat below an average, while the crop of 1862 was one of the best ever harvested. In 1863, the crop of wheat gathered in the summer was good ; but the fall crops of corn, barley, potatoes, &c., were badly injured ; first, by long-continued droughts ; and secondly, by remarkably early and destructive frosts. These facts must also be borne in mind in considering the following agricultural statistics of the loyal States for 1859, 1862, and 1863, which, for convenience, we have arranged with those of wheat given above, in the form of a table :

Productions.	1859.	1862.	1863.
Wheat	138,000,000 bushels.	189,000,000 bushels.	191,000,000 bushels.
Oats	152,168,000 "	172,520,000 "	174,858,000 "
Rye	18,792,000 "	21,254,000 "	20,798,000 "
Barley	15,433,000 "	17,781,000 "	16,760,000 "
Corn	547,029,000 "	586,704,000 "	452,446,000 "
Potatoes	107,337,000 "	114,533,000 "	101,457,000 "
Tobacco	230,343,000 pounds.	208,807,000 pounds.	267,302,000 pounds.
Hay	19,073,000 tons.	21,500,000 tons.	20,000,000 tons.
Wool	50,183,000 pounds.	60,744,000 pounds.	79,405,000 pounds.

It will thus be seen that there was a very large increase in the product of all the crops enumerated in the year 1862 over

1859, notwithstanding the existence of the war ; and that there was also a very marked increase in the articles of wheat, oats, tobacco, and wool, produced in 1863 (the third year of the war) over 1862 ; which increase would doubtless have also extended to all the other crops, but for the occurrence of unusual drought and frosts. The State of Iowa, which, out of a population in 1860, of 675,000, furnished to the federal army, from May, 1861, to the end of 1863, 52,240 men, nevertheless increased her number of acres of improved land from 3,445,000 in 1859, to 4,700,000 in 1862, and 4,900,000 in 1863 ; and her product of wheat, from 8,795,000 bushels in 1862, to 14,592,000 in 1863. In 1859, the amount of wheat raised in the State of Indiana was 15,219,000 bushels ; while in 1863, notwithstanding the State, out of its population, in 1860, of 1,350,000, had furnished to the army more than 124,000 fighting men, the annual product of wheat exceeded 20,000,000 of bushels. Nor are these facts concerning Iowa and Indiana, remarkable as they most certainly are, exceptionable ; for although exact statistics on this subject are not readily available, yet enough is known to render it certain that the products of industry have greatly increased in all the loyal States during the war, notwithstanding the constant draughts that have from time to time been made upon the numbers of their producing classes.

A few statistics illustrative of the rapid increase of wealth in California, derived from other sources than that of mining, are also interesting in this connection. In 1855, all the vines in the State did not number 1,000,000 ; but in 1862 the number had increased to 10,592,762 ; while the product of wine for 1862 was estimated by a committee of the Legislature at 700,000 gallons. The value of the exports of the products of the vine from California for the last three years is returned as follows : 1861, $8,000 ; 1862, $25,000 ; 1863, $81,456. The value of wool exported from California, which in 1860 was about $1,000,000, rose in 1862 to $6,000,000, and in 1863 to $8,000,000.

The number of immigrants arriving in this country during the three years of war has also been greater than the number

which arrived during the three years immediately preceding the war, as will be seen from the following figures ; 1858, number of immigrants arriving, 123,000 ; 1859, 121,000 ; 1860, 153,000. Total, 397,000. Since the war ; number arriving in 1861, 150,-000 ; 1862, 120,000 ; 1863, 182,000. Total, 452,000 ; and if we add the probable number of the present year, 300,000, we shall have an aggregate of immigration during four years of war, of 752,000. Thirty years ago, a writer in Blackwood, in commenting on the fact that the population of England, Scotland, and Wales had increased specifically about a million from 1801 to 1821, in consequence of the influx of Irish laborers seeking employment, observed that " there was no similar instance (to the one referred to) on record, of so great an inundation of inhabitants breaking into any country, barbarous or civilized, not even when the Goths and Vandals overwhelmed the Roman Empire." What would this writer have said, could he have foreseen, that in the twenty years that were to elapse between 1840 and 1860, an inundation of 4,265,000 people would journey 3,000 miles, instead of a brief hundred, to seek a home and a livelihood within the limits of the United States !

An examination of the tables of our exports and imports for the five years next preceding 1863, furnishes also some very significant facts illustrative of the vast aggregate wealth of the whole country, and particularly of the loyal States, during the first two years of the war. Thus, the total amount of exports for the three years, from 1858 to 1861 inclusive, when cotton and other Southern staples constituted a large portion of their value, was $1,167,768,000 ; and of imports, $1,051,704,000 ; leaving a balance to our credit as the result of three years trade, of $116,-063,000. This was then considered, and most justly, as a gratifying proof of the prosperity and strength of the country ; and yet in the next two years, or from 1861 to 1863, with war on a gigantic scale prevailing, and with a total loss of what were our former chief exports, the credits arising from trade with foreign

nations were $102,878,000 ;* or in other words, the loyal part of our divided country realized in two years from its foreign trade, a sum nearly as large as had accrued to the whole country in the preceding three years of peace, with all our staples available for export.

We come now more particularly to the consideration of the future ; and our task, in this respect, can be little else than the pointing out of the national resources available for development.

We have already dwelt at some length on the subject of immigration ; but there are features of great interest connected with it that we have not alluded to. The total number of immigrants who have arrived in this country since the commencement of 1861, has already been given as about 452,000 ; and the probable number, up to the close of the present year, as 752,000. The general agent in charge of the immigrant landing depot in New York City, estimates the average amount of coin in the possession of each immigrant landing, from the 1st of January to the 1st of May, 1864, in New York, at $80. Assuming this amount *per capita* to remain constant, and that the total immigration for 1864 reaches the number of 300,000, then the specie brought into the country for this year only, will amount to $24,000,000—a sum exceeding two thirds of all the specie held by the banks of New York, Boston, and Philadelphia, on the 1st of July of the present year.

Supposing $80 to represent the amount of coin belonging to each immigrant arriving from January 1, 1861, to December 31, 1864, then the total aggregate of specie thus brought into the country would be $67,160,000 ; or if we reduce the individual average from $80 to $50, $37,600,000.†

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* The following are the figures in detail :

	Exports.	*Imports.*	*Balances.*
1858–59	$356,789,462	$338,765,130	$18,024,338
1859–60	400,122,296	362,163,941	37,958,355
1860–61	410,856,818	350,775,835	60,080,983
1861–62	229,790,280	205,819,823	23,970,457
1862–63	331,844,247	252,935,872	78,908,375

† Mr. John A. Kennedy, formerly Superintendent of the New York Castle Garden Immigration Depot, stated some years since, in a letter addressed to the

But the value of an immigrant to the country is not to be estimated merely by the amount of personal property he possesses, or brings with him. As a laborer and a producer, or if you please, as a consumer of products, yielding a revenue to the state, he has a value which belongs to the country, as much so as the value of a slave is arrogated to belong to him who calls himself his master. This value, counting Caucasian blood at the North to be worth as much as Ethiopian was at the South before the war, and reducing it according to the Southern tariff for uneducated labor to a money basis, we may fairly estimate to average $500 per head for each immigrant man, woman, and child, arriving in this country. Adopting this standard, then, we have, as the aggregate cash value to the country of the immigration of 1864, the sum of $150,000,000 ; and of the immigration from 1861 to the close of 1864 inclusive, the sum of $376,000,000. If we assume further, that for the remaining five years of the present decade, *i. e.* from January 1, 1855, to December 31, 1869, the annual immigration averages only 250,000 ; then, we have, as the cash value to the country for the present decade of this constant influx of population, the enormous sum of one thousand millions of dollars.

If any are inclined to the opinion, that our estimate of $500 as the cash value to the country of each immigrant arriving is too high, we would call his attention to the following circumstances : 1st, that the number of slaves, of all ages and conditions returned by the census of 1860, was 3,950,000 ; and that their assessed value was $1,936,000,000 ; or nearly $490 per head ; 2d, that the price of an able-bodied field laborer—man or woman—at the South, has not been less than a thousand dollars per head for many years ; and 3d, that a great majority of the immigrants arriving in this country are in the prime of life ; in full health ; are possessed of some little property, in money or

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American Geographical Society, that "a careful, systematic inquiry, extending over a period of seventeen months, gave an average of $100 (almost entirely in coin) as the money property of each immigrant man, woman, and child," landing at New York.

tools, and are very often highly skilled in some department of mechanical industry. We leave it, therefore, to our readers to say, whether our estimate of $500 could not with fairness be rather placed at $1,000 *per capita.*

It should also be borne in mind, that all the strength and wealth derived by a country from such an addition to the population, as the United States have been receiving, and the loyal States do still receive, constitute an advantage absolutely unknown to England and the other European states. In the case of Great Britain, it has been estimated, that the number of foreigners who arrive upon her shores, with the expectation of making that country their permanent home, does not exceed one thousand souls per annum. Therefore, in respect to immigration, as has been heretofore remarked, in respect to our decennial increase of wealth, the position of the country, is entirely anomalous, and without precedent in history; and our ability to sustain and pay off an immense debt cannot be rightfully judged of by any foreign precedents.

The amount of arable, fertile land in the possession of a state or country, is always regarded as one of its great, if not its chief element of wealth; inasmuch as all wealth comes originally from the soil, and all commerce is but the interchange of the raw or manufactured products of the soil. Now it is well known, that the Federal Government has yet in its possession one of the largest domains of unoccupied fertile soil, upon the face of the globe, all of which is open to the actual settler, without money and without price. It is well, however, in calculating upon our ability to pay debts and taxes, to know more than generally; what our national assets are in this particular, and we therefore invite the attention of our readers to the following statement of facts:

On the 30th of September, 1863, the quantity of public lands remaining in the possession of the Federal Government, was (1,044,628,000) one thousand and forty-four millions of acres, embracing an area of over 2,000,000 square miles. This domain

is about two thirds of our geographical extent, and is nearly three times the area of the territory of the United States at the commencement of their existence as a nation. It is an extent of territory sufficient to make thirty-two additional States, each as large as the great central State of Ohio. It includes the extensive and rich mining districts of California, Nevada, Colorado, Oregon, Washington Territory, Arizona, and New Mexico. "It embraces soils capable of abundant yield of the rich productions of the tropics, of sugar, cotton, rice, tobacco, and the grape (now a staple of California), and of the great cereals of the more temperate zones—wheat and corn. Instead of a dreary waste as this land was formerly supposed to be, the millions of buffalo, elk, deer, and mountain sheep, the primitive inhabitants of the soil, fed by the hand of nature, attest its capacity for the abundant support of a dense population through the skilful toil of the agriculturist. Furthermore, not only is the yield of food for man in this region abundant, but it holds in its bosom the richest known deposits of gold, silver, and mercury; and of the so-called useful metals, lead, copper, and iron." The value of this vast national property, if estimated at the former government price of land, viz.: one dollar and a quarter per acre, would be $1,305,785,000.

Previous to the war, cotton was regarded as one of the chief elements of our national wealth and prosperity. Owing to favoring circumstances of climate and soil, American cotton was superior in quality and inferior in price to all raised elsewhere; and it had come to form so large a part of the commerce and manufacturing industry of the world, as to acquire the appellation of "King." Nor was the title inappropriate. Cotton was indeed "King," and his throne in 1860 was 5,000,000 of bales, raised by the labor and watered by the tears of four millions of the most miserable of slaves. Though now dethroned, cotton will be King again, but his dominion henceforth, will be infinitely wider, and his tenure of authority infinitely stronger, inasmuch as it will be based on free labor, and the skilful appliances

which economical and skilled agriculture knows how to prepare and use. Are we speaking boastfully or metaphorically? Let us see.

It is now generally admitted by all authorities, that while a full supply of cotton may, in course of time, and under the stimulus of high prices, be procured elsewhere; yet, whenever its cultivation is resumed, under favorable circumstances, in the United States, this country will again become the main dependence of the world;* as much so as in 1860, when 89½ per cent. of all the cotton consumed in Great Britain was the product of the Southern States.

Some idea of the increased product of cotton required yearly, to meet the demands of the world's consumption, may be formed from the fact, that the average increased consumption of England alone, from 1850 to 1860, was at the rate of 87,880 bales (of 450 pounds each) per annum, or 39,546,000 pounds. Some idea of the capacity of this country to supply this annually increasing demand, may also be formed from the fact, that, of the land available and suitable for the cultivation of cotton, in the so-called cotton States, *the maximum amount ever cultivated did not exceed one and seven tenths* ($1\frac{634}{1000}$) *per cent.*

That the supply of cotton from the South, under its system of slave labor, has not been for many years equal to the demand made upon it, is clearly shown by the fact, that, notwithstanding the annual crop increased from 2,394,000 bales, in 1844, to

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* The only region which has yet been discovered outside of the United States, where all the conditions for the successful cultivation of cotton are met with (for it appears to be essential that it shall not be a tropical region) is in Queensland, Australia. Here, however, the great distance from market, the scarcity and high price of labor, and the proximity to rich gold fields, must prevent any very rapid development in the cultivation.—*Report by Edward Atkinson, to the Boston Board of Trade*, 1863.

In a more recent publication upon the future supply of cotton, Mr. Atkinson modifies the above statement, and gives the details of the unexpected increase in the cotton crop of Egypt, and the successful attempt to introduce the cultivation of cotton in Turkey and Asia Minor; and he also states that the cultivation of the staple in these countries will probably be maintained even at ordinary prices, as the best English and French skill and machinery are being applied, but that no crop can be raised in many years which shall more than meet the increased demand which will prevail when low prices are restored, or which can interfere with the demand on this country for larger crops than were ever before raised.

4,675,000, in 1859, the price advanced in Liverpool, during the same time from $8\frac{3}{4}$ to 11 cents per pound, or 9.67\frac{1}{2}$ cents per bale.

The time, therefore, had fully come, when some change in the system of labor was absolutely needed at the South, in order to enable it to meet the demands of the world for its great staple; and that this change was, to a certain extent, in progress before the war, is demonstrated by the fact that, of the cotton crop of 1850, one ninth part was the product of free labor. How rapidly the change will take place after the war, and how rapidly the supremacy of our country in the cotton markets of the world will be again attained to, is thus shown by Edward Atkinson, Esq., in an able and exhaustive report, "On the manufacture and supply of cotton," made to the Boston Board of Trade in 1863, and to whom we are mainly indebted for our statistics on this subject. He says: "The principal cotton region of the South is not upon the unhealthy coast line where malarious fevers prevail, but is mostly a healthy, interior upland country, the largest portion being far more healthy than many of the Western States. An able-bodied man can easily raise, and, with the assistance of his children, can pick, 5,000 pounds of cotton per annum; at the same time raising an ample supply of food for his family. This can be done with less hard work than is required of farm laborers in New England. It is not probable that large crops of cotton will be raised for the next five years, or that cotton will in that time rule below an average of 25 cents per pound. How rapid a settlement of the cotton region will be induced by the ability of a common laborer to raise in each year an ample supply of food, and a crop of cotton which will bring $1,250 in gold on demand, let each one judge."

We come next to consider the probable future augmentation of our national wealth and national revenues from the development of the mineral deposits of the country, especially the deposits of the precious metals, which are known to exist throughout the Western portion of the continent, and extend, according to the Report of the Commissioner of the General Land

Office (December, 1862), over an area of more than a million square miles of our territory.

The gold product of California, from 1848 to 1862, inclusive, is variously estimated at from $734,000,000 (Hittel), to $1,049,000,000 (*Bankers' Magazine*). The annual gold product of California, at the present time, is believed to be about $44,000,000; while the product of all the mining industry of the State (gold, quicksilver, &c.), for the past three years is returned as follows: 1861, $42,100,000; 1862, $44,105,000; 1863, $47,982,000 The amount of treasure shipped from San Francisco during 1863, was $46,071,000.*

Reliable data for accurately estimating the *present* gold and silver production of the loyal States and Territories are not now obtainable; but there are reasonable grounds for believing that the value of the product for the year 1864 will not fall short of $125,000,000. With a view of assisting our readers to form a judgment on this topic, we submit the following statements: The amount of gold derived from the mines of Washington Territory, for 1862, was estimated at $5,000,000; from the mines of Colorado for the same year, $12,000,000; the receipts of silver at San Francisco, from the Washoe and Esmeralda mines of Nevada, were $12,430,000 in 1863, against $6,000,000 in 1862; while the total produce of these mines for 1863 was estimated to exceed $15,000,000. The product of the Oregon mines in 1862 was estimated, from carefully collected data, to exceed $12,000,000; and, according to Mr. S. B. Ruggles, their product for 1863 was estimated at $20,000,000. The Commissioner of the General Land Office, in his official

* The Custom-House exhibit of the export of gold from San Francisco is an uncertain test by which to determine the total gold product of California. Messrs. Hussey, Bond & Hale of San Francisco, in a recent circular regarding the gold product of California, state that the amount carried home by returning passengers, the exports to Europe, China, the Pacific ports of South America, the amount carried overland to Mexico, and the amount retained in California for purposes of currency, is equal to seventy-five per cent. upon the amount of exports as exhibited by the manifests of the American steamers to Panama. One returning passenger is known to have carried $80,000 as baggage, to save freight. A single passenger on board the ill-fated Central America is known to have carried twenty thousand dollars in his valise.

report, made December 29th, 1862, in speaking of the "great auriferous region of the United States" in the Western portion of the continent, says:

"The yield of the precious metals alone of this region will not fall below one hundred millions of dollars the present year, and it will augment with the increase of population for centuries to come." "Within ten years the annual produce of these mines will reach two hundred millions of dollars in the precious metals, and in coal, iron, tin, lead, quicksilver, and copper, half that sum." He adds that, "with an amount of labor relatively equal to that expended in California applied to the gold fields already known to exist outside of that State, the production of this year, including that of California, would exceed four hundred millions." And yet no fact is more unquestionable than that this great territory is in its infancy of mining.

But these magnificent results of mining upon the Pacific slope, and their still more magnificent promise for the future, should not cause us to overlook the steady development of mining industry in other portions of our country. The production of coal, iron, copper, lead, and salt, in the loyal States east of the Mississippi has everywhere greatly increased since the commencement of the war, and in no locality diminished. Take for example the statistics of the mineral region of Lake Superior. In 1862, the quantity of iron shipped from Marquette was 115,721 tons; in 1863, the quantity exceeded 200,000 tons. The product of copper from the mines of this region has also increased since 1858, as follows: Product in 1858, 3,500 tons; 1859, 4,200 tons; 1860, 6,000 tons; 1861, 7,400 tons; 1863, 8,548 tons. This last amount exceeds one half of all the copper annually obtained from all the well-known mines of Great Britain. In 1858, there was also added to our mineral wealth and industry an article whose production, in a measure peculiar to our country, has increased since the commencement of the war in a manner unparalleled in the history of the world's trade and commerce. We allude to the article *petroleum*, or "*coal oil.*" In 1859, petroleum held no place in the list of our

country's exports. In 1861, however, 1,112,000 gallons were exported; in 1862, the quantity increased to 10,800,000 gallons; while for 1863, the exports exceeded 28,000,000 gallons; which would have required for its conveyance the services of 252 ships of the average burden capacity of 1,000 tons each. The whole national product of petroleum for the year 1863 undoubtedly exceeded 60,000,000 gallons, which, at its average price of thirty cents per gallon, added to the annual product of the country a value of eighteen millions of dollars.

In the census returns of 1860, Michigan was not even mentioned as one of the States in which the manufacture of salt constituted a notable branch of industry; yet in 1863, the amount of salt manufactured in this State exceeded two millions of bushels; a growth in two years equal to that attained by the celebrated Onondaga salt-works of New York, thirty-eight years after these salt-springs had passed under the superintendence of the State.

Thus rapidly has the mineral wealth of the loyal States developed since the commencement of the war.

One great and acknowledged source of wealth to Great Britain has been the product of her mines; the officially returned value of which for 1862 was $170,000,000 (£34,000,000). Large as this amount is, and much as it undoubtedly contributed to the resources of the kingdom, the mineral product of the loyal States for 1863 undoubtedly exceeded it in value; our estimate for the year being as follows

Precious Metals (Gold and Silver)	$100,000,000
Coal (valuation in 1860 by Census report, $19,365,000)	36,000,000
Petroleum	18,000,000
Quicksilver	2,000,000
Pig Iron (valuation by Census of 1860, $19,487,000)	30,000,000
Copper	2,500,000
Lead (valuation of 1860, $977,281)	1,000,000
Salt (valuation of 1860, $2,265,000)	2,500,000
Other products, zinc, nickel, chrome, &c	200,000
Total	$182,200,000

And this in the mere inception of our mining industry, when we may be said to have done little more than "scratch the ground."

No estimate of future resources of the country, furthermore can be considered complete, which fails to take into account the great augmentation of values which is sure to accrue in time to the South from the substitution of free for slave labor. This matter is set in a clear light by the following statement, which any one who doubts can verify for himself by referring to the official statistics of the census of 1860 :

If the product per head of the population in the Slave States had been the same in 1859 *that it was in the Free States, there would have been added to the aggregate national wealth returned at that time, the additional value of* $1,531,631,000 ; a sum nearly equal to the entire national debt, June, 1864.

The advantage of a system of free labor over slave labor, in increasing the aggregate national wealth, is also clearly shown by comparing Maryland in 1860, one of the most prosperous of the slave States, with Massachusetts, one of the most prosperous of the free States. Maryland has 11,124 square miles ; Massachusetts 7,000 square miles. Maryland has a shore line—sea and river—of 1,336 miles ; Massachusetts, 764 miles. Maryland has double the area of good land that Massachusetts has. With these natural advantages on the side of the former, let us now contrast the industrial and other advantages which have been obtained by the latter. Rate of mortality in Massachusetts, 1 in 92 ; in Maryland, 1 in 57. Value of the products of Massachusetts in 1860, $287,000,000 ; in Maryland, $66,009,000. Value of products per head in Massachusetts, $235 ; in Maryland, $96. That is to say, the average annual value of the labor of each person in Massachusetts was greatly more than double that of Maryland. The value of all property, real and personal, in Massachusetts, in 1860, was $815,000,000 ; in Maryland, $376,000,000. Comparing this with the value of products before mentioned, the profit on capital was in Massachusetts 35 per cent. ; in Maryland, 17 per cent., or less than one half ; and

it is a noticeable fact, that only in two slave States, Delaware and Missouri, was the rate of profit larger than in Maryland, and in both of these were comparatively fewer slaves. Another remarkable fact, recently brought out by Hon. R. J. Walker (to whom we are indebted for these slave and free State statistics), is, that as Maryland is to Massachusetts, so is South Carolina to Maryland; the product per head in 1860 being in Massachusetts, $235; in Maryland, $96; in South Carolina, $56; or in free Massachusetts the reward of labor is more than double that in Maryland, and four times that in South Carolina.

Now, the way to make the Southern States as rich and productive as the Northern, and even more so, as Mr. James Brooks, editor of the N. Y. Express, justly observed more than thirty years ago, during a journey in the South, is to abolish slavery. "Substitute skilful, intelligent, interested free labor for unskilled, ignorant, and uninterested slave labor," and, as he remarked, "South Carolina would be the wealthiest State in the Union."

Now, we are going to have the assistance of this added and hitherto undeveloped wealth, to pay, not only the interest, but the principal of our national debt. With "small farms and divided free labor taking the place of the feudal system," as Mr. Brooks says, all the immense, undeveloped natural resources of the Southern States will vastly increase our national wealth and prosperity. This increase, Mr. R. J. Walker (whose advantages and capability for forming a judgment are not surpassed by any other person) estimates will amount in *ten* years to the great sum of over *seventeen thousand millions of dollars.*

Thus the mere addition we shall make in ten years to our national wealth, by abolishing the "institution" which has been so long a curse and a source of dissension to us, would many times over pay our national debt.

Moreover, the abolition of slavery cannot fail to add immensely and directly to our national revenue. A slave paid no taxes, directly; and indirectly but little more than a horse or a cow. His two annual suits of linsey-woolsey, and his weekly peck of corn meal and a few pounds of bacon, contributed little to na-

tional revenue, and he had no wages to spend; but as freed men, they become at once consumers of taxed articles. This is strikingly shown in the last year's (1863) history of the colonies of freed blacks upon the sea islands of South Carolina. In these colonies, nearly every woman has provided herself with a silk dress and a pair of gold ear rings out of the product of their earnings—a thing remarkable in itself, inasmuch as many of the purchasers, as slaves, had never, in the whole course of their lives, been the possessors of a single dollar; while upon one of the smaller islands, a colony of a few hundred emancipated slaves are reported to have bought and paid for domestic goods, in a twelvemonth, to the value of over $20,000. "Our Southern trade"—though so valuable in former years—will, therefore, when peace is restored, by the recognition of federal authority, be undoubtedly a hundred times more extensive and profitable than it has ever been. Four millions of consumers, not only of necessaries, but of luxuries, will be at once added to the tax-paying population. "Also by freeing the slaves, white labor will be relieved of a ruinous competition, and will reap a large reward in that vast territory from which it has been for years almost entirely shut out. This will add still more largely to the consumption, as well as to the internal commerce and revenue of the country."*

Finally, in estimating the future resources of the country, and its capacity to carry a large burden of debt and taxation, it

* "The Philadelphia" (Freedmen's Aid) "Society has a store on St. Helena Island. In this store alone—and there are others on the island carried on by private enterprise – two thousand dollars' worth of goods are sold monthly. There is a great demand for plates, knives, forks, tinware, and better clothing, including even hooped skirts. Negro cloth, as it is called, osnaburgs, russet-colored shoes, in short, the distinctive apparel formerly dealt out to them, are very generally rejected. But there is no article of household furniture or wearing apparel used by persons of moderate means which they will not purchase, when they are allowed the opportunity of labor and earning wages. What a market the South would open under the new system! It would set all the mills and workshops astir. Four millions of people would become purchasers of all the various articles of manufacture and commerce, in place of the few coarse, simple necessaries laid in for them in gross by the planters. When these people can no longer be used as slaves, men will try to see how they can make the most of them as freemen. Your Irishman honestly thinks he hates the negro; but, when the war is over, he will have no objection to going South and selling him groceries and

should not be overlooked that the opportunity for a civilized nation to increase its aggregate wealth was never before, in the history of the world, so great as at present, and therefore no former precedents respecting the actual burden of a great debt upon a nation can be fairly quoted as applicable to the present. This is due mainly to two circumstances: 1st, *The accumulation of national capital: and 2d, to the introduction of labor-saving machinery.*

In relation to the *first*, it is simply necessary to direct the attention of the reader to the fact that *wealth makes wealth*: or, in other words, that resources and capital accumulated, and properly used, invariably bring large additional resources and capital. The man that had ten talents could produce more easily ten additional talents, than he who had one could produce a single additional one; and so in regard to this country, or the loyal part of it. With a capital in 1860 more than double what it possessed in 1850, its capacity and power to increase its wealth in 1860 was of necessity more than double what it could have been in 1850.

2d. The opportunity or power of a country to increase its national wealth or capital is greatly augmented by the introduction of labor-saving machinery. A single statistical fact illustrates this proposition better than volumes of assertion. It was shown by official statistics in Great Britain, some years since, that if the stage-coach system, which was the main reliance of that country in 1830 for the transportation of travellers, had continued in use up to 1854. and had then been required to do the work of passenger transportation alone, which the railway system of that year effected, the increased cost of the

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household implements at fifty per cent. advance on New York prices.—*Atlantic Monthly, September*, 1863.

Let us also, in this connection, glance at the effects of emancipation on the trade and industry of the British West India Islands. Emancipation took place in British Guiana, Barbadoes, Trinidad, and Antigua, in 1830. The average value of the annual export of sugar from these islands, for 1827 to 1830, was $8,840,000. The average annual value, from 1851 to 1860, was $14,600,000. Land in Barbadoes has doubled in value since emancipation. Under slavery, the value of American imports to Barbadoes did not average more than £60,000 per annum; at present it is from £300,000 to £400,000 annually.

business would have been £40,000,000 ($200,000,000) per annum more than the whole cost of the railway passenger and freight conveyance of the same year; or, in other words, the introduction and use of railways in Great Britain added to the productive capital of the country for the year 1854 the sum of $200,000,000, "an amount," as Robert Stevenson expressed it, "exceeding by 50 per cent. the yearly interest of the (British) national debt."

With such a return from a single department of improved industry, who can estimate the yearly addition to the wealth and capital of a country like ours, where the invention and introduction of labor-saving machinery is universally regarded as a leading and peculiar feature of its civilization and history?

The census of 1860 returned the population of Massachusetts as 1,230,000; yet how inadequately the mere enumeration of the number of individuals composing a State like this expresses its power and resources is evident, when we remember that, in 1860, the machinery of Massachusetts was returned as capable of doing the work of *more than a hundred millions of men.* Now, such an addition to the productive capacity of a State fifty years ago, was not possible, inasmuch as a great part of the machinery and appliances by which it had been evoked were not then in existence; and if we are not warranted in predicating of the next fifty years an equal progress in improvement, we think we are justified in believing that a nearly equal gain in resources will accrue to the whole country from the more extensive introduction and use of the labor-saving inventions and processes already in existence. We would also call the attention of our readers, in this connection, to the very interesting circumstance, that war and the embarrassed condition of our finances so far from restricting the inventive genius of the country and retarding the introduction of improvements, has acted rather as a stimulant. This is proved by the increased number of patents issued during the last three years (*i. e.*, 1861, 2,581; 1862, 3,522; 1863, 4,170); and also by the fact that, notwithstanding the great draft of men from the agricultural States to the ranks

of the army, the harvests, through the more extensive use of machinery, have rathered increased than diminished.*

We have thus endeavored to present an accurate and popular, but by no means complete, exhibit of the growth and development of our country during the past; and its present financial and industrial strength; and, guided by the experience of former years, have sought to forecast and estimate, in a degree, its increase in the future. Fear, however, of extending this essay to an inordinate length, has induced us to refrain from the mention of various topics of nearly equal interest to those presented—such as the wonderful increase of our tonnage (temporarily interrupted in its growth by the existence of war and legalized piracy); of the increased value given to land by the extension of our railway system; of the addition to our agricultural resources of new staples for culture, as the sorghum,† and the like. But enough, we think, has been said; enough of statistics (which no partisan zeal can wrest from their true meaning) have been given, to satisfy our readers that the country cannot be destroyed, or even crippled, by any *probable* future debt; and to induce every loyal man, as he reflects upon our resources as a nation, to "*Thank God and take courage.*"

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* An interesting illustration of the manner in which American industry is enabled, through the machinery it invents, to compete with and distance the cheapest known labor of the world, is to be found in the machine recently invented for splitting cane (rattan) used for the manufacture of "cane-seat" chairs. The strips of cane used for this purpose are derived from the outer and "glassy" layer of the "East India rattan"; and in order to take advantage of the low price of Chinese labor (some few cents per day), they have usually been split or peeled from the rattan before exportation. Within a comparatively recent period, however, a machine has been invented in this country, and successfully used, which, at one operation, takes off the whole outer portion of the rattan in strips, so much more rapidly, cheaply, and perfectly, as to forbid all competition from the Chinaman; and, in addition to this, leaves the interior of the rattan so well adapted for conversion into "artificial whalebone" for the manufacture of umbrella-frames, that the latter possesses a value, and sells in the market for as much as the first cost of the original cane as imported. We might also refer, as an example of recent American inventions, which have swept away, as it were, at one stroke, entire and ancient crafts of hand-labor, to the American cork-cutting machine, which cuts in one hour more and more perfect corks than ten expert workmen can cut in a day; and of inventions more particularly induced by the exigencies of the times, to that of "paper string" or "twine," so much cheaper and stronger than ordinary "cotton twine," that the use of this latter will undoubtedly be hereafter, in a great degree, discontinued.

† Of sorghum molasses, which was not known to this country in 1850, there was manufactured, in 1860, *over seven millions of gallons.*

But some may say, after reading this essay, "Admitting all that has been stated respecting the history of the past; admitting, also, that all the conditions for a future enormous increase and development of national wealth actually exist; yet, will not the necessity for the imposition of a future heavy taxation effectually cripple and check the industry and progress of the nation?" To this we reply, that the history of Great Britain furnishes us with a sufficient answer and refutation.

Thus, in 1816, Great Britain, with a population of 19,275,000, without one mile of railway, or a single ocean steamer, with comparatively few labor-saving machines, and with onerous (and now obsolete) restrictions upon her industry, carried and sustained the maximum debt of her history, viz.: $4,205,000,000; and not only has Great Britain carried and sustained this enormous debt for the last forty-eight years (during which time she has almost constantly been engaged in war in some quarter of the globe) but she has so greatly thriven and prospered under it, that she now ranks *first* in wealth, and *first* in industrial power of all the nations that at present exist, or have ever existed. Shall the loyal States in 1864 (to say nothing of the whole country), with a present advantage of 30 per cent. in population, 33 per cent. in property, and more than 100 per cent. in the value of annual production—with a virgin soil, enormous emigration, a system of land tenure which conduces to the highest prosperity of the greatest number, and a condition of society in which individual enterprise is encouraged and fostered—shall the loyal States, we ask, with all these advantages, sink under a burden of debt less than two thirds that which Great Britain sustained in 1816?

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LOYAL PUBLICATION SOCIETY,
863 BROADWAY.

No. 55.

Das Herrenthum und seine Früchte:

Der emancipirte Sklave und sein früherer Herr.

Ein Ergänzungsbericht an den Ehrenw. Edwin M. Stanton, Kriegsminister,

von James McKaye, Spezialkommissär.

New-York:
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LOYAL PUBLICATION SOCIETY,

863 BROADWAY, NEW YORK.

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LOYAL PUBLICATION SOCIETY,

863 BROADWAY.

No. 55.

Der emancipirte Sklave

und sein früherer Herr.

An den Ehrenw. Edwin M. Stanton,

Kriegsminister.

Von allen Theilen des Sklavengebietes, zu welchen die Commission Zutritt hatte, bietet das Thal des untern Mississippi sowohl für die Beobachtung und das Studium des Sklavensystems, als für die gegenwärtig in den Gesellschaftszuständen des Südens stattfindenden großen Veränderungen das interessanteste Feld dar. Im Gegensatz zu andern von der Commission besuchten Gebieten sind in diesem Thale noch alle Elemente jener Gesellschaft vorhanden, aber in einem Revolutions- und Uebergangszustande. Hier steht noch auf beiden Ufern des breiten Flusses das große, weiße Herrenhaus des Pflanzers; neben ihm, gerade außerhalb seines Schattens, erstrecken sich die langen Reihen von Hütten, Negerquartier genannt, und etwas weiter zurück das große viereckige Gebäude, gewöhnlich aus Backsteinen, das als Zuckerhaus bekannt ist. In vielen Fällen bewohnen der alte Herr noch das Herrenhaus und die Neger ihre alten Quartiere, aber in Umständen und Beziehungen vollkommen neu, sonderbar und peinlich für beide.

Während eines diesen Herrenhäusern und Negerquartieren jüngst gemachten Besuches kamen wichtige Thatsachen zur Kenntniß und bedeutsame Erwägungen ergaben sich, welche sich nicht an andern Orten darboten.

In den meisten andern von der Commission besuchten Landestheilen war die Sklavengesellschaft in einem Zustande der vollkommenen Auflösung beobachtet worden. Der Herr, oder der Sklave, oder Beide waren flüchtig geworden. In Südcarolina hatten sich die Herren davongemacht und ihre

Wohnungen und Sklaven verlassen. In Virginien und Nord Carolina, so wie in vielen von unseren Heeren in dem Südwesten besetzten Gegenden konnte man die Emancipirten nur als Flüchtlinge und die Herren gar nicht sehen.

In jenen Theilen des unteren Mississippithales aber, welche in unseren Militärlinien liegen, und besonders in dem Stromgebiete von Louisiana befinden sich noch Viele derselben von Angesicht zu Angesicht einander gegenüber in Gegenwart dieser großen Revolution der Prüfungen, welche dieselbe beiden auflegt.

Ehe ich aber auf die Betrachtungen eingehen kann, welche ganz besonders durch den hier geschilderten Zustand der Dinge hervorgerufen werden, ist es von Wichtigkeit, einige eigenthümliche Züge des Sklavensystems hervorzuheben, wie dasselbe in diesem Gebiete bestand.

Vor Allem bewirkten die Abkunft und der Charakter der ersten Ansiedler von Louisiana und des unteren Mississippi eine bedeutende Modifikation mancher Züge des Sklavensystems. Diese Ansiedler waren meistens französischer, spanischer oder portugiesischer Abkunft oder von der sogenannten lateinischen Race, und man behauptet, daß Menschen dieser Race gegen die schwarze Race keineswegs die tiefgewurzelte Antipathie und Geringschätzung hegen, welche man im Allgemeinen den Racen von etwas weißerer Haut zuschreibt.

Wie dem aber auch sein mag, unbezweifelbar wahr ist es, daß hier eine viel allgemeinere Mischung der schwarzen und weißen Racen stattfindet, als irgend wo anders, als selbst in den Staaten, welche Sklavenzucht treiben. Alles zeigt, daß in dieser Gegend, besonders in den ersten Tagen der Ansiedlung, zwischen den beiden Racen eine größere gesellschaftliche Gleichheit herrschte. Der Negerrace wurde hier nicht so vollkommen die Mannheit abgesprochen, wie dies, als Grundlage des Sklavensystems, auf den Inseln und Küsten von Südcarolina und Georgia geschah. Obgleich die dem Sklaven aufgelegte Arbeit oft größer und das Straffystem ebenso grausam war, so war doch deren gewöhnlicher und allgemeiner Zustand besser, und ihr Lebensverhältniß ein höheres. Der Gebrauch von Familiennamen war ihnen nicht so streng verboten; ihre Wohnungen glichen vielmehr denen anderer menschlicher Wesen. Gewöhnlich enthielten ihre Hütten nicht weniger als zwei Stuben, manchmal vier. Es befanden sich darin Bettstellen und Bettzeug irgend einer Art und diejenigen, welche sich als Mann und Frau betrachteten, schliefen getrennt von den Unverheiratheten; auch schliefen die jungen Leute verschiedenen Geschlechts in besonderen Räumen; ihre Mahlzeiten nahmen sie nicht gewöhnlich an Familientischen, aber man gab ihnen im Allgemeinen hinreichend gekochte Rationen, welche sie essen konnten, wie sie wollten; das Kochen wurde für die ganze Anzahl durch regel-

mäßig damit beauftragte Abtheilungen besorgt. Uebrigens waren auf den Pflanzungen 15 bis 18 Arbeitsstunden des Tages die Regel und in gewissen Jahreszeiten wurde auch ein bedeutender Theil der Nacht der Arbeit gewidmet. Die Arbeit begann des Morgens zwischen 3 und 4 Uhr. Der Aufseher hatte einen gewissen Betrag von einer gegebenen Anzahl von Arbeitern zu liefern, und alle waren verpflichtet, ihm mehr als dem Herrn zu gehorchen. Gewöhnlich war derselbe viel grausamer, als der Herr. Gutherzige Sklavenbesitzer nahmen oft grausame Aufseher.

Ich lasse nun hier Mittheilungen folgen, welche mir Herr J. B. Roudanez von New-Orleans machte. Derselbe ist ein freier Mulatte, ein Mann von bedeutender geistiger Fähigkeit und großer Redlichkeit; er war als Ingenieur und Maschinenarbeiter auf vielen Pflanzungen des Gebietes angestellt gewesen, mit dem ich mich hier beschäftige. Niemand kann besser als er das Leben auf den Pflanzungen kennen und kein Einwohner dieser Stadt erfreut sich in Bezug auf Wahrheitsliebe und Gewissenhaftigkeit eines besseren Rufes. Er sagt ferner, daß man auf einigen Pflanzungen den Frauen ebenso harte Arbeit auflege, als den Männern und daß sie in manchen Fällen während der ganzen Schwangerschaft, sogar bis zum Augenblick der Niederkunft, an derselben gehalten wurden. Manchmal wurden sie schon eine Woche nach der Niederkunft auf das Feld zurückgesandt, gewöhnlich aber gab man ihnen zu ihrer Wiederherstellung einen Monat. Mütter durften gewöhnlich während drei Monaten ihre Kinder täglich dreimal eine halbe Stunde lang stillen.

Ein anderer Zeuge, Dr. E. C. Hyde, ein alter Arzt, der mehr als 30 Jahre unter den Pflanzern von Nord- und Südcarolina und in dem Mississippithal gelebt und prakticirt hatte, erklärte auf die an ihn gestellten Fragen: „daß die Sklavinnen vom Beginn ihrer Schwangerschaft bis zur Niederkunft arbeiten müßten; es sind mir Fälle von Geburten zwischen den Linien der Baumwollensträuche bekannt. Diese Sklavinnen wurden gezwungen, ihre Reihe bis zum Ende zu behacken und es wurde ihnen dann eine Stunde zur Erholung gegeben."

„Viele Pflanzer an dem Mississippi wünschen nicht, Negerkinder zu erziehen, sie sehen lieber, daß sie sterben, als daß sie leben, sie halten dieselben nicht für einträglich."

In Bezug auf die Keuschheit sagt Herr Roudanez: „davon weiß man nichts auf den Pflanzungen. Vor Allem hatten die Aufseher alle Feldsklavinnen zu ihrer Verfügung, und weigerte sich eine derselben, so fand sich bald eine Gelegenheit, sie strenge zu bestrafen." „Es ist mir bekannt," sagt ein andrer zuverlässiger Zeuge, „daß Frauen heftig gepeitscht wurden, weil sie nicht, wie ihnen befohlen war, zum Zwecke der Prostitution in die Wohnung des Aufsehers oder des Herrn kamen. Die alten Herren wähl-

ten sich gewöhnlich die Hausmägde und ihre Söhne zogen als Conkubinen ihre Halbschwestern vor; dies war der allgemeine Gebrauch. Man nahm sie gewöhnlich im Alter von 13 bis 14 Jahren. Ich habe Mädchen gekannt, welche in diesem Alter Mütter waren, dies gilt besonders von den französischen Creolen." „Sie behandelten," sagt Dr. Hyde, „ihre Kinder als Sklaven, züchtigten sie grausam und verkauften sie, um sie aus ihren Augen zu entfernen." „Der rücksichtsloseste Geschlechtsverkehr," so fährt Herr Roudanez fort, „war so allgemein, daß man fast kein keusches farbiges Mädchen von siebenzehn Jahren kannte. Die Gewohnheit der Pflanzer, Beischlaf mit ihren Sklavinnen zu üben, war eine Quelle großer Leiden für diese. Sehr oft vermochte es die eifersüchtige Ehefrau, daß die Sklavinnen auf falsche Anklagen gepeitscht oder in anderer Weise bestraft wurden, und oft ließen sie dieselben, während der Abwesenheit ihrer Männer, vor ihren Augen bestrafen. Die Torturen, welchen oft diese hilflosen Favoritinnen der Ehemänner von den wüthenden Ehefrauen unterworfen wurden, um sie für die Männer weniger reizend zu machen, übersteigen alle Beschreibung. Die Thatsache des schrankenlosen Geschlechtsverkehrs war sowohl den Eltern wie den Kindern bekannt. Auch waren die Strafen hier nicht weniger hart, als in den andern Theilen der Sklavenregion. Hier wie überall bediente man sich folgender Züchtigungsmethoden: Prügeln mit der Schaufel, zerfleischen mit einer aus Ochsenhaut geflochtenen oder aus mit Knoten versehenem Stricke gemachten Peitsche; Tortur vermittelst eines schweren, mit Eisenspitzen versehenen Halsbandes und schwerer eiserner Ringe, an denen eine Kette hing, und welche monatelang an den Fußgelenken getragen werden mußten; die Strafe des Stockes mit Einsperrung in den dunkeln Zellen der Plantagengefängnisse oft ohne Nahrung, und das Jagen der Sklaven mit Bluthunden. „Einige Weiße," sagt Herr Roudanez, „machten aus der Sklavenjagd mit Bluthunden einen regelmäßigen Geschäftsberuf."

Dennoch gab es trotz Allem dem unter diesen Leuten eine Art von menschlichem Leben, allerdings voll der unerhörten Mühseligkeiten und der schrecklichsten Qualen, aber selbst in dieser Erniedrigung kam es noch bei weitem nicht dem Sklavenleben auf den Küsten von Südcarolina nahe.

Außer den bereits erwähnten Verhältnissen gab es noch andere diesem Landestheile ganz besonders eigenthümliche, welche das Wirken des Sklavensystems sowohl, als den Charakter der Sklavenbevölkerung beeinflußten. Der Zuckerbau, der, wie wir gesehen haben, zu gewissen Jahreszeiten die anstrengendste Arbeit nöthig macht, verlangt auch zu seinem erfolgreichen Betriebe einen gewissen Grad von Urtheilsvermögen und Geschicklichkeit bei denen, welche in demselben beschäftigt sind. Auf jeder Zuckerplantage mußte ein Theil der Leute aus Maschinenarbeitern und Handwerkern be-

stehen. Das hatte zur Folge, daß auf diesen Plantagen sich eine allgemeine, höhere Intelligenz entwickelte. „Im Allgemeinen," sagt Herr Roudanez, „ gab es auf jeder Plantage wenigstens einen Mann, der in irgend einer Weise etwas lesen gelernt hatte und der trotz der im Entdeckungsfalle stets angewandten strengen Strafen, im Geheimen den Andern vorlas. Am Tage nach der Nachricht von der Hinrichtung John Brown's begab ich mich von New-Orleans nach einer 75 Meilen höher am Flusse gelegenen Plantage. Kurz nach meiner Ankunft daselbst gab mir ein Sklave eine ausführliche Erzählung dieser Hinrichtung. Am Morgen dieses Tages hatte ein Sklave in dem Zuckerhause von seinem Herrn ein Stück Papier verlangt, um einen Theil der Maschine abzuwischen. Dieser gab ihm eine Zeitung, wovon derselbe den größten Theil aufbewahrte und nachher im Geheimen der ganzen Mannschaft vorlas. Es war der Bericht von der Hinrichtung John Brown's."

Noch eine andere Thatsache machte ihren Einfluß geltend. Die Zuckerplantagen des Mississippithales liegen meistens gegen den Fluß hin oder an einem Bayou, der wenigstens für flache Boote fahrbar ist, und rückwärts stoßen sie an endlose Cypressensümpfe. Diese Sümpfe wurden Zufluchtsorte für zum Aeußersten getriebene Sklaven; der Zugang zu denselben ist selbst für den Besitzer von Bluthunden sehr schwierig. Es gibt Beispiele genug von Sklaven, welche Jahre lang lebten in den Schlupfwinkeln dieser dicht bewaldeten Sümpfe, mit hohen Cypressen und Baumwollholz-Bäumen, von deren Aesten das lange graue Moos, gleich einem Schleier sie umhüllend, herabhängt. Diese dicht gemischt mit Unterholz von Brombeergesträuch bilden ein fast unzugängliches Gebüsch. Manchmal lebten da die flüchtigen Sklaven allein, manchmal in größeren oder kleineren Banden, oft aus 30, ja 50 Personen bestehend, welche sich auf irgend einer kleineren Insel von festerem Boden eine Wohnung errichteten, von wo aus sie des Nachts auf geheimen Pfaden mit ihren Kameraden auf den Plantagen verkehrten. Sie lebten von den Schweinen, Truthahnen und Hühnern, welche sie entwendeten; manchmal zogen sie mit einer „Schlinge" ein Schaaf oder einen Ochsen des Herrn in ihren Schlupfwinkel, schlachteten sie und tauschten mit ihren Freunden der Plantage gegen Stücke derselben Mais-Mehl ein. Ihre größten Feinde in diesen Sümpfen waren die Moskitos. Kein lebendes Wesen kann in der Nacht deren Stich ertragen. Vieh, das im Freien bleibt, wird oft von ihnen getödtet. Jede Nacht mußten die Flüchtlinge ein dampfendes Feuer von Cypressenzweigen unterhalten, deren Rauch das einzige Vertheidigungsmittel gegen dieses verhaßte Insekt ist.

Manche wundervolle Vorfälle und Beispiele erzählt man sich von diesen Mississippi-Männern. Herr Alfred Jernis, von New-Orleans, Mitglied des Executiv-Commites „der Freistaat-Verbindung," der, obgleich oft von

den Bluthunden gejagt, drei Jahre auf dem Gipfel eines großen Cypressenbaumes gelebt hatte. Herr Jernis erzählte auch ein Beispiel eines weniger glücklichen Flüchtlings, dem für einen Fluchtversuch der Rücken mit der aus trockener Ochsenhaut geflochtenen Peitsche zerfleischt wurde und den man darauf mit dem Gesichte gegen einen Baum anband und so die ganze Nacht hängen ließ, um von den Moskitos zu Tode gebissen zu werden. Am Morgen fanden ihn einige seiner Mitsklaven todt und von blutgefüllten Moskitos bedeckt.

Octave Johnston, jetzt Corporal in der Compagnie C des 15. Regiments in dem „Corps d'Afrique," hatte, wie er selbst einem Mitgliede der Commission erzählte, mit seiner Bande von 30 Individuen (10 Weiber und 20 Männer) achtzehn Monate in den Sümpfen von James Parish gelebt. Sein Herr, S. Cautrell, jetzt selbst ein Flüchtling in den Sümpfen des Südens, hatte ihn für einen hohen Preis gekauft und ihn auf die Plantage gebracht, um Zuckerfässer zu machen; denn Octave war ein Böttcher. Eines Morgens bei anbrechendem Tage fand man Octave an seiner Arbeitsbank eingeschlafen. Die ihm zugewiesene Arbeit nöthigte ihn, früh an's Werk zu gehen. Er war in der ersten Morgenstunde aufgestanden und hatte sich an seinen Arbeitsplatz begeben; da setzte er sich auf seine Bank, um zu warten, bis es hell genug zum Arbeiten sei. „Ich vermuthe," sagte er, „daß ich eingeschlafen sein muß;" denn als ich wieder bewußt wurde, fand ich mich betäubt auf dem Boden liegen, und Massa stand mit einem dicken Stock in der Hand über mir." Zwei starke Sklaven erhielten den Befehl, Octave in das Peitschhaus zu bringen und ihm fünfzig Hiebe zu geben.

Es ist nöthig zu wissen, daß in dem ganzen Sklavengebiete das Peitschen durchaus nicht das ist, was man darunter an anderen Orten versteht; es ist nicht die Strafe, die man manchmal im Norden gegen ungehorsame Schuljungen anwendet. In den Sklavenstaaten hat man dasselbe zu einer Art anerkannter Kunst ausgebildet. Die Vorgänge dieser Strafe gehören zu den hervortretendsten Zeichen der Sklaverei-Civilisation, ganz wie Carlyle sagt, daß es der Galgen früher in England gewesen sei. Es gab erstens Peitschen verschiedener Art, berechnet für die Wirkung, welche sie hervorbringen. Es gab also die Peitsche aus einem in Knoten geschlungenen Hanfseile gemacht; dann die ausgedrehte trockene Ochsenhaut; ferner die Wagen-Riemen-Peitsche, und die Schaufel. „Manchmal," sagt Dr. Hyde, „bediente man sich flacher Handsägen als Peitschen." Dann auch wurden die zu Bestrafenden in verschiedener Weise und an verschiedenen Stellen nackt ausgestellt. Manchmal entkleidete man das Schlachtopfer von Kopf bis zu den Füßen, legte es, das Gesicht nach unten, auf einen starken Balken, der auf zweckmäßig hohen Füßen stand; die Hände und

Füße wurden dann mit Stricken auf beiden Seiten an feststeckende Pfosten gebunden. In dieser Lage wurde dann eins oder das andere der oben genannten Strafinstrumente nach dem Gutdünken des Herrn angewandt. Beabsichtigte derselbe, den Sklaven später zu verkaufen, so gebrauchte man gewöhnlich die Schaufel. Diese bestand aus einem breiten Stücke dicken Sohlleders, 14 bis 16 Zoll lang und an einen passenden hölzernen Stiel genagelt. Diese zerquetschte nur das Fleisch, ohne die Haut zu brechen, und nach einigen Wochen oder Monaten sind alle Spuren der Züchtigung verschwunden und in dem künftigen Käufer können keine Zweifel über die Folgsamkeit des Sklaven erweckt werden. Die Anwendung aller anderen Strafinstrumente dagegen zerreißt das Fleisch bis zu einer bedeutenden Tiefe und läßt für immer ungeheuer dicke Schrammen zurück. Oft waren zwei Männer mit der Züchtigung beauftragt; da der erste zu müde wurde, um die Schläge so kräftig zu geben, daß sie das kritische Auge des zuschauenden Herrn oder Aufsehers befriedigten, so mußte er abgelöst werden, bis die verlangte Anzahl von Hieben gegeben war. Dann band man die Arme des Bestraften los und goß über seinen Rücken einen Zuber alter Ochsen- oder Schweinslake. War der Unglückliche in Ohnmacht gefallen, so erweckte ihn dieses und stillte sein Bluten. Dann wurde er freigelassen und konnte sein Tagewerk auf dem Baumwollenfelde wieder beginnen.

Diese Operation erhielt Mannigfaltigkeit durch die verschiedene Lage, in welche man die Schlachtopfer brachte. Manchmal wurden dieselben, wie soeben gesagt, nackt an einen Baum oder auf einen Balken gebunden. Oft auch wurden sie — besonders Weiber in hoher Schwangerschaft — nackt auf den Boden gelegt, das Gesicht nach unten gekehrt, die Arme und Beine ausgestreckt und an Pfosten gebunden. „Ein Loch," sagt der Zeuge, „wurde gegraben, groß genug, um den schwarzen Leib aufzunehmen;" dann wurde die geknotete oder gedrehte Geißel, der Wagenriemen oder die Schaufelpeitsche angewandt. „In einigen Gemeinden," sagt Herr Jernis, „hat man Miethpeitscher."

Solcher Natur waren die Aufmunterungen zu lebenslänglicher Arbeit, dargeboten von einem Systeme, das der Bischof Hopkins und Professor S. F. B. Morse eine göttliche Anordnung nennen. Mit besonderem Erstaunen lesen wir in der Bibel von einem Menschenstamme, welcher an die Göttlichkeit des Molochs glaubte. Die Prüfungen, welche die Verehrung desselben den Gläubigen auflegte, verursachen uns Schaudern. Ohne Zweifel war dieser Gottesdienst das Erzeugniß eines verderbten, entwürdigten Menschengeistes. Die Sonne der göttlichen Wahrheit war noch nicht in diesem primitiven Zeitalter aufgegangen; jetzt aber leben wir in der Mitte des neunzehnten christlichen Jahrhunderts. Was soll man nun

von den Verehrern einer Gottheit sagen, die weit monstruöser und grausamer ist, als der alte Gott der Ammoniten?

Dabei bedenke man aber wohl, daß ich hier nur das Peitschen, die gewöhnliche Strafart, und keineswegs etwas Ungewöhnliches oder Außerordentliches beschrieben habe. Diesem Schauspiele wohnten übrigens nicht blos die alten Herren und Aufseher, sondern auch die Söhne und Frauen der Ersteren bei.

Aber kehren wir zu Octave zurück. Derselbe sagte: „Ich war nie gepeitscht worden, aber hatte die Schläge und das Stöhnen der Gezüchtigten gehört und war entschlossen, in den Sumpf zu laufen, der etwa eine Meile hinter dem Zuckerhause lag.“ Als schneller Läufer entging er seinen Verfolgern, erreichte den Sumpf und stürzte sich in das Dickicht. Nach einigen Tagen fand er die Flüchtlingsbande, mit der er dann lebte. Natürlich hatte sein Herr nicht Lust, einen so werthvollen Sklaven zu verlieren. Er ließ also einen berühmten, professionellen Sklavenjäger, Namens Eugene Jardeau, kommen, den er mit seiner Meute von 20 Hunden miethete, um den Flüchtling todt oder lebendig zurückzubringen.

Octave's Freunde auf der Plantage hatten ihm und seinen Gefährten zeitig Kunde davon gegeben, und sie machten augenblicklich Vorbereitungen für den Kampf.

Zwei oder drei derselben führten auf weitem Umwege die Weiber an einen höheren Ort, kamen dann auf derselben Fährte zurück zu dem Pfade, der zu ihrem früheren Schlupfwinkel führte, nachdem sie sorgfältig ihre Füße mit Kaninchenfüßen eingerieben hatten, während sie diese Thiere selbst hinter sich her zogen, um die Spürhunde irre zu führen; dann erwarteten sie, mit Keulen bewaffnet, den Angriff. Den ganzen Tag standen sie zusammen und kämpften gegen die Hunde, indem sie langsam stets tiefer in den Sumpf sich zurückzogen. Es gelang ihnen, acht Hunde zu tödten. Gegen Sonnenuntergang fingen sie an, erschöpft zu sein; ihre Arme und Beine waren von den Zähnen der Hunde zerfleischt, und sie hatten viel Blut verloren. Da hieß es nun, zerstreut Euch, lauft. “Sauve qui peut.” Octave mit vier oder fünf Gefährten eilte nach einem rückwärts liegenden Bayou. Mit der Schnelligkeit von Menschen, die für die Erhaltung des Lebens laufen, erreichten sie das Ufer, aber um zu entdecken, daß das seichte Wasser voll war von dicken Wurzeln, gefallenen Bäumen und Aligators. Stehen bleiben konnten sie nicht, — sie sprangen also in das Wasser und begannen sich durchzuarbeiten. Die Hunde folgten, und die Aligators, ohne die Neger anzurühren, griffen mit großer Wuth die Hunde an und tödteten sechs derselben.

Als Herr Jardeau herbeikam und die Lage der Dinge sah, rief er die Hunde, die noch von seiner Meute übrig waren, zurück. Oktave und seine

Gefährten entkamen; keiner wurde getödtet oder gefangen. Man fragte ihn, wie er den Umstand erkläre, daß die Aligatoren nicht einmal versuchten, ihn und seine Gefährten anzugreifen, sondern mit solchem Heißhunger auf die Hunde sich stürzten. Er antwortete: „Weiß nicht, Massa. Einige sagten, sie glaubten, es sei Gott gewesen; aber ich glaube, sie hatten Hundefleisch lieber, als Menschenfleisch."

Einige Monate nach dieser Schlacht mit den Bluthunden in den Sümpfen von St. James Parish fand eine andere Schlacht statt; das Resultat derselben war die Einnahme von New-Orleans durch General Butler. Nun war die Reihe zu fliehen an Herrn Cautrell.

Octave und seine Gefährten erhielten Kunde von ihren Freunden; sie verließen den Sumpf, begaben sich in das Lager Parapet, wo damals General Phelps kommandirte, und lieferten sich demselben aus. Die meisten derselben traten in das Heer.

Ereignisse dieser Art waren nicht selten. Die Sümpfe waren nie ohne Neger. Sie bildeten eine Art von Asyl, und dieser Umstand verfehlte nicht, seine Wirkung auf den Charakter des Negers und auf die Praxis des Sklavensystems zu äußern. Im Durchschnitt gewann der Neger mehr Selbstvertrauen, der Herr aber wurde vorsichtiger; oft wandte er unmenschliche Vorsichtsmaßregeln an, wie z. B. das Brandmarken, das Aufschlitzen und Stutzen der Ohren, das Anlegen des s. g. „Würgers", d. h. eines eisernen, mit Spitzen versehenen Halsbandes.

Ein anderer Umstand noch hat großen Einfluß sowohl auf das Sklavensystem in der von der Commission untersuchten Region, als auch auf den Charakter des Sklaven. Das untere Mississippi-Thal enthielt seit dem Beginne der Ansiedlung eine unverhältnißmäßige zahlreiche freie farbige Bevölkerung. Als im Jahre 1803 das Territorium, von dem Louisiana ein Theil war, von der französischen Republik an die Vereinigten Staaten abgetreten wurde, waren diese freien Farbigen schon sehr zahlreich und viele derselben Besitzer beträchtlichen Eigenthums. Sie waren nicht nur eben so frei wie die anderen Theile der Bevölkerung, sondern im Allgemeinen auch eben so gut unterrichtet und eben so intelligent. Viele derselben waren Abkömmlinge der ersten weißen Ansiedler und hatten stets eine gewisse sociale, wie auch bürgerliche Gleichheit genossen. Unter dem alten spanischen und französischen Regime hatten aber weder die weißen, noch die schwarzen Ansiedler je viel Erfahrung in der Ausübung politischer Rechte; man hatte sich daher nie viel mit der Frage befaßt, wem diese Rechte zustünden. Die französische Republik, deren Grundlage „Freiheit, Gleichheit, Brüderlichkeit" war, hatte noch nicht ganz die Bedeutung dieser Worte vergessen, und ließ daher in dem Abtretungsvertrag die feierliche Bestimmung aufnehmen, welche also lautet:

Art. 3. Die Bewohner des abgetretenen Territoriums sollen in die Union der Vereinigten Staaten aufgenommen und sobald als möglich den Principien der Bundesverfassung gemäß zugelassen werden zum Genuß aller Rechte, Vortheile und Freiheiten der Bürger der Vereinigten Staaten; unterdessen sollen sie in dem freien Genuß ihrer Freiheit, ihres Eigenthums und ihrer Religion erhalten und beschützt werden."

In Gemäßheit dieses Artikels des Vertrages von 1803 haben die freien Farbigen stets behauptet und verlangen nun, daß die Regierung der Vereinigten Staaten feierlich verpflichtet sei, ihnen „alle Rechte, Vortheile und Freiheiten" zu sichern, welche irgend anderen Bewohnern des abgetretenen Territoriums zustehen, welche Regierungsform denselben auch nachträglich anzunehmen erlaubt worden sei, und daß demnach die Regierung der Vereinigten Staaten, indem sie den weißen Bewohnern dieses Territoriums erlaubte, dasselbe zu einem Sklavenstaate zu machen mit Constitutionen und Gesetzen, welche sie aller politischen und mancher bürgerlichen Rechte und Freiheiten beraubte, das Begehen eines großen Unrechts nicht nur gegen sie selbst, sondern gegen die Redlichkeit und die Ehre des gesammten Volkes der Vereinigten Staaten erlaubte.

Es ist schwer zu finden, wie der Fall, den sie vorbringen, selbst auf den Buchstaben des Vertrags hin erfolgreich widerlegt werden könnte. Und noch schwerer ist es einzusehen, wie der Umstand, daß sie während sechzig Jahren unter einem großen Unrecht litten, jetzt als ein Grund angeführt werden könnte, ihnen die Abhülfe desselben zu verweigern. Uebrigens kann man jetzt nicht leugnen, daß die freie farbige Bevölkerung in ihrer Gesammtheit so wohl erzogen, so intelligent, ordnungsliebend und arbeitsam ist, als irgend ein gleich zahlreicher Theil der Gesammtbevölkerung des Staates; im Durchschnitt ist dieselbe so reich als die Bevölkerung der freien Staaten und bei weitem loyaler, als ihre weißen Mitbürger. Den Beweis von dem Letztern hätte man im vergangenen Sommer, als der Gouverneur Shepley Freiwillige zur Vertheidigung von New-Orleans gegen einen drohenden Angriff des Rebellenheeres unter Macgruder verlangte, während die weißen Einwohner, selbst viele von den Regierungsbeamten, zögerten und sich weigerten, eingemustert zu werden, waren acht und vierzig Stunden nach dem Aufrufe an die freien Farbigen, mehr als hundert, deren Läden und Geschäftslocale geschlossen, und ein ganzes Regiment war organisirt und bereit, in's Feld zu ziehen und vor Ablauf von 72 Stunden ein zweites. Sind denn alle diese Leute nicht in jeder Beziehung eben so fähig, die bürgerlichen und politischen Rechte zu besitzen und auszuüben, als diejenigen, deren einzige Befähigung eine etwas weißere Hautfarbe ist und der mit Widerwillen, unter Protest und geheimem Vorbehalt geleistete Eid der Treue?

In Wahrheit ist der Fall dieser alten freien Farbigen von Louisiana ein Fall „eigener Art," der durchaus nicht die Frage in sich einschließt, welche sich erhebt über die Gerechtigkeit oder Zweckmäßigkeit, den kürzlich emancipirten Farbigen die politischen Rechte zu ertheilen. Die Ansprüche der Ersteren auf den Genuß dieser Rechte beruhen auf ganz besonderen und klaren Gründen. Außerdem bedarf die Regierung des Votums dieser Bevölkerung zur Vertheidigung der Verfassung und der Union; sie bedarf desselben in diesem Augenblicke eben so unbedingt, als sie deren Arme nöthig hatte in der oben erwähnten Periode.

Wie dem aber auch sein mag, man wird leicht begreifen, daß ein so zahlreicher und intelligenter Volkstheil, in der Mitte der Sklaverei lebend, trotz aller Hindernisse wohlhabend werdend und derselben Race angehörend, aus der die Sklaven kommen, sowohl auf die Herren, als auch die Sklaven einen großen Einfluß äußerten. Den Letzteren flößten sie eine stets wachsende Sehnsucht nach Freiheit ein; sie erweckten in ihnen den Wunsch, frei von der Geißel und der Peitsche des Sklaventreibers zu leben und zu arbeiten; die Ersteren aber regten sie zu stets größerer Hut und strengerer Repression an.

Andere Eigenthümlichkeiten des Sklavensystems in dem Thale des untern Mississippi brauchen hier nicht erwähnt zu werden. Die angeführten Thatsachen zeigen genügend, daß in den Hauptzügen die Sklaverei hier denselben allgemeinen Charakter hat, den sie überall zeigt. Ihre Folgen und menschlichen Produkte haben uns hauptsächlich zu beschäftigen und auch diese sind überall fast identisch. Die vollständige Erkenntniß und Behandlungsweise derselben sind die hohen Pflichten, welche sich jetzt unsern Staatsmännern und Regierenden darbieten.

Wie ich schon gesagt habe, erblickt man hier auf den Ufern des großen Stromes noch diese Resultate und Produkte: neben dem Farbigen, wie die Sklaverei ihn gelassen hat, lebt der Weiße, wie die Sklaverei ihn gemacht hat.

Erlauben Sie mir, Ihnen dieselben kurz zu schildern, nicht in dem Lichte meiner persönlichen Beobachtung allein, sondern vielmehr in dem der Erfahrung von Personen, deren Pflicht es war, täglich mit denselben zu verkehren und sich thatsächlich mit den vielen schwierigen und störenden Fragen zu beschäftigen, welche der in ihrer Mitte vorgehenden großen Umgestaltung entspringen.

Zuerst also über die Farbigen. Gen. Banks, Befehlshaber in dem Golf-Departement, dessen Erfahrung und ernstes Studium des Gegenstandes unserer Untersuchung seinem Zeugniß Gewicht geben, erklärte mir, daß er weit mehr von den Farbigen, als von den Weißen gelernt habe, daß sie viel besser die Erfordernisse ihrer eigenthümlichen Lage in der gegenwärtigen Lage der Dinge verständen, als die Weißen die ihrigen, daß sie dieselben

viel vernünftiger und bereitwilliger annähmen; und daß seiner Ansicht nach das Mißlingen der großen Revolution nicht dem Schwarzen werde zuzuschreiben sein, sollte durch die Schuld von Irgendjemand dieselbe nicht gelingen.

In einem Briefe von Alexandria, Louisiana, in welchem kurz vor meiner Abreise Gen. Banks mir gewisse Fragen beantwortete, sagte er am 28. März 1864:

„Gewiß, ich zweifle in keiner Beziehung an den Fähigkeiten der farbigen Emancipirten, die Pflichten zu begreifen und zu erfüllen, welche ihnen die große Veränderung ihrer Lage auferlegt.

„Im Laufe der letzten achtzehn Monate habe ich sie in allen Lagen gesehen, und mit vielem Vergnügen sage ich nochmals, was ich schon persönlich Ihnen erklärt habe, daß dieselben mir einen klareren Begriff ihrer Lage und der auf ihnen liegenden Pflichten zu haben scheinen, als irgend eine andere Klasse unseres Volkes, und daß sie die Nothwendigkeit der ihnen wie andern zukommenden Arbeit vollkommen anerkennen. Die Bedingungen, welche sie allgemein machen, beweisen die gute Einsicht, mit der sie in die Veränderung ihrer Lage eintreten.

„Sie verlangen erstens, daß, welcher Strafe man sie auch unterwerfe, nicht gepeitscht zu werden.

„2. Daß sie nur arbeiten sollen, wenn sie gut behandelt werden.

„3. Daß ihre Familien nicht getrennt werden.

„4. Daß ihre Kinder Unterricht erhalten sollen.

„Unter diesen Bedingungen habe ich kein Individuum dieser Race gefunden, das nicht bereit gewesen wäre, die Nothwendigkeit einer ununterbrochenen und treuen Arbeit gegen billigen Lohn, dessen Festsetzung sie gern der Regierung überlassen, anzuerkennen. So weit die Erfahrung in diesem Departement reicht, haben sie im höchsten Grade diesen Schluß gerechtfertigt und unter den von ihnen gestellten Bedingungen haben sie getreu gearbeitet.

„Als ich das Kommando dieses Departements übernahm, befanden sich daselbst viele Tausende von Farbigen ohne Beschäftigung, ohne Heimath, und eine Beute der schrecklichsten Krankheiten und Todesarten. Zu diesen Eingebornen der Plantagen dieses Departements kamen noch viele Tausende von Flüchtlingen jeden Alters und in jedem möglichen Zustande aus den Nachbarstaaten.

„Aber gegenwärtig gibt es nicht 500 Personen, die sich nicht selbst ihren Unterhalt gewännen, und an jedem Tage des vergangenen Jahres würden wir freudig zehn oder zwanzig Tausend mehr zu den Unsrigen, und zwar ohne alle Rücksicht auf ihren Zustand, in dem sie sein möchten, angenommen haben. Nur darum, weil der Neger die Nothwendigkeit seiner Lage einsieht

und, wie Sie sich in Ihrem Briefe ausdrücken, „fähig ist, die Pflichten seiner so sehr veränderten Lage auf sich zu nehmen und zu erfüllen," konnte das oben angeführte Resultat thatsächlich erreicht werden.

„Wo immer in diesem Departement die Neger gut behandelt und gerecht belohnt wurden, haben sie ohne Ausnahme ihren Arbeitgebern treue Dienste geleistet.

„Viele Personen, welche Plantagen verwalten, haben mir mitgetheilt, daß die Neger ohne alle Schwierigkeit bei der Arbeit gehalten werden können, wenn man die oben angeführten Bedingungen erfüllt."

Georg H. Hanks, Oberst des 15. Regiments, Corps d'Afrique, Mitglied der Rekrutirungs-Commission und Superintendent der Negerarbeiten in dem Golf-Departement, machte am 6. Februar 1864 folgende Aussage: daß er als Lieutenant in dem 12. Connecticut-Regiment unter Gen. Butler in den Krieg gegangen und als Superintendent der Contrabands unter dem Brig. Gen. T. W. Sherman angestellt worden sei. „Die Neger," sagt er, „kommen herbei mit Narben und Wunden bedeckt, einige hatten eiserne Halsbinden an. Ich gab ihnen Arbeit auf den Plantagen und an den Befestigungswerken. Einmal hatten wir deren 6,500 und wir hatten nicht die geringste Schwierigkeit mit ihnen. Sie sind williger und ausdauernder bei der Arbeit, als irgend eine Classe von Menschen, die ich je sah. Es ist wahr, sie haben eine große Abneigung gegen die Rückkehr zu ihren früheren Herren, und diejenigen, welche zu Hause geblieben sind, hegen stets Mißtrauen, sie vermuthen Betrug und halten es für nöthig, wegzulaufen, um ihre Freiheit zu erproben. Im Laufe dieses Jahres hat ihre Abneigung bedeutend abgenommen; sie fangen an sich sicherer zu fühlen und arbeiten ohne Zögern für Lohn. Die Neger nehmen mit Bereitwilligkeit ihr Arbeitsverhältniß für ihren Unterhalt und das Gewehr für ihre Freiheit an. Ich kenne eine Familie von fünf Personen, welche durch den freiwilligen Eintritt eines der Söhne in das Heer frei wurde. Er nahm Dienst mit der erklärten Absicht, seine Familie frei zu machen. Er hieß Moore und war Sklave der Herren Leeds, Eisenschmelzer, gewesen; diese wohnten in einer durch die Emancipations-Proklamation ausgenommenen Gemeinde. Er war einer der ersten, welche bei Pascagnola fielen. Bei seinem Weggehen sagte er zu seiner Familie: „Ich weiß, daß ich fallen werde, aber ihr werdet frei sein."

„Ein Negersoldat verlangte von mir seine Kinder, welche in meinen Händen waren. Ich wünschte seine väterliche Liebe auf die Probe zu stellen und sagte: „Sie sind nach Hause gegangen." Er antwortete: „Lieutenant, ich wünsche meine Kinder in die Schule zu schicken; meinem Weibe ist es nicht gestattet, sie zu sehen; ich stehe in Ihrem Dienste, ich trage die Uniform, ich war in drei Schlachten, ich befand mich bei dem Angriff auf

Port Hudson; ich verlange meine Kinder, sie sind mein Fleisch und Blut." Oberst Hanks, dessen wahrhaft herzliche und treue Dienste für die Sache der Farbigen in dem Golf-Departement nicht zu hoch gewürdigt werden können, beabsichtigte natürlich nicht, dieses Verlangen zurückzuweisen. Die Kinder wurden dem Vater übergeben.

Nebst dem Rechte, für ihren und ihrer Familien Unterhalt zu arbeiten, verlangen die Farbigen hier, wie an andern Orten, das Privilegium, ihre Kinder in die Schule zu schicken.

„Die Farbigen," sagt Oberst Hanks, „zeigen die größte Besorgniß für die Erziehung ihrer Kinder und würdigen vollkommen die Wohlthat des Unterrichts. Ich habe Familien gekannt, die nur zwei Mahlzeiten des Tages nahmen, um wöchentlich 50 Cts. für einen sehr mittelmäßigen Lehrer ihrer Kinder zu sparen."

Die allgemeine und eifrige Begierde der Farbigen, Unterricht zu erhalten, ist höchst auffallend durch eine Thatsache dargethan, welche mir während eines Besuches in Port Hudson bekannt wurde. In jedem Lager der farbigen Regimenter war die bestgebaute Hütte das Schulhaus. Diese Regimenter hatten von Gen. Andrews die Erlaubniß erhalten, Regimentsschulen zu gründen. Mit eigener Hand bauten sie Schulhäuser und verschafften sich auf eigene Kosten Lehrer. (In einigen Regimentern übernahmen die Feldprediger dieses Amt.) Alle ihre Offiziere geben ihnen das Zeugniß, daß sie ihre freie Zeit mit dem größten Fleiße und mit Beharrlichkeit ihren Studien widmen. Sollte nicht die Regierung dieses lobenswerthe Verlangen der farbigen Regimenter dadurch ermuthigen, daß sie einem jeden derselben wenigstens einen permanenten Lehrer gebe. Ein dienstunfähiger weißer Veteran könnte in dieser Eigenschaft angestellt werden.

Der Trieb nach Erziehung, die Liebe für Kenntnisse werden stets in allen menschlichen Gesellschaften und bei allen Völkern als die sichersten Beweise für deren inneren Werth, als die hoffnungsvollsten Zeichen derer Fähigkeit für Civilisation und künftige Entwicklung angesehen. Die außerordentliche Kundgebung dieser Liebe, dieses Triebes von Seiten der emancipirten Farbigen sind, wenn man sie mit ihrem früheren Zustand der Erniedrigung zusammenstellt, eine der überraschendsten Thatsachen, welche sich in Bezug auf diese Bevölkerung ergaben. Und vergleicht man sie mit der fast allgemeinen Gleichgültigkeit, ja Verachtung, mit der die armen Weißen des Südens diesen Gegenstand behandeln, so ist dies sehr geeignet, den Stolz des Weißen auf die geistige Ueberlegenheit seiner Race zu demüthigen. Der Farbige kam von Afrika ohne das geringste Element von Civilisation; nicht einmal die Ueberlieferung einer Spur von Erziehung besitzen ihre Vorfahren. Auf der andern Seite sind die, welche man das „arme, weiße Gesindel" der Sklavenstaaten nennt, meistens die Nachkommen derselben Race von Men-

schen, welche unsere Civilisation von Neu-Englands Hügeln durch die große Wildniß nach den Ufern des stillen Oceans getragen haben. Sie begannen ihre Laufbahn, begünstigt durch Klima und Boden, und mit gleichen Mitteln der Erziehung und der Aufklärung. Aber auf ihrem Wege erhob sich die furchtbare Schranke der Herrenthums. Dessen alles verheerende Gräuel verschlang sie und heut zu Tage kann man nur von ihnen sagen, daß je eine unwissendere, demoralisirtere und bejammernswerthere Gesellschaft menschlicher Wesen in irgend einem Lande und zu irgend einer Zeit lebte. Es ist demnach erlaubt zu fragen, ob nach Allem die Sklavenbesitzer nicht am verderblichsten gegen ihre eigene Race gehandelt haben, selbst ohne Rücksicht zu nehmen auf deren gegenwärtigen Versuch, die großen Resultate der Geschichte, d. h. die Nationalität, Civilisation und die freien Institutionen des Volkes der Ver. Staaten zu nichte zu machen.

„Nebst dieser herzlichen Würdigung der Erziehung," sagt der Oberst Hanks, „sind die Farbigen auch sehr religiös und fromm und sind durch diese Gesinnung leicht zu leiten und zu belehren. Ich hatte häufige Kundgebungen von deren Vertrauen in Gott in Bezug auf ihre Freiheit. Ich weiß, daß es vorkam, daß sie für die „verdammten Yankees" beteten." „Die Neger," sagt Herr Roudanez, „sind seit der Freiheitsproklamation viel tugendhafter. Die Männer haben mehr Selbstachtung und die Frauen größere Keuschheit, weil ihnen ein ehrlicher Lebenserwerb möglich ist. Zum Beischlaf wurden sie oft durch Bedürfnisse, wie Kleider und andere nöthige Gegenstände gebracht."

Ich habe wohl kaum nöthig, von dem Charakter der Farbigen als Soldaten in Bezug auf das Mississippithal zu sprechen. Das allgemeine offizielle Zeugniß über ihr Benehmen als Soldaten und über ihre große Tapferkeit hat diesen Punkt über allen Zweifel erhoben. Nicht weniger hervortretend sind ihre Mäßigkeit, Ordnungsliebe und willige Unterwerfung unter die Disciplin. General Andrews, Kommandant von Port Hudson, versicherte mir vor Kurzem, daß die Farbigen seine besten Truppen seien; sie erfüllten alle ihre Pflichten und unterzogen sich besonders allen Strapazen mit größerer Freudigkeit und Gewissenhaftigkeit, als die weißen Regimenter; unter fähigen Offizieren, glaube er, könne es keine zuverlässigere Truppen geben.

Selbst das einzige Beispiel von Insubordination, welches kürzlich im Fort Jackson vorkam, war durch so unerhörte Mißhandlungen von Seiten des Oberstlieutenants und der andern mitschuldigen Offiziere veranlaßt, daß Gen. Dwight, der von Gen. Banks zur Untersuchung der Sache abgesandt wurde, mir persönlich erklärte, die farbigen Soldaten seien untadelhaft. Die Offiziere wurden aus dem Dienste entfernt — eine sehr leichte Strafe, wenn man die Größe ihrer Vergehen berücksichtigt.

Dieses Ereigniß wurde von vielen Journalen in den Ver. Staaten und im Auslande als ein Fall von Insubordination veröffentlicht. In der That aber war darin nicht eine Spur von Insubordination zu finden. Was die Soldaten zu thun beabsichtigten, war, ihre schamlosen und schuldvollen Offiziere festzunehmen, nach New-Orleans zu marschiren und sich selbst dem General Banks als dem Oberbefehlshaber zu überliefern.

Wir dürfen daher nicht an dem emancipirten Neger verzweifeln. Trotz der von der Sklaverei über ihn verhängten Erniedrigung ist in ihm Viel übrig geblieben, auf das sich bauen läßt. Er ist wenigstens bereit und willig, die Vollführung seines bescheidenen und mühsamen Theiles in der Durchführung der neuen Ordnung der Dinge zu übernehmen. Kann man in der That die Resultate des Lebenskampfes und der Geschichte der alten freien Farbigen in Louisiana als Beweis annehmen, so muß man zu dem Schlusse gelangen, daß der Neger nicht fähig ist, sich selbst zu leiten und zu erhalten, sondern daß er auch unter dem Einfluß höherer und edlerer menschlicher Motive und Anregungen ganz denselben Gesetzen unterworfen ist, unter welchen die andern Racen der Menschen handeln.

Was muß man dagegen sagen von dem Weißen, seinem alten Herrn, von dessen Fähigkeit und Neigung, so wie von dessen Haltung in Bezug auf den Theil, welchen er in dem neu reconstruirten und socialen System zu übernehmen hat?

Oberst Hanks, der seit zwei Jahren einen großen Theil seiner Zeit in täglichem Verkehr mit den Pflanzern des Golfdepartements zugebracht hat, erklärt, „daß in ihnen der Geist der Sklaverei noch fortlebt, obgleich sie anfangen einzusehen, daß die Sklaverei todt ist. Viele von ihnen sind noch mehr als vorher darauf aus, die Neger zu Sklaven zu machen. Sie geben sich große Mühe, wie sie sagen, ihre eigenen Neger wieder zu erlangen.“ Ein Pflanzer bot mir $5000 für die Zurückerstattung seiner Neger an. Sie haben sogar Leute gedungen, um dieselben aus meinem Lager zu stehlen. So treibt sie der alte Geist zu dem alten Verbrechen, das längst von dem Gesetze für Felonie erklärt ist, wenn es in Afrika ausgeübt wird. Sie fügen sich nur gezwungen in den Gedanken der Freiheit. Sie unterwerfen sich der von der Regierung vorgeschriebenen Bedingung, weil sie es thun müssen. Herr V. B. Marmillon, einer der reichsten und größten Zuckerpflanzer des ganzen Mississippithales, leistete den Eid der Treue, weigerte sich aber, seine Pflanzung zu bebauen, wenn man ihm nicht seine eigenen Neger zurückgäbe. Er hatte 1450 Acker Landes mit Zucker angebaut. Alle seine Sklaven verließen ihn und stellten sich mir in New-Orleans zur Verfügung. Es befanden sich unter ihnen Maschinenarbeiter und Handwerker jeder Art. Ich ließ sie vor mich kommen und sagte ihnen, die Regierung habe Besitz genommen von der Erndte ihres

Herrn; man bedürfe ihrer, um dieselbe einzuthun, und sie würden für ihre Arbeit bezahlt werden. Alle willigten ein, zurückzukehren; aber als am nächsten Morgen die Zeit des Aufbruches kam, wollte Keiner gehen. Einer von ihnen sagte: „Ich will irgendwo anders hingehen, um zu arbeiten, aber Sie können mich erschießen, ehe ich auf die alte Plantage zurückkehre.“ Ich fand später aus, daß Marmillon, den sie den alten „Baumwollenbart“ nannten, sich in Gegenwart von zwei farbigen Mädchen damit gerühmt hatte, wie er diese Sklaven hernehmen würde, wenn sie wieder in seiner Gewalt seien. Diese Mädchen machten in einer Nacht mehr als 30 Meilen, um ihren Freunden diese Nachricht zu bringen. Man gab diesen Leuten Arbeit an einem andern Orte.

„Allerdings,“ sagt Oberst Hanks, „scheinen sich die Dinge dieses Jahr besser zu gestalten. In einigen Gemeinden hat die Verpachtung der Pflanzungen an Männer aus dem Norden einen mächtigen Einfluß geäußert. Aber die Stimmung der Pflanzer gegen ihre früheren Sklaven, wenn diese sich von ihnen miethen lassen, ist durchaus nicht freundlich. Ich sagte kürzlich einem Pflanzer, es sei der ausdrückliche Befehl des Gen. Banks, daß die Neger unterrichtet würden; er antwortete: „Niemand solle seine Neger unterrichten.“ Oberst Hanks erklärt ferner, es sei seine feste Ueberzeugung, „daß, würde die Civilregierung wieder eingesetzt und die Militärherrschaft aufgehoben, die größte Gefahr vorhanden sei, daß die Neger in irgend einer Weise zu Leibeigenen gemacht werden würden.“

Diese Erklärung des Obersten Hanks und die allgemeine Richtigkeit seiner Ansichten wurden von vielen andern einsichtsvollen, mit dem Gegenstande vertrauten Personen bestätigt, und meine eigene Beobachtung stimmt damit überein.

Auf einer Strecke von 300 Meilen am Mississippi hinauf und hinunter fand ich nur einen Creolen (es mögen andere da sein, mit denen ich nicht in Berührung kam), der von Herzen und ohne Rückhalt den Gedanken der freien Arbeit annahm und ihn redlich auf seiner Plantage zur Ausführung brachte. Obgleich er aber erklärte, daß derselbe an und für sich über seine Erwartung gelungen sei, sagte er: „Dennoch ist mein und meiner Familie Leben durch die Schmähungen, welche wir von unsern Nachbarn zu erdulden haben, sehr unglücklich geworden.“

Die einfache Wahrheit ist, daß das Gift der Sklaverei, die Herrenlust, jetzt wie je gewaltig in der Brust dieser alten Sklavenbesitzer tobt. Viele von ihnen geben zu, daß die alte Form der Sklaverei für immer zerbrochen ist; es kostet sie nichts, einzugestehen, daß der Secessions-Versuch mißlungen ist; aber sie verlachen die Idee der Freiheit der Neger und bringen noch die alte Behauptung vor, derselbe sei unfähig, für sich zu sorgen, oder einen höheren Beweggrund zur Arbeit zu erkennen, als die Peitsche. Sie warten

mit Ungeduld auf die Aufhebung des Militärregimes und die Wiedereinsetzung der Civilgewalt in ihrem Staate, um dieselbe zu controlliren und, wie bisher, für das zu benutzen, was ihnen unzweifelhaft der höchste Gegenstand aller Civilgewalt, ja des Staates selbst zu sein scheint — das Sklavereisystem in irgend einer Form.

Mit geringerer Aenderung scheint die Sprache, welche kürzlich der Richter Humphrey in seiner Rede bei einem Unionsmeeting in Huntsville, Alabama, führte, der passendste Ausdruck der Hoffnungen und Absichten eines großen Theils der alten Sklavenbesitzer in dem Mississippithale zu sein, welche einwilligten, ihre Loyalität gegen die Union darzuthun, indem sie dem Präsidenten den in der Amnestie-Proklamation vorgeschriebenen Eid leisteten. Nachdem der Richter Humphrey den Rath gegeben hatte, Alabama solle ohne Verzug durch einfache Widerrufung der Secessionsakte in die Union zurückkehren, und nachdem er die Ansicht ausgesprochen hatte, daß die alte Institution der Sklaverei zu Grunde gegangen sei, sagte er: „Ich glaube, daß wir durch die Rückkehr in die Union hinreichende politische Cooperation erlangen werden, welche uns die Leitung der Arbeit unserer früheren Sklaven sichern würde. Meiner Meinung nach macht es keinen Unterschied, ob wir dieselben als unbedingte Sklaven besitzen, oder ob wir von ihnen durch irgend eine andere Methode ihre Arbeit erhalten. Allerdings ziehen wir die frühere Methode vor; aber diese Frage liegt uns jetzt nicht vor."

Es ist wahr, daß Gen. Banks in Bezug auf die Stimmung und die Pläne der Pflanzer etwas verschiedener Ansicht, jedoch bestimmt durch den Glauben ist, daß die Regierung irgend ein System „der genügenden Oberaufsicht einführen werde, das den Neger zur Arbeit verpflichte,"—obgleich er, wie wir gesehen haben, erklärt, daß gute Behandlung und gebührender Lohn sich in allen Fällen als hinlängliches Antriebsmittel bewährt haben. Was die alten Sklavenbesitzer unter einem System verstehen, das den Neger zur Arbeit verpflichte, kann man sich leicht denken; es ist gewiß, daß dasselbe nicht in guter Behandlung und gebührendem Lohn besteht.

In dem schon angeführten Briefe sagt Gen. Banks: „Ich zweifle nicht daran, daß viele der Pflanzer, die in unsern Linien wohnen und von der Regierung in ihrem Eigenthum geschützt werden, ehrlich den neuen Zustand annehmen und redlich auf den Gedanken der freien Arbeit eingehen; aber sie hegen dabei eine Ungläubigkeit in Bezug auf den Erfolg dieses Versuches, welche in ihrer Lage und bei den Ideen, in welchen sie auferzogen wurden, natürlich ist. Dieselbe wird mehr noch erhalten durch die Halsstarrigkeit und Brutalität der Aufseher — dieser Mittelklasse zwischen den Arbeitern

und den Arbeitgebenden — als selbst durch die angeborne Neigung der Pflanzer, so wie durch ihren Unglauben in Bezug auf die Möglichkeit, eine genügende Oberaufsicht der Regierung einzuführen, welche den Neger zur Arbeit zwingen könne, gegen die er, wie sie glauben, eine entschiedene Abneigung hat."

Die Ansichten, welche hier bisher über den Geist und die Stimmung der alten Sklavenbesitzer ausgesprochen sind, werden vollkommen durch das Zeugniß des Brig. Gen. James S. Wadsworth bestätigt und Niemand hatte bessere Gelegenheit, ein einsichtsvolles Urtheil darüber zu gewinnen.

Als Gen. Wadsworth kurz nach seiner Rückkehr von einer offiziellen Rundreise durch das Mississippithal, zu Anfang des vergangenen Winters von der Commission verhört wurde, sprach er sich über die Lage der Dinge in Louisiana folgendermaßen aus:

„Ein Umstand vor Allem muß berücksichtigt werden, und dieser ist, daß die alten Sklavenbesitzer trachten werden, die Neger unter ihrer Botmäßigkeit zu halten und sie als eine unterworfene und niedrigere Classe zu behandeln. Daran darf man nicht zweifeln. Ich glaube, daß das Bestreben, ein System der Leibeigenschaft einzuführen, die größte Gefahr ist, gegen die man sich vorzusehen hat. Ich sprach mit einem Pflanzer in dem Lafourge Distrikt bei Tibadauville; er sagte mir, er sei nicht für die Secession, aber er gestand mir seine Hoffnung und Erwartung, daß die Sklaverei in irgend einer Form wiederhergestellt werde. Ich erwiederte: „Wenn wir jetzt weggingen und diese Leute verließen, glauben Sie, daß Sie dieselben wieder zu Sklaven machen könnten?" Er verhöhnte den Gedanken, daß sie es nicht könnten. „Wie?" sagte ich, „diese Männer, die Waffen in den Händen haben?" „Ja," sagte er, „wir würden ihnen natürlich die Waffen abnehmen."

Noch manche gleich wichtige Aussagen könnten angeführt werden, aber es scheint überflüssig zu sein für das richtige Verständniß der gegenwärtigen Haltung und Stellung der zwei Hauptelemente der aufgelösten Sklavereigesellschaft in der hier behandelten Region.

Im Interesse größerer Klarheit habe ich mich bisher enthalten, die Behandlung und die wirkliche Lage der emancipirten Bevölkerung oder das kürzlich in dem Golf-Departement eingeführte Arbeitssystem zu besprechen. Insofern ich es für meine Pflicht halte, von den erstern Punkten zu sprechen, beziehe ich mich meistens auf die Periode von Gen. Banks' Proklamation in Bezug auf das Arbeitssystem, da diese Proklamation erst wenige Tage vor meiner Ankunft in New-Orleans erlassen worden war.

Der Oberst Hanks spricht von der Geduld der Neger. In der That ist ihr klagloses Erdulden der härtesten Entbehrungen und Leiden überall der

bedeutendste Charakterzug dieser Race. Ihr früheres Sklavenleben härtete sie gegen tägliche, dauernde Leiden ab, und bis zu dieser Stunde ist ihre Versetzung in die Freiheit kaum von etwas begleitet, als von schlechter Behandlung, Entbehrungen, Krankheiten und Familienverlusten. Die Sterblichkeit in dem Mississippithale war schrecklich unter ihnen. Die competentesten Beurtheiler schätzen sie auf nicht weniger als 25 Prozent im Laufe der letzten zwei Jahre. Mit wenigen Ausnahmen stehen sie überall unter der Controlle von unfähigen oder sonst untauglichen Beamten. Hier wie an anderen Orten wurden sie oft die Beute habgieriger und gewissenloser Menschen. In vielen Fällen, in Lumpen gehüllt, ohne hinreichende, gesunde Nahrung, ohne Bettstellen und Bettzeug, haben sie Monate lang gearbeitet, um zuletzt ohne Vergütung oder nur mit geringem Lohne entlassen zu werden. Dieser große Mangel an Schutz verursachte ernste, verheerende Krankheiten, welchen sie ohne die nöthige Pflege und ärztliche Behandlung überlassen wurden. Eine große Sterblichkeit war die Folge davon. Viele Entbehrungen und Leiden waren selbst unter den günstigsten Verhältnissen die unvermeidlichen Folgen des Kriegszustandes. Aber ich würde gegen meine Pflicht handeln, wenn ich nicht erklärte, daß meiner Ansicht nach ein großer Theil der Unbilden, deren Opfer sie wurden, und ein großer Theil ihrer Leiden verursacht wurde durch die Unterlassung der Regierung, ein geeignetes und allgemeines System der Verpflegung und des Schutzes einzuführen.

In den Departements, wo, wie in dem des Golfes, man guten Grund hat, zu glauben, daß die höchsten Militärbeamten das Interesse dieser Bevölkerung beherzigten, war es unvermeidlich, daß dasselbe dennoch in die Hände von unfähigen und untreuen Subalternen fiel, weil die Vorgesetzten die Bewegungen großer Heere zu leiten hatten und ganz in Anspruch genommen waren von den ernsten Pflichten der Militärregierung. Selbst unter dem jüngst hier eingeführten System, welches ohne Zweifel in mancher Hinsicht besser ist, als der frühere Mangel jedes Systems, stehen die Schwarzen unmittelbar unter der Controlle und der Gewalt der Profosse, deren jedem ein gewisser Distrikt der Plantagenregion angewiesen ist. Diese Profossen-Assistenten sind gewöhnlich junge Beamte niederen Ranges, Offiziere, Hauptleute oder Lieutenants. Sie werden in den Häusern der Pflanzer empfangen und mit einer gewissen Achtung behandelt. Man kann kaum erwarten, daß dieselben solchem Einfluß widerstehen, oder daß sie nicht oft, ohne es zu wissen, die Instrumente der Pflanzer werden, um die farbigen Arbeiter zu Opfern großer Ungerechtigkeit und schlechter Behandlung zu machen.

Ein redlicher und competenter Zeuge, dessen Aussage ich hier mittheile, sagt: „Ich erkläre offen, daß die Profosse den Arbeitern auf den Pflanzungen nicht Gerechtigkeit widerfahren ließen. Sie tragen nicht Sorge, daß

die Befehle des General Banks ausgeführt werden. Auf vielen Pflanzungen ist das Peitschen noch erlaubt." Mehr als ein Beispiel von großer Fahrlässigkeit, Ungerechtigkeit und Mißbrauch sind der Commission bekannt geworden.

Der Plan des General Banks ist erst seit zu kurzer Zeit in Anwendung gebracht, als daß man dessen vollen Werth beurtheilen könnte. Aber, wie ich soeben sagte, im Ganzen und als eine temporäre Einrichtung wird derselbe für besser gehalten, als Alles, was bisher in dem Departement versucht wurde. Als ein permanentes System hat derselbe große Mängel. Erstens überläßt es den Arbeitgebern und Profossen zusammen, die Arbeiter in Klassen einzutheilen, was in der That nichts weiter ist, als es den Pflanzern allein überlassen. Dann setzt dasselbe ohne Rücksicht auf die Fähigkeiten und Wünsche der Arbeiter oder auf die Concurrenz des Arbeitsmarktes den Lohn der Arbeit fest.

Drittens bestimmt es, daß Kleidung und Lebensunterhalt der Arbeiter und ihrer Familien dem Urtheile des Pflanzers in Bezug auf das, was nothwendig ist, überlassen werde, allerdings mit der Freiheit für den Arbeiter, diese Lieferungen gegen monatlich $8 für Arbeiter der ersten Klasse und im Verhältniß für den der anderen Klassen auszutauschen.

Wäre das zu erreichende Ziel nur, „den Neger zur Arbeit zu zwingen," und zwar in einem dauernden Zustande der Subordination und Unterwürfigkeit, so würde diese Anordnung zweckmäßig genug sein. Aber will man aus dem Neger ein Mitglied der Gesellschaft machen, das sich selbst erhalte und vertheidige, dann muß man ihn in eine Lage bringen, in welcher er den Werth seiner Arbeit selbst bestimmen kann, und ihm die Verantwortlichkeit für seine und seiner Familie Existenz und Wohlfahrt überlassen.

Als allgemeiner Grundsatz ist dies zu einfach und unwiderlegbar, um eines Beweises zu bedürfen. In dem gegenwärtigen Zustande des Golf-Departements mag es nicht zweckmäßig sein, denselben gegenwärtig vollständig in Anwendung zu bringen; aber die temporäre Annahme des entgegengesetzten Prinzipes sollte nicht als die Grundlage eines dauernden Systems angenommen werden dürfen, denn dieses würde sich nur wenig von der Sklaverei selbst unterscheiden.

In Bezug auf die Klasseneintheilung, Bekleidung und den Lohntarif scheint mir der Plan des Herrn Wm. P. Mellen, Agenten des Staatsschatz-Departements zu Natchez, den wahren Prinzipien der Gerechtigkeit am nächsten zu kommen, welche zwischen den Arbeitern und Arbeitgebern zu beobachten sind. Diesem Plane gemäß findet die Klasseneintheilung vor der Anstellung der Arbeiter statt, und diesen ist gestattet, sich selbst zu kleiden. Der Lohntarif ist auch hier von der Obrigkeit festgestellt, was, wie schon gesagt, nur durch die Nothwendigkeit gerechtfertigt werden kann, in

der man sich befindet, daß der Arbeiter unter den besonderen Verhältnissen, in die der Krieg ihn versetzt, beschützt werden muß; aber hier nähert sich der Lohntarif vielmehr dem Preise des öffentlichen Marktes.

Nach Hrn. Mellen's Plan sind alle gesunde Personen
zwischen dem 20. und 40. Jahre Arbeiter No. 1;
zwischen dem 15. und 19. und 40. und 50., No. 2;
zwischen dem 12. und 14. und über 50., No. 3.

Der Lohn für männliche Arbeiter No. 1 ist $25 monatlich, No. 2, $20; und Nr. 3, $15.

Für weibliche Arbeiter, je nach den verschiedenen Klassen, $18, $14 und $10.

Individuen, welche an körperlichen Mängeln oder Krankheiten leiden, bilden die 4. Klasse und werden verhältnißmäßig bezahlt. Nach Hrn. Mellen's System haben die Arbeitgeber einen hinreichenden Vorrath an passenden Kleidungsstücken zu halten und dieselben mit einem Gewinne von 10 Prozent des Kostenpreises zu verkaufen.

Der Arbeitstarif, welcher im Golf-Departement festgesetzt ist, ist für die verschiedenen Klassen der Arbeiter $8, $6, $5 monatlich, nebst Kleidung, oder statt derselben $3 monatlich. Auch muß in diesem Departement der Arbeiter, der einmal seinen Arbeitgeber gewählt hat, ein Jahr bei ihm bleiben. Während es allerdings unter irgend einem einzuführenden Systeme unzweifelbar von der höchsten Wichtigkeit ist, daß der farbige Arbeiter die Natur und die Verbindlichkeit begreife und zur freiwillig eingegangenen Erfüllung derselben angehalten werde, ist doch diese gezwungene Verpflichtung im Prinzipe für unrecht anzusehen, sie führt zu Mißbräuchen und kann nur als vorübergehende Maßregel der Nothwendigkeit geduldet werden.

Das System des Generals Banks sorgt auch für die Erziehung der farbigen Kinder auf den Plantagen und für die Gründung von Sparbanken für die freien Arbeiter; diesen beiden Verfügungen gab die Commission ihren vollen Beifall.

Ich halte es hier nicht für nöthig, die verschiedenen Systeme ausführlicher zu behandeln. Auch beabsichtige ich nicht, die angenommenen Pläne zu streng zu kritisiren; denn es geschah ohne Zweifel in der besten Absicht und um den dringenden Bedürfnissen zu entsprechen, welche aus der Verwirrung und dem Chaos hervorgingen, das mitten in diesem großen Kriege auf den Zusammenbruch des alten Systemes folgte. Keines aber der angeführten Systeme scheint uns genügend das Recht der Emanzipirten, in seinen eigenen Angelegenheiten ein Wort mitzureden, zu achten, noch genügend in's Auge zu fassen, daß es das hohe Endziel sein soll, dieselben heranzuerziehen zur Selbstcontrolle, zum Selbstvertrauen und zur Ausübung der

Rechte und Erfüllung der Pflichten des civilisirten Lebens. Dies muß natürlich das Werk der Zeit sein. Aber nimmt man nicht schleunigst ein System an, welches diese Zwecke als die ersten und als Grundbedingungen aufstellt, so werden die thatsächliche Freiheit und die künftige Wohlfahrt der emanzipirten Bevölkerung nicht weniger, als die großen Interessen der Individuen, welche von deren freiwilligen, einsichtsvollen und gerecht belohnten Arbeit abhangen, ernstlich, wenn nicht verderblich in Gefahr gesetzt.

Aber nach dem Urtheile der Commission liegt der große Irrthum der gegenwärtigen Einrichtung für die Verpflegung und Beschützung dieser Bevölkerung darin, daß man die Verwaltung der verlassenen Plantagen und die Verfügung über dieselben einer getheilten Agentur zugewiesen hat. Es würde zu weit führen, die unvermeidlichen Uebel und Mißbräuche dieser Einrichtung bis in's Einzelne zu schildern. Es genüge die Erklärung, daß dieselbe die Quelle der größten Verwirrung und beständiger Collision zwischen den verschiedenen Lokalautoritäten ist, durch welche nicht nur die emanzipirte Bevölkerung selbst, sondern auch die Regierung den größten Nachtheil und schwere Verluste erleiden.

General Banks sagt in dem schon öfter angeführten Briefe: „Die Zuweisung der verlassenen und verfallenen Plantagen an ein Regierungs-Departement und die der Beschützung und des Unterhaltes der emanzipirten Bevölkerung an ein anderes ist der Grundirrthum, der unberechenbares Uebel verursacht und nicht zu bald vollkommen beseitigt werden kann."

In demselben Sinne sprechen sich alle Zeugnisse aus, welche die Commission erhalten konnte, nicht nur in dem Golf-Departement, sondern überall. Ohne Zögern stimmen in diesem Urtheile alle Männer, seien sie in offizieller Stellung oder nicht, die nicht die durch diese Anordnung gebotene Gelegenheiten zu Unterschleifen benutzen, mit dem General Banks überein. Ohne Ausnahme erklären alle, daß kein System, das nicht einer und derselben Behörde die Verwaltung der verlassenen Plantagen und die Verfügung derselben und Leitung wie der Schutz der emanzipirten Arbeiter, welche dieselben bebauen sollen, übertrage, keine die großen in's Auge gefaßten Zwecke erreichen.

Nach der sorgfältigsten Untersuchung bin ich bevollmächtigt, zu sagen, daß dies das bestimmte Urtheil der Commission ist.

Wenn es mir gelungen ist, in der vorausgehenden flüchtigen Schilderung der Lage der Dinge in dem Mississippithale die zwei wesentlichen Elemente der alten Sklavengesellschaft in ihrem wahren Lichte zu zeigen, so muß daraus nothwendiger Weise die innere Natur des Antagonismus hervorgehen, welcher daselbst der erfolgreichen Einführung des Systems der freien Arbeit und der politischen Reconstruction auf der Grundlage desselben im Wege steht. Die Untersuchung einer jeden Sklavengesellschaft in jedem

Lande führt zu demselben Schlusse. Die Schwierigkeit liegt nicht in dem emanzipirten Sklaven, sondern in den alten Herren, die von ihrer alten Verblendung befangen bleiben. Ich weiß wohl, daß man bisher diese Klasse der Herren allgemein als eine Körperschaft von Männern schilderte, hervorragend durch Staatsmannschaft, politische Weisheit und socialen Anstand. Es ist wohl jetzt kaum nöthig, dieses Urtheil über dieselben weiter zu bestreiten, als dadurch, daß man sagt, es gibt noch ein anderes Urtheil über sie, das ebenso innerlich begründet und weit wichtiger ist, wohl verstanden zu werden.

Tante Phillis, die alte Sklavin und Köchin des höchst ehrenwerthen und wohlhabenden John Pope, Pflanzer zu St. Helena, erzählte mir von den Leiden und Grausamkeiten, die sie lange auf der Plantage, auf dem Boden, auf dem sie jetzt als freies Wesen stand, erduldet hatte; — plötzlich hielt sie mitten in ihrer Erzählung ein, als wenn ein neues Licht in ihre müde und verwirrte Seele gedrungen wäre, und mit einem Blick nach dem Himmel rief sie aus: „Massa, es ist wahr, Massa Pope lehrte uns, Gott sei gestorben.“ Dies war ihr Urtheil über die Herren und ihre Erklärung der Erscheinungen, welche sie in dem geheimen Innern des sozialen Lebens beobachtet hatte, deren Gründer und Oberhäupter sie waren. Auch ist dieselbe keineswegs unvernünftig, denn wahrlich, für Menschen, die so ganz und gar das Dasein des Ebenbildes Gottes unter der schwarzen Haut hatten vergessen lernen, die sie oft mit Peitschenhieben zerrissen hatten, war ein solcher Gedanke durchaus nicht unnatürlich.

Wie dem auch sei, Thatsache ist es, daß die Sklavenherren mit grimmigem Hochmuthe sich brüstend, von der großen und freien Bewegung der demokratischen Gesellschaft und Civilisation ihres Landes und Zeitalters in Bezug auf sich selbst sowohl als auf die Welt um sie her sonderbare, irrthümliche Ansichten gewonnen haben. Mit dem Bewußtsein ihres unbestreitbaren Besitzes großer Landesstrecken und arbeitender Sklaven, ist es gewiß nicht sonderbar, daß der Rausch der unbeschränkten Gewalt und Herrschaft ihnen in den Kopf steigend nicht nur ihr Selbstbewußtsein, sondern auch alle Fähigkeit, die Wahrheit und das Wesen der Handlungen und Dinge zu erfassen, bis zu dem Grade verdarb, daß sie das monstruöseste System der organisirten Barbaren für das höchste, herrlichste Produkt aller Zeitalter hielten und in dessen Erhaltung das Hauptziel der Gesellschaft erblickten. Welchen Werth hatte in ihren Augen die Constitution, die Regierung, unser Land im Vergleich mit den Interessen ihrer von Gott eingesetzten Ordnung der Dinge und ihres Sklavenbesitzes.

Selten hatte die moralische Vorsehung der Welt es mit einer so gänzlichen Blindheit und Verdorbenheit zu thun. Nur mit jener Klasse von Männern kann man es vergleichen, deren Regime am Ende des letzten Jahr-

hunderts in Frankreich in ihrem eigenen Blute erstickt wurde. Dieser alte „Adel“ war offenbar ebenso bethört durch Hochmuth und Geringschätzung, als der neue „Adel“ der Sklavenpeitsche. Sie scheinen die armen weißhäutigen Arbeiter, von deren Mühen sie Tausend Jahre lang geleb und in Reichthum geschwelgt hatten, eben so verachtet zu haben, als irgend ein Sklavenhalter sein schwarzes Lastvieh verachtete. Man erzählt vor einem dieser Adligen, dem Grafen von Charolais, den Dulaure das Model eines Feudalherrn seiner Zeit nennt, daß er sich oft zum Zeitvertreib Dachdecker von den benachbarten Häusern herabschoß; fiel einer derselben todt oder verwundet, so war es für ihn und seine Gefährten Veranlassung zu großer Belustigung. Ohne Zweifel war dies für ihn ein eben so genußreiches Fest, als die Hiebe der Wagenriemenpeitsche auf dem Rücken eines auf den Boden gestreckten nackten, schwangern Weibes es für Fararby, den Sklavenhalter von Süd-Carolina, es waren, dessen Gräuelthaten in dem Haupt-Berichte der Commission geschildert sind.

Und dennoch scheint es, daß jene Adligen nicht so tief gesunken waren, wie der Herr der Tante Phillis. Sie glaubten nicht, „daß Gott gestorben sei.“ Ihr Glaube war der, den eine Hofdame von Ludwig XV. so zuversichtlich aussprach, als sie von irgend einem Charolais redete, der zur Rechenschaft in der andern Welt gerufen war: „Verlassen Sie sich darauf, mein Herr, Gott wird sich zweimal bedenken, ehe er einen Mann diesen Ranges verdammt!“ Es bedurfte der Schreckensherrschaft und der Guillotine, um diesen alten Adel von seiner Bethörung zu heilen. Das Uebermaß der Verblendung der Sklavenhalter in dem gegenwärtigen grausamen Kriege scheint anzudeuten, daß für sie eine ähnliche Heilmethode der Vorsehung nöthig war.

Wie dem auch sei, hätte nicht deren Bethörung und Verblendung den Geist und das Herz des ganzen Volkes der Ver. Staaten und dessen Diener angesteckt und demoralisirt gehabt, so würde der wesentliche Charakter der Meisterschaft und der gänzlichen Unverträglichkeit ihres Bestehens mit dem unserer freien demokratischen Institutionen und mit unserer Civilisation längst erkannt worden sein und man würde nicht gezögert haben, demgemäß ohne Zweideutigkeit und Rückhalt zu handeln.

Jede Untersuchung der Krankheit, in welcher sich jetzt der Staatsbürger abquält, enthüllt als Hauptsache das alte Herrenthum. In ihm liegt der Keim der Krankheit, er enthält das Pestgift, durch welches die ganze Nation angesteckt ist. Dieser Samen unserer Nationalunehre, der Auflösung, des Todes wurde aus Afrika gebracht und im Herbste 1620 an den Ufern des James River in Virginia ausgeschifft, in demselben Jahre, in welchem die Pilgerväter mit den Keimen unseres Nationallebens, unserer Civilisation und unseres Ruhmes an dem Plymouth-Felsen landeten. Dieses ver-

derbliche Gift verbreitete sich und nahm an Heftigkeit zu während mehr als 200 Jahren, bis die Fieberhitze irrthümlich für die blühende Farbe der Gesundheit gehalten wurde; bis die Spitzen des von ihm erzeugten berghohen Gesellschaftsgeschwüres als Gipfel der nationalen Cultur, des Reichthums, des Ruhmes betrachtet wurden. Danken wir Gott, daß es zuletzt aufbrach und den Augen Aller seine scheußliche Tiefe so enthüllte, daß der unwissendste Lehrling in der Kenntniß des sozialen und politischen Wohlseins und in der Staatswissenschaft nicht länger mehr sich täuschen kann über die Natur dieses Uebels und die wahre Heilmethode.

Wahrlich, danken wir Gott, daß unter der Wirkung seiner unendlich weisen und unerbittlichen Gesetze das beinahe 400 Jahre alte Unternehmen des weißen Mannes, die Negerrace ihrer Arbeit zu berauben und sich damit zu bereichern, seinem Untergange entgegengeht. Nie war auf der Erde ein erstaunungswertherer Plan der menschlichen Selbstsucht und des Unrechts entworfen und verfolgt worden. Man nehme ihn von seinem Beginne in den Sklavenjagden in Afrika, in welchen im Durchschnitt zwei menschliche Wesen für je einen Gefangenen umkommen sollen; man folge ihm durch die namenlosen Grausamkeiten der Ueberfahrt in dem Zwischendeck, auf welcher, wie man berechnet hat, mehr als zwei Millionen menschliche Körper lebendig oder todt in die See gestürzt wurden, bis zu seiner endlichen Ausführung auf diesem Continent, welche ein riesenhaftes System organisirter Unmenschlichkeit und Barbarei darbietet, und man wird finden, daß jedes, civilisirten Völkern bekanntes Verbrechen begangen wurde.

Und es konnte nicht anders sein; die Natur selbst des Unternehmens machte das Begehen aller Verbrechen zu einem nothwendigen Elemente der erfolgreichen Ausführung. Betrachte man also das Sklavereisystem einfach in dem Lichte seiner eigenen legitimen Operationen, so wird es mit Recht „die Summe aller Schandthaten" genannt. Betrachtet man es in dem Lichte seines Grundgedankens, seiner eigenen innern Natur, so trägt es in sich eine noch größere Schuld, denn es beabsichtigt nicht nur in der Moral und der Gesetzgebung den aller menschlichen Civilisation zu Grunde liegenden Unterschied zwischen Person und Eigenthum aufzuheben, sondern auch in einer ganzen Race den göttlichen Funken zu ersticken, welcher die Menschheit schafft und dieser Verschiedenheit ihren Werth gibt. So übersteigt an Bedeutung und Absicht das Sklavereisystem alle weltlichen Verbrechen, deren Zweck es ist, die innere Grundlage des unsterblichen Lebens zu untergraben.

Nur in dem fürchterlichen Brand des gegenwärtigen Krieges fängt die wahre Natur der Meisterschaft und das auf sie gegründete Sklavereisystem an, von dem Volke in ihrem ganzen Lichte erblickt zu werden. Wir können wohl glauben, daß, wenn die jetzt vor sich gehende große Revolution alle

Interessen und Leidenschaften dieses Systems und alle durch es erzeugte Verblendung und Bethörung hinweggerissen hat, es dem künftigen Geschichtschreiber schwer sein wird, sich den Zustand der öffentlichen Meinung zu vergegenwärtigen oder zu denken, in welchem die Gräuel dieses Systems nicht nur für unschuldig gehalten, sondern auch hier in Amerika als wesentliche Bestandtheile des großen Systems demokratischer Freiheit und christlicher Civilisation angenommen wurden.

Noch befinden wir uns mitten in dieser Revolution. Ihr großes Werk der Regeneration der Vernunft und des Gewissens der Nation und deren öffentlicher Diener ist noch keineswegs vollendet. Einem hohen Gesetze der moralischen Vorsehung gemäß muß der Kampf fortdauern, bis beide gereinigt sind von der moralischen und politischen Befleckung und den Siegen, welche die Sklaverei hier erzeugte, und bis das Volk und seine Regierung mit ganzem Herzen und in der wahren vollen Bedeutung die „selbstevidenten Wahrheiten" der großen Deklaration annehmen, „daß alle Menschen gleich erschaffen sind, daß sie von ihrem Schöpfer mit unveräußerlichen Rechten begabt sind, daß Leben, Freiheit und das Streben nach Glückseligkeit sich unter denselben befinden." Denn seien wir überzeugt, diese Wahrheiten enthalten die Keime, die Lebenskräfte aller nationalen Wohlfahrt und Civilisation, und daß wir als Volk einen Platz in der Geschichte finden können.

In allen möglichen offiziellen Proklamationen und Manifesten ist zu wiederholten Malen erklärt worden, daß wir nur für die Erhaltung und Wiederherstellung der Union Krieg führen. Aber was würde der Buchstabe der Verfassung werth sein, wenn ihn nicht jene „selbstevidenten Wahrheiten" beleben. Und was würde die Union sein ohne das innere Bindungsprinzip, ohne die auf jene Wahrheiten gegründete lebendige Einheit?

Wiedervereinigung und die Erhaltung des wirklichen Lebens der Constitution verlangen daher nicht nur die Befreiung der Sklavenbevölkerung von ihren Banden und der Erniedrigung, in welcher sie durch dieselben gehalten werden, sondern auch die gänzliche und definitive Befreiung der Herrenbevölkerung von ihrer Herrengewalt und der in ihr liegenden Verblendung und Verderbtheit. Dies ist die erste Bedingung eines jeden vernünftigen Versuches, die freie Arbeit und eine bessere sociale Ordnung in den Sklavenstaaten einzuführen, der erste Schritt zu einer wahren und gutbegründeten Reconstruktion, denn in keiner anderen Weise können die Rebellenstaaten je wieder mit einer wirklich loyalen, demokratischen, wirklich mitwirkenden Bürgerschaft zurückgebracht werden.

Dies führt mich zur Darlegung der Mittel, welche die Commission für nöthig hält, um den Beschlüssen des Congresses und der Proklamation des Präsidenten vom Januar 1863, „daß die farbige, durch dieselbe emancipirte Bevölkerung sich selbst vertheidigen und erhalten könne," praktische Folge

zu geben. Die Commission empfiehlt drei Hauptmaßregeln. Der Zweck der ersten derselben ist, den Farbigen das Civilrecht auf persönliche Freiheit gegen jede mögliche Beeinträchtigung und jeden Zweifel dadurch zu sichern, daß dasselbe in der neuen Ordnung der Dinge auf dieselbe breite Basis gestellt werde, auf der das der Weißen ruht.

In der Unabhängigkeitserklärung und den Bills der Rechte, welche fast in allen Constitutionen der Staaten, selbst in denen der Sklavenstaaten, enthalten sind, sind das Recht auf persönliche Freiheit und andere als persönliche von dem Schöpfer dem Individuum verliehene Gaben, als Attribute der menschlichen Natur betrachtet und ausdrücklich über allen Eingriff von Seiten der Regierung gestellt, weil sie zu heilig sind, um die Einmischung menschlicher Gesetzgebungen zuzulassen. Diese Doktrin ist der Schlußstein unseres ganzen Systems freier demokratischer Institutionen. Diese Rechte sind eben so heilig in der Person des Farbigen, als des Weißen, und sollte aus jeder Berücksichtigung der Gerechtigkeit gegen ihn, so wie der Wohlfahrt des Gemeinwesens und der Ehre der Nation ihm ebenso unbedingt zugesichert, ihm ebenso heilig gehalten werden.

Dies ist am sichersten durch ein Amendement zu der Constitution der Ver. Staaten zu erwirken. Diese Maßregel liegt bereits dem Congresse vor, und obgleich nicht genau in der von der Commission anempfohlenen Form, scheint dieselbe, besonders wenn von anderen Gesetzen im gleichen Geiste und mit demselben Zwecke begleitet, genügend, das vorgefaßte große Ziel zu erreichen, und jeder wahre Freund des dauerhaften Friedens, der Wohlfahrt und Ehre unseres Landes muß mit der größten Sehnsucht dessen Annahme erwarten.

Die zweite Maßregel ist kaum von geringerer Wichtigkeit und in Anbetracht der Erfordernisse der herannahenden Crisis und des gegenwärtigen Geistes und der Stimmung der Sklavenhalter selbst noch von unmittelbarerer Dringlichkeit, als die erste. Sobald die Civilgewalt in den Rebellenstaaten wiederhergestellt ist und diese wieder in die Union aufgenommen sind, fällt nothwendiger Weise der größere Theil der Civil- und politischen Rechte der Bewohner unter die Jurisdiktion und Controlle der Staats-Behörde. In allen diesen Staaten sind die Farbigen, selbst die, welche stets frei waren, des Genusses aller politischen und mancher bürgerlichen Rechte beraubt gewesen. Wenn daher der emancipirten Bevölkerung die bürgerlichen und politischen Rechte nicht durch die Nationalregierung vor der Wiederzulassung der Rebellenstaaten zum Bunde gesichert werden, so werden dieselben in die Gefahr kommen, trotz „der Beschlüsse des Congresses und der Proklamation des Präsidenten" jeder thatsächlichen Freiheit beraubt zu werden. Wie ein Zeuge sagt, dessen vertraute Bekanntschaft mit dem Geiste der Herrenklasse seinen Worten Gewicht gibt: „Es wäre weit besser für sie, bei der gegen-

wärtigen Stimmung der südlichen Weißen gegen sie, Sklaven zu sein, als ohne National-Garantieen für die Erhaltung ihrer Rechte als freie Menschen gelassen zu werden."

Die producirende Klasse — jene Klasse, deren Leben der Arbeit gewidmet ist — ist unter allen Regierungsformen am meisten in Gefahr, das Opfer der nichtproducirenden Klasse zu werden, der freie Zeit, Kapital und jedwede Gelegenheit zu Gebote stehen. Unter den günstigsten Umständen bedarf daher diese Klasse am meisten der Garantieen für ihre bürgerlichen und politischen Rechte. Aber die Verhältnisse und die Stellung der emancipirten Bevölkerung sind höchst ungünstig und kritisch. Ohne deren eigenen Willen, ohne vorhergegangene Vorbereitung und nur als eine Maßregel der nationalen Selbsterhaltung sind sie plötzlich in neue und ganz unversuchte Beziehungen mit einer feindlichen, weit fähigeren und gewandteren Klasse gestürzt worden. Sie in dieser Stellung unvertheidigt der Willkühr ihrer früheren Herren überlassen, hieße in dem grausamsten Sinne des Wortes „ihnen das Versprechen vor das Ohr halten und ihnen die Hoffnung nicht erfüllen."

Aber nicht nur die Nationalehre, sondern auch der künftige Friede und die Wohlfahrt des Landes verlangen, daß die Nationalregierung dieser Bevölkerung jetzt, während sie noch unter der ausschließlichen Jurisdiktion und Controlle derselben ist, den dauernden Besitz solcher bürgerlichen und politischen Rechte sichere, welche sie in Stand setzen können, „sich zu vertheidigen und zu erhalten" gegen die Ränke und Pläne, welche irgend eine Klasse oder Staatsgewalt schmieden möchte, sie in irgend einer Weise wieder zur Sklaverei oder Leibeigenschaft zurückzuführen.

Zu diesem Ende kann ich den Congreß nicht zu ernstlich ersuchen, vor der Reconstruktion und als eine ihr vorausgehende Bedingung, durch ein Gesetz die Civilrechte der emancipirten Bevölkerung festzustellen und zu sichern; und zu gleicher Zeit dafür zu sorgen, daß in der Zukunft alle freien Farbigen in den Besitz des Wahlrechtes, des Grundrechtes jedes Bürgers unserer freien Regierung, kommen und daß für sie zur Erlangung desselben nur solche Bedingungen gestellt werden, als es auch für deren weiße Mitbürger nöthig gefunden wird.

Ein anderer mit dem Vorhergehenden eng zusammenhängender Gegenstand, von dem, wie ich glaube, die Existenz und künftige Wohlfahrt der freien Gesellschaft in den südlichen Staaten abhängt, ist die Verfügung über die Confiscation der sonst verfallenen Ländereien in jenen Staaten. In keinem Lande kann eine freie, demokratische Staatsgesellschaft bestehen, wo der ganze Boden von einer Klasse besessen und von einem Andern bebaut wird.

Ein solcher Besitz des Bodens bildet die Grundlage der permanentesten und drückendsten Aristokratien. Auf dieser Grundlage stand während tau-

send Jahren die Feudalaristokratie von Frankreich. Und heutzutage erhält die englische Aristokratie ihre Herrschaft auf der Basis der Vertheilung und des Besitzes des Bodens von England, der von Wilhelm dem Eroberer den ursprünglichen Eigenthümern, dem Volke von England, geraubt und als große Güter unter seine Capitäne vertheilt wurde.

Diese Art des Besitzthums ist mit der modernen Civilisation und der Wohlfahrt der Gesellschaft in jenem Lande so unverträglich geworden, daß die weisesten Staatsmänner daselbst anfangen, von dessen Fortdauer die schrecklichsten Folgen zu fürchten.

In dem Zucker und Baumwolle producirenden Süden besaßen bisher die Sklavenhalter in großen Strecken fast den ganzen bekannten Boden.

Ich habe nicht nöthig, die Unverträglichkeit eines solchen Zustandes der Dinge mit dem Dasein einer freien, unabhängigen, demokratischen Bevölkerung von Ackerbauern oder mit der Entwickelung freier demokratischer Institutionen darzuthun. Die armen Weißen des Südens sind ein hinlänglicher Beweis für den verderblichen Einfluß und die Wirkung, welche diese Art des Besitzthums auf die ganze Bevölkerung hat, welche sogar zu derselben Race gehört, von welcher auch die Grundbesitzer sind.

Geschähe es also auch nicht im Interesse der emanzipirten Farbigen, so sollte es zum Besten der armen Weißen, der bejammernswerthesten Menschen unserer eigenen Race geschehen.

Wie ich bereits von einem andern Standpunkte aus zeigte, ist die höchste und nothwendigste Angelegenheit, mit der jetzt das Volk und die Regierung der Ver. Staaten sich zu befassen haben, nicht sowohl eine politische, als eine soziale Reconstruktion der südlichen Staaten. Jeder gut entworfene Plan für die erstere muß die letztere einschließen, und in Bezug auf die letztere ist es die Hauptsache, daß die National-Regierung eine Politik ergreife, welche die Zerstückelung der großen Pflanzungen in Pachtgüter von mäßiger Ausdehnung als Endzweck hinstellen.

Ich weiß wohl, daß bisher die Ansicht vorherrschte, der Zucker- und Baumwollbau könne nur auf großen Gütern und mit großen Arbeitertruppen betrieben werden und das besonders, weil man zur Errichtung von Zuckermühlen, Cottongins und anderen zu dem Erzeugniß dieser Produkte gehörigen Maschinen eines großen Kapitals bedürfe. Aber alle Untersuchungen der Commission führen zu dem Beweis, daß diese Ansicht nur ein Theil des Sklavereisystems ist und in den Erfordernissen der Sache nicht begründet ist. In der That ist nicht mehr Grund vorhanden, daß das Zuckerrohr nur von Pflanzern gebaut und in Zucker verwandelt werde, als daß das Getreide nur von den Pächtern, die es pflanzen, in Mehl verwandelt werde. Und so ist es mit dem Anpflanzen, Reinigen und Verpacken der Baumwolle. Im Gegentheil würde eine zweckmäßige Ver-

theilung der Arbeit in die Zweige des Anbaues und der Manufaktur der Baumwolle und des Zuckers beinahe unvermeidlich zu einer großen Entwicklung deren Produktion führen, während dies zu gleicher Zeit zur Folge haben würde, nicht nur die Arbeitslast zu mindern, sondern auch die industrielle Wohlfahrt und Unabhängigkeit aller bei dieser Produktion Beschäftigten zu sichern. Es würden auf diese Weise ganz verschiedene soziale Zustände und Verhältnisse in jenen Staaten geschaffen werden.

Ich halte dafür, daß dieser Gegenstand an Wichtigkeit der dauernden Sicherung der bürgerlichen und politischen Rechte der emanzipirten Bevölkerung nahe kommt, und erlaube mir, denselben der ernstesten Beachtung der Nationalbehörden zu empfehlen.

Zum Schluß erlauben Sie mir noch einmal, die Aufmerksamkeit der Regierung auf die dritte, von der Commission vorgeschlagene Maßregel zu lenken, auf die Einführung irgend eines gleichförmigen Systems der Aufsicht und Vormundschaft für die emanzipirte Bevölkerung während ihres Ueberganges von der Sklaverei in die Freiheit. Niemand, der die Dinge kennt, möchte auch nur einen Augenblick zweifelhaft sein in Bezug auf die Nothwendigkeit und Zweckwäßigkeit eines solchen Systemes, nicht nur zum Besten der Emanzipirten, sondern für das allgemeine Interesse der Regierung und des Landes.

In dem so oft erwähnten Briefe sagt General Banks mit Nachdruck: „Es ist, wie Sie sagen, ohne Zweifel wahr, daß für eine gewisse Zukunft und bis der neue Zustand der Dinge besser von den Arbeitgebern mit den Arbeitern verstanden und das System der freien Arbeit vollkommen eingeführt ist, die Nothwendigkeit für die Regierung vorhanden ist, zum Besten beider Theile in irgend einer Weise Aufsicht und Schutz auszuüben."

„Aber dies ist nicht ein besonderes Erforderniß des neuen Systemes der Negerarbeit. Nur unter der Aufsicht und durch den Beistand der Regierung ist die Arbeit irgend einer Race entwickelt worden. Natürlicher Weise ist das ebenso nothwendig für die Schwarzen, wie für die Weißen, und wenn Sie die Stipulationen betrachten, welche die Schwarzen in diesem Departement als Bedingungen für ihre Arbeit selbst vorschlugen, so werden Sie finden, daß deren Ideen dem Wesen und Charakter nach den Geist aller Gesetzgebung zum Schutz der weißen Arbeit enthalten."

„Es ist dies nicht mehr der Lage der Schwarzen, als der irgend eines andern Volkes eigenthümlich, nur erscheinen jene in einer späteren Periode auf dem Felde der Civilisation, und die Schwierigkeiten ihrer Stellung bieten sich auf einen Blick dar und verlangen unmittelbar Abhülfe.

Das Alles legt Ihnen achtungsvoll vor,

J. McKaye,
Spezial-Commissär.

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No. 56.

THE Assertions of a Secessionist.

From the Speech of A. H. STEPHENS, of Georgia,

November 14th, 1860.

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1864.

THE ASSERTIONS OF A SECESSIONIST.

From the Speech of A. H. STEPHENS, of Georgia.

Delivered 14th November, 1860.

(The Speech is published entire, and forms No. 36 of the series of the Society's publications.)

By force of sheer reiteration, thousands of ignorant and thoughtless people at the North, as well as in Europe, have been persuaded into the belief that the Government of the United States, and the loyal people who sustain it, were in some way responsible for the war which now, for nearly four years, has devastated the country; or, at least, that they might at any time honorably end it, and restore peace and tranquillity if they chose.

Fellow-Citizens:—My object is not to stir up strife, but to allay it; not to appeal to your passions, but to your reason. Good governments can never be built up or sustained by the impulse of passion. I wish to address myself to your good sense, to your good judgment.

The first question that presents itself is, shall the people of the South secede from the Union in consequence of the election of Mr. Lincoln to the Presidency of the United States? My countrymen, *I tell you frankly, candidly, and earnestly, that I do not think that they ought.* In my judgment, the election of no man, constitutionally chosen to that high office, is sufficient cause for any State to separate from the Union. It ought to stand by still and aid in maintaining the Constitution of the country. To make a point of resistance to the Government, to withdraw from it because a man has been constitutionally elected, puts us in the wrong. We are pledged to maintain the Constitution. Many of us have sworn to support it. Can we, therefore, for the mere election of a man to the Presidency, and that, too, in accordance with the prescribed forms of the Constitution, make a point of resistance to the Government without becoming the breakers of that sacred instrument ourselves—withdraw ourselves from it? Would we not be in the wrong? We went into the election with this people. The result was different from what we wished; but the election has been constitutionally held. Were we to make a point of resistance to the Government and go out of the Union on that account, the record would be made up hereafter against us.

The President of the United States is no emperor, no dictator—he is clothed with no absolute power. He can do nothing unless he is backed by power in Congress. The House of Representatives is largely in the majority against him.

In the Senate he will also be powerless. There will be a majority of four against him. This, after the loss of Bigler, Fitch, and others, by the unfortunate dissensions of the National Democratic party in their States. Mr. Lincoln can not appoint an officer without the consent of the Senate — he cannot form a cabinet without the same consent.

My countrymen, I am not of those who believe this Union has been a curse up to this time. True men, men of integrity, entertain different views from me on this subject. I do not question their right to do so; I would not impugn their motives in so doing. Nor will I undertake to say that this Government of our fathers is perfect. There is nothing perfect in this world of a human origin.

But that this Government of our fathers, with all its defects, comes nearer the objects of all good governments than any other on the face of the earth is my settled conviction. Contrast is now with any one on the face of the earth.

Compare, my friends, this Government with that of Spain, Mexico, the South American Republics, Germany, Ireland—are there any sons of that down-trodden nation here to-night?

I think that one of the evils that beset us is a surfeit of liberty, an exuberance of the priceless blessings for which we are ungrateful.

We listened to my honorable friend who addressed you last night (Mr. Toombs), as he recounted the evils of this Government.

The first was the fishing bounties, paid mostly to the sailors of New England. Our friend stated that forty-eight years of our Government was under the administration of Southern Presidents. Well, these fishing bounties began under the rule of a Southern President, I believe. No one of them, during the whole forty-eight years, ever set his Administration against the principle or policy of them. It is not for me to say whether it was a wise policy in the beginning; it probably was not, and I have nothing to say in its defence. But the reason given for it was to encourage our young men to go to sea and learn to manage ships. We had at the time but a small navy. It was thought best to encourage a class of our people to become acquainted with seafaring life, to become sailors—to man our naval ships. It requires practice to walk the deck of a ship, to pull the ropes, to furl the sails, to go aloft, to climb the mast; and it was thought, by offering this bounty, a nursery might be formed in which young men would become perfected in these arts, and it applied to one section of the country as well as to any other.

The result of this was, that in the war of 1812 our sailors, many of whom came from this nursery, were equal to any that England brought against us. At any rate, no small part of the glories of that war were gained by the veteran tars of America, and the object of these bounties was to foster that branch of the national defence. My opinion is, that whatever may have been the reason at first, this bounty ought to be discontinued—the reason for it, at first, no longer exists. A bill for this object did pass the Senate the last Congress I was in, to which my honor-

able friend contributed greatly, but it was not reached in the House of Representatives.

The next evil which my friend complained of was the Tariff. Well, let us look at that for a moment. About the time I commenced noticing public matters, this question was agitating the country almost as fearfully as the slave question now is. In 1832, when I was in college, South Carolina was ready to nullify or secede from the Union on this account. And what have we seen? The Tariff no longer distracts the public councils. Reason has triumphed! The present Tariff was voted for by Massachusetts and South Carolina. The lion and the lamb lay down together—every man in the Senate and House from Massachusetts and South Carolina, I think, voted for it, as did my honorable friend himself. And if it be true, to use the figure of speech of my honorable friend, that every man in the North that works in iron and brass and wood has his muscle strengthened by the protection of the Government, that stimulant was given by his vote, and I believe every other Southern man. So we ought not to complain of that.

Another matter of grievance alluded to by my honorable friend was the Navigation Laws. This policy was also commenced under the Administration of one of these Southern Presidents who ruled so well, and has been continued through all of them since. The gentleman's views of the policy of these laws and my own do not disagree. We occupied the same ground in relation to them in Congress. It is not my purpose to defend them now. But it is proper to state some matters connected with their origin.

One of the objects was to build up a commercial American marine by giving American bottoms the exclusive carrying trade between our own ports. This is a great arm of national power. This object was accomplished. We have now an amount of shipping, not only coastwise, but to foreign countries, which puts us in the front rank of the nations of the world. England can no longer be styled the Mistress of the Seas. What American is not proud of the result? Whether those laws should be continued is another question. But one thing is certain: no President, Northern or Southern, has ever yet recommended their repeal. And my friend's efforts to get them repealed were met with but little favor, North or South.

These, then, were the true main grievances or grounds of complaint against the general system of our Government and its workings—I mean the administration of the Federal Government.

Have we not at the South, as well as the North, grown great, prosperous, and happy under its operations? Has any part of the world ever shown such rapid progress in the development of wealth, and all the material resources of national power and greatness, as the Southern States have under the General Government, notwithstanding all its defects?

The great fact, that we have grown great and powerful under the Government as it exists—there is no conjecture or speculation about that; it stands out bold, high, and prominent, like your Stone Mountain, to which the gentleman alluded in illustrating home facts in his record.

What we would have lost in border wars without the Union, or what we have gained simply by the peace it has secured, no estimate can be made of. The influence of the Government on us is like that of the atmosphere around us. Its benefits are so silent and unseen that they are seldom thought of or appreciated.

Our institutions constitute the basis, the matrix, from which spring all our characteristics of developments and greatness. Look at Greece. There is the same fertile soil, the same blue sky, the same inlets and harbors, the same Ægean, the same Olympus; there is the same land where Homer sung, where Pericles spoke; it is in nature the same old Greece—but it is living Greece no more.

Descendants of the same people inhabit the country; yet what is the reason of this mighty difference? In the midst of present degradation we see the glorious fragments of ancient works of art —temples with ornaments and inscriptions that excite wonder and admiration—the remains of a once high order of civilization which have outlived the language they spoke—upon them all Ichabod is written—their glory has departed. Why is this so? I answer, their institutions have been destroyed.

The same may be said of Italy. Where is Rome, once the mistress of the world? There are the same seven hills now, the same soil, the same natural resources; nature is the same, but what a ruin of human greatness meets the eye of the traveller throughout the length and breadth of that most down-trodden land! Why have not the people of that Heaven-favored clime the spirit that animated their fathers? Why this sad difference?

It is the destruction of her institutions that has caused it; and my countrymen, if we shall in an evil hour rashly pull down and destroy those institutions which the patriotic band of our fathers labored so long and so hard to build up, and which have done so much for us and the world, who can venture the prediction that similar results will not ensue? Let us avoid it if we can. I trust the spirit is among us that will enable us to do it. Let us not rashly try the experiment, for, if it fails, as it did in Greece and Italy, and in the South American Republics, and in every other place wherever liberty is once destroyed, it may never be restored to us again.

There are defects in our government, errors in administration, and shortcomings of many kinds, but in spite of these defects and errors Georgia has grown to be a great state. Let us pause here a moment. In 1850 there was a great crisis, but not so fearful as this; for, of all I have ever passed through, this is the most perilous, and requires to be met with the greatest calmness and deliberation.

There were many among us in 1850 zealous to go at once out of the Union, to disrupt every tie that binds us together. Now, do you believe, had that policy been carried out at that time, we would have been the same great people that we are to-day? It may be that we would, but have you any assurance of that fact? Would you have made the same advancement, improvement, and progress in all that constitutes material wealth and prosperity that we have?

When I look around and see our prosperity in every thing, agriculture, commerce, art, science, and every department of education, physical and mental, as well as moral advancement, and our colleges, I think, in the face of such an exhibition, if we can, without the loss of power, or any essential right or interest, remain in the Union, it is our duty to ourselves and to posterity to —let us not too readily yield to this temptation—do so. Our first parents, the great progenitors of the human race, were not without a like temptation when in the garden of Eden. They were led to believe that their condition would be bettered—that their eyes would be opened—and that they would become as gods. They in an evil hour yielded—instead of becoming gods, they only saw their own nakedness.

I look upon this country, with our institutions, as the Eden of the world, the paradise of the universe.

In the Georgia State Convention, held in January, 1861, to determine the question of secession for that State, Mr. Stephens gave utterance to the following memorable words:

"This step (of secession) once taken, can never be recalled; and all the baleful and withering consequences that must follow, will rest on the convention for all coming time. When we and our posterity shall see our lovely South desolated by the demon of war, WHICH THIS ACT OF YOURS WILL INEVITABLY INVITE AND CALL FORTH; when our green fields of waving harvest shall be trodden down by the murderous soldiery and fiery car of war sweeping over our land; our temples of justice laid in ashes; all the horrors and desolations of war upon us; WHO BUT THIS CONVENTION WILL BE HELD RESPONSIBLE FOR IT? and who but him who shall have given his vote for this unwise and ill-timed measure, as I honestly think and believe, SHALL BE HELD TO STRICT ACCOUNT FOR THIS SUICIDAL ACT BY THE PRESENT GENERATION, AND PROBABLY CURSED AND EXECRATED BY POSTERITY FOR ALL COMING TIME, for the wide and desolating ruin that will inevitably follow this act you now propose to perpetrate? Pause, I entreat you, and consider for a moment what reasons you can give that will even satisfy yourselves in calmer moments—what reasons you can give to your fellow-sufferers in the calamity that it will bring upon us. WHAT REASONS CAN YOU GIVE TO THE NATIONS OF THE EARTH TO JUSTIFY IT? They will be the calm and deliberate judges in the case; and what cause or one overt act can you name or point, on which to rest the plea of justification? WHAT RIGHT HAS THE NORTH ASSAILED? What interest of the South has been invaded? What justice has been denied? and what claim, founded in justice and right, has been withheld? Can either of you to-day name one governmental act of wrong, deliberately and purposely done by the government of Washington, of which the South has a right to complain? I challenge the answer. While, on the other hand, let me show the facts (and believe me, gentlemen, I am not here the advocate of the North; but I am here the friend, the firm friend and lover of the South and her institutions, and for this reason I speak thus

plainly and faithfully for yours, mine, and every other man's interest, the words of truth and soberness), of which I wish you to judge, and I will only state facts which are clear and undeniable, and which now stand as records authentic in the history of our country. When we of the South demanded the slave trade, or the importation of Africans for the cultivation of our lands, did they not yield the right for twenty years? When we asked a three-fifths representation in Congress for our slaves, was it not granted? When we asked and demanded the return of any fugitive from justice, or the recovery of those persons owing labor or allegiance, was it not incorporated in the Constitution, and again ratified and strengthened by the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850? But do you reply that in many instances they have violated this compact, and have not been faithful to their engagements? As individual and local communities, they may have done so; but not by the sanction of government; for that has always been true to Southern interests. Again, gentlemen, look at another fact: when we have asked that more territory should be added, that we might spread the institution of slavery, have they not yielded to our demands in giving us Louisiana, Florida, and Texas, out of which four States have been carved, and ample territory for four more to be added in due time, if you, by this unwise and impolitic act, do not destroy this hope, and, perhaps, by it lose all, and have your last slave wrenched from you by stern military rule, as South America and Mexico were; or by the vindictive decree of a universal emancipation, which may reasonably be expected to follow. But, again, gentlemen, what have we to gain by this proposed change of our relation to the General Government? We have always had the control of it, and can yet, if we remain in it and are as united as we have been. We have had a majority of the Presidents chosen from the South, as well as the control and management of most of those chosen from the North. We have had sixty years of Southern Presidents to their twenty-four, thus controlling the executive department. So of the judges of the Supreme Court, we have had eighteen from the South, and but eleven from the North; although nearly four-fifths of the judicial business has arisen in the Free States, yet a majority of the Court has always been from the South. This we have required, so as to guard against any interpretation of the Constitution unfavorable to us. In like manner, we have been equally watchful to guard our interests in the legislative branch of government. In choosing the presiding presidents (*pro tem.*) of the Senate, we have had twenty-four to their eleven. Speakers of the house, we have had twenty-three, and they twelve. While the majority of the representatives, from their greater population, have always been from the North, yet we have so generally secured the Speaker, because he, to a greater extent, shapes and controls the legislation of the country. Nor have we had less control in every other department of the General Government. Attorney-Generals we have had fourteen, while the North have had but five. Foreign ministers we have had eighty-six and they but fifty-four. While three-fourths of the business which

demands diplomatic agents abroad is clearly from the Free States, from their greater commercial interests, yet we have had the principal embassies, so as to secure the world markets for our cotton, tobacco, and sugar, on the best possible terms. We have had a vast majority of the higher offices of both army and navy, while a larger proportion of the soldiers and sailors were drawn from the north. Equally so of clerks, auditors, and comptrollers filling the executive department, the records show for the last fifty years that of three thousand thus employed, we have had more than two-thirds of the same, while we have but one-third of the white population of the Republic. Again, look at another item, and one, be assured, in which we have a great and vital interest; it is that of revenue, or means of supporting government. From official documents we learn that a fraction over three-fourth of the revenue collected for the support of government has uniformly been raised from the North. Pause now while you can, gentlemen, and contemplate carefully and candidly these important items. Leaving out of view, for the present, the countless millions of dollars you must expend in a war with the North; with tens of thousands of your sons and brothers slain in battle, and offered up as sacrifices upon the altar of your ambition—and for what? we ask again. Is it for the overthrow of the American government, established by our common ancestry, cemented and built up by their sweat and blood, and founded on the broad principles of right, justice, and humanity? And, as such, I must declare here, as I have often done before, and which has been repeated by the greatest and wisest of statesmen and patriots in this and other lands, that it is the best and freest government—the most equal in its rights, the most just in its decisions, the most lenient in its measures, and the most aspiring in its principles to elevate the race of men, that the sun of heaven ever shone upon. Now, for you to attempt to overthrow such a government as this, under which we have lived for more than three-quarters of a century—in which we have gained our wealth, our standing as a nation, our domestic safety while the elements of peril are around us, with peace and tranquillity accompanied with unbounded prosperity and rights unassailed—is the height of *madness*, *folly*, and *wickedness*, to which I can neither lend my sanction nor my vote."

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LOYAL PUBLICATION SOCIETY

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No. 57.

GROWLER'S INCOME TAX.

BY T. S. ARTHUR.

My neighbor Growler, an excitable man by the way, is particularly excited over his Income Tax, or, as he called it, his "War Tax." He had never liked the war—thought it unnecessary and wicked; the work of politicians. The fighting of brother against brother was a terrible thing in his eyes. If you asked him who begun the war?—who struck at the nation's life?—if self defence were not a duty?—he would reply with vague generalities, made up of partisan tricky sentences, which he had learned without comprehending their just significance.

Growler came in upon me the other day flourishing a square piece of blue writing paper, quite moved from his equanimity.

"There it is! Just so much robbery! Stand and deliver, is the word. Pistols and bayonets! Your money or your life!"

I took the piece of paper from his hand and read:

"Philadelphia, Sept., 1863.

"RICHARD GROWLER, ESQ.,

"*To* JOHN M. RILEY. *Dr.*

"*Collector Internal Revenue for the 4th District of Pennsylvania. Office* 427 *Chestnut St.*

"For Tax on Income, for the year 1862 as per return made to the Assessor of the District, $43,21.

"Rec'd payment,

"JOHN M. RILEY, Collector."

"You're all right," I said smiling.

"I'd like to know what you mean, by all right!" Growler was just a little offended at my way of treating this serious matter—serious in his eyes, I mean. "I've been robbed of forty-three dollars and twenty-one cents," he continued.

"Do you say it is all right! A minion of the Government has put his hands into my pocket and taken just so much of my property. Is that all right?"

"The same thing may be set forth in very different language," I replied, "Let me state the case."

"Very well—state it!" said Growler, dumping himself into a chair, and looking as ill-humored as possible.

"Instead of being robbed," said I, you have been protected in your property and person, and guaranteed all the high privileges of citizenship, for the paltry sum of forty-three dollars and twenty-one cents, as your share of the protection.

"O, that's only your way of putting the case," retorted Growler, dropping a little from his high tone of indignation.

"Let me be more particular in my way of putting the case. Your income is from the rent of property?"

"Yes."

"What would it have cost you to defend that property from the army of Gen. Lee, recently driven from our State by the nation's soldiers?"

"Cost me?" Growler looked at me in a kind of maze, as if he thought me half in jest.

"Exactly! What would it have cost you? Lee, if unopposed, would certainly have reached this city and held it; and if your property had been of use to him or to any of his officers or soldiers it would have been appropriated without so much as saying—'By your leave, sir'? Would forty-three dollars and twenty-one cents have covered the damage? Perhaps not. Possibly, you might have lost one half or two thirds of all you are worth."

Growler was a trifle bewildered at this way of putting the case. He looked puzzled.

"You have a store on South wharves?' said I.

"Yes.'

"What has kept the Alabama or the Florida from running up the Delaware and burning the whole city front? Do you have forts and ships of war for the protection of your property? If not who provides them? They are provided, and you are safe. What is your share of the expenses for a whole year! Just forty-three dollars and twenty-one cents! It sounds like a jest!"

Growler did not answer. So I kept on.

"But for our immense armies in the field, and navy on the water, this rebellion would have succeded. What then? Have you ever pondered the future of this country in such an event? Have you thought of your own position? of the loss or gain to yourself? How long do you think we would be at peace with England or France, if the nation were dismembered, and a hostile Confederation established on our Southern border? Would our war taxes be less than now? Would life and property be more secure? Have you not an interest in our great army and navy, as I and every other member of the Union. Does not your safety as well as mine lie in their existence? Are they not, at this time, the conservators of everything we hold dear as men and citizens? Who equips and pays this army? Who builds and furnishes these ships? Where does the enormous sums of money required come from? It is the nation's work—the people aggregate in power and munificence, and so irresistible in might—unconquerable. Have you no heart swelling of pride in this magnificent exhibition of will and strength? No part in the nation's glory? No eager hand helping to stretch forth?

Growler was silent still.

"There was no power in you or me to check the wave of destruction that was launched by paricidal hands against us. If unresisted, by the nation as an aggregate power, it would have swept in desolation over the whole land. Traitors in our midst and traitors moving in arms against us would have united to destroy our beautiful fabric of civil liberty. The Government, which dealt with all good citizens so kindly and gentle, not that one in a thousand felt its touch beyond the weight of a feather, would have been suverted; and who can tell under what iron rule we might have fallen for a time, or how many years of strife would have elapsed before that civil liberty which ensures the greatest good to numbers would have been again established? But the wave of destruction was met—nay, hurled back upon the enemies who sought our ruin. We yet dwell in safety. Your property is secure. You still gather your annual income, protected in all your rights by the strong national arm. And what does the nation assess to you as your share in the cost of this security? Half your property? No, not a farthing of that property! only a small per centage of your income from that property! *Just forty-three dollars and twenty-one cents!* Pardon me for saying it, friend G. but I am more than half ashamed of you.

"And seeing the way you put the case I am more than half ashamed of myself," he answered frankly. "Why, taking your view this is about the cheapest investment I ever made."

"You certainly get more money than in any other line of expenditure. Yesterday I had a letter from an old friend living in the neighborhood of Carlisle. The rebels took from him six fine horses, worth two hundred dollars apiece; six cows and oxen; and over two hundred bushels of grain. And not content with plundering him, they burnt down a barn which cost him nearly two thousand dollars. But for the men raised and equipped by the nation, in support of which you and I are taxed so lightly, we might have suffered as severely. How much do you think it cost in money for the protection we have received in this particular instance!"

"A million dollars perhaps?"

"Nearer ten millions of dollars. From the time our army left the Rappahannock, until the battle of Gettysburg, its cost to the Government could scarcely have been less than we have mentioned. Of this sum your proportion can scarcely have been more than three or four dollars; and for that trifle your property and perhaps your life was held secure."

"No more of that, if you please," said Growler, showing some annoyance. "You are running the thing into the ground. I own up square. I was quarreling with my best friend. I was striking at the hand that gave protection. If my war tax next year should be a hundred dollars instead of forty-three, I will pay it without a murmur."

"Don't say without a murmur friend Growler."

"What then?"

"Say gladly, as a means of safety."

"Put it as you will," he answered folding up Collector Riley's receipt which he still held in his hand and bowing himself out.

Not many days afterwards I happened to hear some grumbling in my neighbors presence about some income tax. Growler hardly waited to hear him through. My lesson was improved in his hands. In significant phrase he pitched into the offender and read him a lesson so much stronger than mine, that I felt myself thrown into the shade.

"You have been assessed fifty-eight dollars," he said in his excited way, "fifty-eight dollars, one would think from the noise you make about it, that you have been robbed of half your property. Fifty-eight dollars for security at home and abroad! Fifth-eight dollars as your share of the expenses of defence against an enemy that, if unopposed, will desolate our home and destroy our government! Already it has cost the nation for your safety and nine over a thousand million dollars; and you are angry because it asks for your little part of the expense. Sir you not worthy the name of an American citizen!'

"That is hard talk Growler, and I won't hear it!" said the other.

"It is true talk and you will have to bear it!" was retorted. "Fretting over the mean little sum of fifty-eight dollars! Why sir, I know a man who has given his right arm in the cause; and another who has given his right leg. Do they grumble? No sir! I never heard a word of complaint from their lips. Thousands and tens of thousand have given their sons, and wives have given their husbands—sons and husbands who will never more return! They are with the dead. Sir you are dishonoring yourself in the eyes of men. A grumbler over this paltry war tax, for shame!

I turned away saying in my thoughts:

"So much good done! My reclaimed sinner has become a preacher of righteousness.

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THE MASTERSHIP AND ITS FRUITS:

THE EMANCIPATED SLAVE

Face to Face with his Old Master.

A SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT TO

HON. EDWIN M. STANTON, SECRETARY OF WAR,

BY JAMES McKAYE, SPECIAL COMMISSIONER.

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1864.

THE EMANCIPATED SLAVE,

FACE TO FACE

WITH HIS OLD MASTER.

(Valley of the Lower Mississippi.)

To the Hon. EDWIN M. STANTON,
Secretary of War:

Of all portions of the slave region to which the Commission have had access, the valley of the lower Mississippi affords the most interesting field for the observation and study of the slave system, as well as of the great changes which, at the present moment, slave society is everywhere undergoing. Unlike most other sections visited by the Commission, here are found all the elements of that society still in existence; but in a state of revolution and transformation. Here, facing the broad river on either side, still stands the great white mansion of the planter; by its side, just without its shadow, the long rows of cabins called the negro quarters, and, a little in the rear, the great quadrangular structure, usually of brick, known as the sugar-house. In many instances the old master still occupies the mansion, and the negroes their old quarters; but under circumstances and in relations quite new, strange, and full of anxiety to both.

During a recent visit to the neighborhood of these mansions and negro quarters, many important facts came to light, and many important suggestions occurred, not elsewhere presented.

In most other sections visited by the Commission, slave society had been observed in a state of total disruption. Either

the master or the slave, or both, had become fugitives. In South Carolina, the masters had absconded, leaving their habitations and their slaves. In Virginia and North Carolina, as well as in many localities in the southwest held by our armies, the emancipated could only be seen as fugitives, and the old masters not at all. On the contrary in such portions of the valley of the Lower Mississippi as are within our military lines, and especially in the river region of Louisiana, many of them still stand face to face in the presence of the great revolution, and of the trials to which it summons both.

Before entering further into the considerations especially suggested by the state of things here presented, it is important to advert to some of the peculiar features of the slave system, as it existed in this part of the country.

In the first place, the origin and character of the first settlers of Louisiana and the Lower Mississippi had an important bearing in modifying many of its features. These settlers were for the most part, of French, Spanish, and Portuguese origin, or of what has been called the Latin Race, and it is said that the people of this race do by no means entertain the same rooted antipathies, and low consideration of the black race, as are generally ascribed to the races with a shade whiter skin.

However this may be, it is undoubtedly true that there is found here a much more general admixture of the black and white races than prevails elsewhere, even in the slave-breeding States. And all the evidence goes to show that there existed in this region, especially in the earlier days of its settlement, a much greater social equality between the two races. No such utter repudiation of the manhood of the negro race, existed here as constituted the basis of the slave system in the islands and coasts of South Carolina and Georgia. Hence, although the amount of labor imposed upon the slave was often greater, and the system of punishments as cruel, yet their ordinary and habitual condition was better, and their daily life on a higher scale. They were not so rigorously forbidden the use of a family name. Their habitations were much more like those of other human beings. Usually their cabins contained not less than

two rooms, and often four. They were furnished with some sort of beds and bedding, and in their lodging those who considered themselves man and wife were separated from the single; the young, also, of different sexes slept in separate apartments; they did not usually eat at a family table, but they had dealt out to them, generally sufficiently cooked rations, which they might eat as they chose—the cooking being done for the whole force by regular details. On the other hand, "the hours of labor on the sugar plantations were from fifteen to eighteen per day, and at certain seasons of the year a greater part of the night was also occupied with labor. The hour of beginning work in the morning was from 3 to 4 o'clock. The overseer was expected to produce a certain crop with a given number of hands, and all were obliged to obey him in preference to the master. He was generally much more cruel than the master. Kind-hearted masters sometimes select cruel overseers."

I quote above from the testimony of Mr. J. B. Roudanez, a free mulatto creole of New Orleans, a man of great intelligence and probity, who had been employed as an engineer and mechanic upon many of the sugar plantations in the region of country under consideration. No man could have had a more thorough acquaintance with plantation life than he, and no man in the city of his residence bears a higher reputation for truth and sobriety.

He says, further, "that upon some plantations the women were worked as hard as the men, and in some instances were kept at labor in every stage of pregnancy, even up to the moment of delivery. Sometimes they were sent into the field one week after confinement; but ordinarily they were given one month in which to recover. Mothers were usually permitted to nurse their children for a half hour three times a day for the space of three months."

Another witness, Dr. E. C. Hyde, an old physician who had lived and practiced more than thirty years among the planters of North and South Carolina and in the Valley of the Mississippi, upon his examination declared, "that the slave women were forced to labor from pregnancy to maternity. I have known of births between the cotton rows; they were compelled to hoe out their row, and then given an hour to recover."

"Many planters on the Mississippi do not wish to raise negro children; they would rather they would die than live—they do not think it profitable."

"As to chastity," says Mr. Roudanez, "no such thing was known on the plantations. In the first place, the overseers had the run of all the field women, and if one of them refused, an occasion was very soon found for subjecting her to a severe punishment." "I have known," says another reliable witness, "women to be severely whipped for not coming to the quarters of the overseer or master for the purposes of prostitution, when ordered so to do." "The old masters usually made their selections from the house servants and the young masters generally preferred for their concubines their half sisters. It was the common custom. They were usually taken at the age of thirteen or fourteen. I have known girls to be mothers at that age. This was especially true of French creoles." "Their own offspring," says Dr. Hyde, "were treated as slaves; they were frequently subjected to ferocious treatment, and sold, to put them out of their sight." "The practice of indiscriminate sexual intercourse," continues Mr. Roudanez, "was so universal that a chaste colored girl at the age of seventeen was almost unknown." "The planters' habit of cohabitation with their slave women was a source of great suffering to these women. Frequently the jealous wife would procure them to be whipped or otherwise punished upon false charges, and often when their husbands were absent had them punished in their own presence." The tortures sometimes inflicted upon these helpless favorites of the husband by the infuriated wife, in order to render them less attractive to the husband, are not to be described. "The fact of the promiscuous cohabitation was well known to both parents and children."

Nor were the puishments less severe here than in other portions of the slave region. Whipping with the paddle, scourging with the whip of twisted bull's hide or knotted cords: torturing with the heavy iron-horned collar and with heavy iron rings with chain attached, worn upon the ankle for months; confinement in the stocks in the dark cells of the plantation prisons, often without food, and hunting with blood-hounds, were all practiced here as well as elsewhere. "Some whites," says Mr. Roudanez,

"made hunting slaves with blood-hounds a regular profession."

And yet, notwithstanding all this, there did exist among these people a kind of human life, full, it is true, of the most unheard-of toil, and of the most dreadful suffering, and yet, in degradation, it did not approach by many degrees, the slave life upon the shores of South Carolina.

Besides the circumstances already referred to, there were others peculiar to this section of country, which had their influence upon the working of the slave-system, as well as on the character of the slave population. The sugar culture, which, as we have seen, at certain seasons of the year, exacted the most formidable labors, required also, for its successful prosecution, a certain degree of judgment and skill in those employed in it. A portion of the people on every sugar plantation had to be mechanics and artizans. This had its effect in the development of a higher general intelligence upon these plantations. "Generally," says Mr. Roudanez, "upon every plantation there was at least one man who had somehow learned to read a little, and in secret used to read to the others, notwithstanding the severe punishment always inflicted, upon the detection of such offences." "On the day following that on which the news of the execution of John Brown reached New Orleans, I started for a plantation seventy-five miles up the river. Soon after my arrival there, a slave gave me a detailed account of the execution. That morning a slave in the sugar-house had asked of his master a piece of paper to wipe some portion of the machinery. He handed him a newspaper, the greater part of which he retained, and afterwards secretly read it to the whole force. It contained an account of John Brown's execution."

Another fact had its effect. The sugar plantations of the Valley of the Mississippi for the most part front upon the river, or upon some bayou, navigable at least for flat-boats, and in the rear abut upon interminable cypress swamps. These swamps became places of refuge for the slave pushed to the last extremity, very difficult of access even to the master of the blood-hounds. Many instances are known of slaves having lived for years in the recesses of these swamps, thickly wooded as they are with great cypress and cotton-wood trees, from whose branches hang suspended the long

gray moss, covering them as with a veil. These, thickly interspersed with an undergrowth of brambles, constitute an almost impenetrable jungle. Sometimes they lived alone, and sometimes in bands of a greater or less number, often amounting to thirty, or even fifty persons, building for themselves, upon some little island of firmer ground, a lodging-place, and communicating in the night, by secret paths, with their fellows on the plantations. They subsisted by carrying off the pigs, turkeys, and chickens, and sometimes they "roped" into their hiding-places the sheep, or other cattle of the masters, butchered them, and exchanged portions of the meat with their friends on the plantation for corn-meal. Their great enemies in these swamps were the mosquitoes. In the night no living creature can stand their bite. Cattle left exposed are often killed by them. Every night they were obliged to keep up a smouldering fire of cypress branches, the smoke of which was their only defence against these hateful insects.

Many marvellous incidents and instances of heroism are related of these Mississippi Maroons. Mr. Alfred Jervis, of New Orleans, one of the Executive Committee of the "Free State Association," knew a man who had lived for three years in the top of a large cypress tree, although often hunted by the hounds. Mr. Jervis also related an instance of a less successful refugee, who, for an attempt to escape, had his back flayed by the blows of the twisted whip of dried bull's hide, and was then tied with his face to a tree, and left all night to be devoured by the mosquitoes. In the morning some of his fellow-slaves found him, covered with the gorged insects, quite dead.

Octave Johnson, now a corporal in Company C, 15th Regiment of the *Corps d'Afrique*, as related by himself to a member of the Commission, had lived with his band of thirty, (ten women and twenty men), eighteen months in the swamps of St. James' Parish. His master, S. Coutrell, at present himself a refugee in the quagmires of secession, had purchased him at a great price, and had taken him to his plantation to make sugar hogsheads; for Octave was a cooper. At the early dawn one morning, Octave was found asleep at his bench. His allotted task required him to be early at work. He had risen in the first hours of the morning, and, repairing to his place of toil,

seated himself upon his bench to wait for sufficient light to begin his labor. "I suppose," said he, "that I must have fallen asleep; for the first I knew I found myself lying on the ground, sort of stunned, Massa standing over me with a big stick in his hand." Two stout slaves were ordered to take Octave to the whipping place, and give him fifty lashes.

It should be understood that whipping, throughout all the slave region, was by no means what is known by that name elsewhere—not at all the same thing as that sometimes applied at the North to refractory school-boys. In these slave communities it had been reduced to a species of recognized art. Its implements were among the most prominent signs of slave civilization, as Carlisle says the gallows was, formerly, in England. In the first place, the whips were of various kinds, according to the exact effect intended to be produced. There was the whip of knotted hempen cords; the whip with the twisted lash of dried bull's hide; the coach-trace whip, and the paddle. "Sometimes," says Dr. Hyde, "flat hand-saws were used as whips." Then there were various exposures and postures. Sometimes the victim, stripped stark naked from the armpits to the heels, was laid, face downwards, over a stout beam, supported upon posts at the proper elevation, with the feet and hands fastened with strong ropes to stakes driven firmly into the ground on either side. In that posture one or the other of the above mentioned instruments was applied, according to the ultimate intention of the master. If he contemplated a future sale of the slave, the paddle was generally used. This consisted of a broad piece of heavy sole-leather, some fourteen or sixteen inches in length, nailed to a convenient wooden handle. This only bruised the flesh, without breaking the skin, and after some weeks or months all signs of its use disappeared, and no suspicion was aroused in any future purchaser, of the indocility of the chattel. On the other hand, the use of all the other instruments lacerated the flesh to a considerable depth, and left forever after enormous ridges or welts. Often two were employed to do the prescribed work, the first becoming too much fatigued to make his blows heavy enough to satisfy the critical eye of the on-looking master or overseer, was relieved by a fresh hand, until the required number of blows had been all told; and then

the arms being loosed, a pail of old beef or pork brine was dashed upon the back. If the victim had fainted, this usually roused him, and staunched the flowing blood. He was then set at liberty, and allowed to begin his daily task in the cane or cotton-field.

The operation was frequently varied by a change of posture. Sometimes the victims were stripped as before mentioned and bound to a tree or post. Sometimes, especially women in the last stages of child-bearing, were laid naked upon the ground, face downward, with their arms and legs stretched out and firmly bound to stakes, "a hole," says the witness, "being dug underneath large enough to admit the pregnant belly," and then the knotted or the twisted scourge, the coach trace or the paddle, was applied as before mentioned. "In some parishes," says Mr. Jervis, "they have hired whippers."

Of this nature were the incentives to life-long human toil, furnished by a system that Bishop Hopkins and Prof. S. F. B. Morse declare to be of Divine ordination. We read with especial wonder in the ancient Scriptures of a tribe of men who believed in the divinity of the god Moloch. We shudder at the ordeal to which his worship subjected his votaries. That worship was doubtless the creation of a depraved and perverted human intellect. Upon that primal age, however, the Sun of Righteousness had not yet arisen. But this is the middle of the nineteenth Christian century. What is to be said of the devotees of a divinity still more monstrous and cruel than the ancient god of the Ammonites?

Let it be borne in mind that what I have here been describing was the ordinary mode of punishment, *only whipping*, and by no means anything unusual or extraordinary. Nor was the spectacle witnessed alone by the old master and his overseer, but frequently by the young masters and mistresses also, as in the case of the South Carolina planter, referred to in the main report of the Commission.

But, to return to Octave. He said: "I had never been whipped, but I had heard the blows and the groans of the others, and I made up my mind quickly to run for the swamp which lay a mile or so in the rear of the sugar house." Being a fleet runner, Octave outstripped his pursuers, reached the swamp, and

plunged into its jungles. After some days he found the band of refugees with whom he afterwards lived. Of course his master did not mean to lose so valuable a chattel. Accordingly he sent for a famous professional slave-hunter, Eugène Jardeau by name, and hired him with his pack of twenty hounds to recover the fugitive, dead or alive.

His friends on the plantation having given him and his companions timely notice, the band immediately set about preparing for the struggle. Two or three of them took the women, and by making a long "détour" secreted them in a place of safety, returning upon their own tracks to the path that led to their former hiding place, having (carefully rubbed the soles of their feet with the feet of rabbits, with which they had previously supplied themselves for this purpose, and dragging these after them to deceive the scent of the hounds,) with clubs in their hands they waited at the point of junction for the attack. All day they stood together and fought the hounds, slowly retreating farther and farther into the swamp. They succeeded in killing eight of them. Towards sun-down, becoming thoroughly exhausted, with their arms and legs torn by the fangs of the dogs, and having lost much blood, the word was given to scatter and run. "*Sauve qui peut.*" Octave and four or five of his companions made for a bayou in the rear. Under the headway of men fleeing for life, they reached the bank to discover that its shallow waters, obstructed by great roots and fallen trees, were full of alligators. They could not stop if they would—they made the leap and scrambled through. The hounds followed, and the alligators, not touching the negroes, attacked the dogs with great fury, killing six of them.

Mr. Jardeau coming up, and seeing how matters stood, hastily recalled what was left of his pack. Octave and his companions escaped. Not one was killed or taken. He was asked how he explained the fact that the alligators did not even attempt to attack him and his companions, but fell upon the hounds with such voracity. He answered: "D'un no, Massa. Some ob 'em said dey tought t'was God; but, for my part, I tink de alligators loved dog's flesh better'n *personal flesh.*"

Some few months after this battle with the blood-hounds in

the swamps of St. James' Parish, another battle occurred, which resulted in Gen. Butler's taking possession of New Orleans, and it became Mr. Coutrell's turn to flee. Octave and his companions, being duly advised by their friends, left the swamp, made their way to Camp Parapet, then in command of Gen. Phelps, and gave themselves up. Most of the men enlisted in the army.

Incidents of the kind above mentioned were not infrequent. The swamps were never free of negroes. They constituted a species of asylum, and that fact had its effect upon the character of the negro, and upon the working of the system. As a general thing, the negro became more self-reliant, and the master more wary, often adopting very inhuman measures of precaution, such as branding with a hot iron, splitting or cropping the ears, and compelling the suspected to wear the heavy iron collar with horns, called "a choker."

Another fact that had an important influence upon the system in the region under consideration, as well as on the character of the slave, remains to be mentioned. The valley of the Lower Mississippi, from an early period of its settlement, contained a proportionately large free colored population. In 1803, when the territory of which the State of Louisiana forms a part was ceded by the French Republic to the United States, these free colored men were already quite numerous, and many of them were possessed of considerable property. They were not only as free as any other portion of the population, but in general as well educated and intelligent. Many of them were the children of the early white settlers, and had always enjoyed a certain social as well as civil equality. As to the enjoyment of political rights, under the old Spanish and French regimes, neither white or black settlers ever had much experience; consequently, there had never arisen among them much question of these rights, or as to whom they belonged. The French Republic, founded upon "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity," had not yet quite forgotten the import of these words, and hence caused to to be inserted in the treaty of cession a solemn stipulation, in the words following, to wit:

ART. 3d. "The inhabitants of the ceded territory shall be incorporated into the union of the United States, and admitted as soon as possible, according to the principles of the Federal Constitution, to the enjoyment of all the rights, advantages, and immunities of citizens of the United States; and in the mean time they shall be maintained and protected in the *free* enjoyment of their liberty, property, and the religion which they profess."

Under this article of the treaty of 1803, the free colored people of Louisiana have always held, and do now claim, that the government of the United States was solemnly bound to secure to them "all the rights, advantages, and immunities" that were justly due to any other free inhabitants of the ceded territory, whatever might be the political forms which it was subsequently permitted to assume; and that, therefore, in authorizing the white inhabitants of the territory to organize it into slave States under such constitutions and laws as excluded them from all political and many civil rights and immunities, the government of the United States permitted the perpetration of a great wrong, not only against them, but against the good faith and the honor of the whole people of the United States.

It is difficult to see how the case they present, even upon the letter of the treaty, can be successfully traversed. And it is still more difficult to understand how the fact of their having lain under a great wrong for sixty years can now be set up as a reason for refusing to rectify it. Besides, to-day it cannot be denied that the free colored people of Louisiana are, as a body, as well educated, as intelligent, as orderly, and as industrious as any other equal portion of the common population of the State; on an average, as rich as the mass of the people of the Free States,* and certainly far more loyal than their white fellow-citi-

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* There is some difficulty in getting at the exact number of the free colored population of Louisiana, or at the exact assessed value of the property on which they paid taxes in any given year. According to the United States census of 1860, the free colored population of the State was at that period 18,647, and, from the best information I could obtain at New Orleans, the as-

zens, as was proved in the summer of last year, when Governor Shepley made a call for volunteers to defend the city of New Orleans against a threatened attack of the rebel army under Magruder; while the white inhabitants, even many of those that had been in the employ of the Government, held back and refused to be enrolled, in forty-eight hours after the call addressed to the free colored people was issued, more than one hundred of their shops and places of business were closed and a full regiment was organized and ready for the field, and within seventy-two hours a second. Are not these people, then, as fit in all respects to enjoy and exercise the rights civil and political of citizenship, as they whose only qualification is a shade whiter skin, and a reluctant swearing to an oath of allegiance under protest, or with mental reservation?

The truth is that the case of these old freemen of Louisiana is "*sui generis*," and does by no means involve the question connected with the justice or expediency of granting political rights to the recently emancipated colored people. Their claim to

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sessed value of the property on which they paid taxes for that year was about $13,000,000. This gives an average of about $700 for each person.

But the population, as given in the census for 1860, is believed to be considerably below the true estimate. The best informed persons, old residents of New Orleans, and familiar with the subject, putting it at not less than 25,000 at the present time. If we assume the assessed value of their property to be now what it was in 1860, it makes an average for each person of $520.

It is true that, according to the State census of 1853, as stated in the Louisiana State Register, the free colored population in that year was 28,820. But this is believed not to be accurate, inasmuch as, according to the same State Register, the population for the year 1850 was but 17,462.

These discrepancies arise in a great measure, undoubtedly, from the difficulty of distinguishing between the lightest shade of the colored population and the darkest shade of the white, and the consequent latitude of classification, according to the caprice of the persons making the census. It is believed, however, that the estimate of from 23,000 to 25,000 for the population, and from 13,000,000 to 15,000,000 as the assessed value of the property upon which they have paid taxes, approximates the truth.

In the loyal free States, according to the United States census for 1860, the estimate is as follows, viz:

Population, 19,239,851; valuation of real and personal property, $9,325,945,381; giving $484 to each person.—*See Nat. Almanac, pp.* 147 *and* 309.

the enjoyment of these rights rests upon entirely distinct and very different grounds. Besides, the Government needs the suffrages of these people in defence of the Constitution and the Union at this very hour, almost as indispensably as it needed their arms at the period above referred to.

But, however this may be, it is not difficult to understand how so numerous and intelligent a body of people, living and thriving in the midst of slavery in spite of all obstructions, of the same race as the enslaved, should have had an important influence as well upon the master as upon the slave, inducing the latter to greater and greater longing for liberty, and for the opportunity to live and labor, free from the scourge of the driver's whip; and the former to more and more wariness and severity of repression.

There were other peculiar circumstances connected with the working of the slave system in the Valley of the Lower Mississippi, to which I need not now refer. The facts here mentioned are sufficient to show that, in its main features, slavery was here of the same general nature as elsewhere. Its results and human products, are what we have principally to deal with, and these also are everywhere nearly identical. Thoroughly to comprehend these, and to know how to dispose of them, is the great necessity that presses upon our statesmen and rulers in the present hour.

As I have before said, here, upon the banks of the great river, these results and products are still to be seen, side by side, the colored man, as slavery has left him, and the white man, as slavery has made him.

Allow me briefly to present them, not in the light of my own personal observation alone, but rather in that of the experience of those whose duty it has been to mingle with them, and to deal practically with many of the troublesome and disturbing questions arising out of the great transformation going on in their midst.

And, first, as to the colored man. Gen. Banks, in command of the Department of the Gulf, whose experience and earnest study of the subject matter under consideration, gives weight to his testimony, declared to me that he had learned far more of the colored men than of the white; that they understood much

better the requirements of their own peculiar position in the present exigency than the white men did of theirs, and accepted them much more readily and wisely; and that, in his judgment, "whoever else might fail in the great revolution, it would not be the black man."

And, in a letter from Alexandria, Louisiana, in answer to certain inquiries addressed to him, previous to my departure from New Orleans, under date of March 28th, 1864, Gen. Banks writes:

"I entertain no doubt whatever of the capabilities of the emancipated colored people to meet and discharge the duties incident to the great change in their condition. I have seen them in all situations, within the last year and a half, and it is with much pleasure I say, as I stated to you in person, that they seem to me to have a clearer comprehension of their position, and the duties which rest upon them, than any other class of our people, accepting the necessity of labor which rests upon them as upon others. The conditions they uniformly impose show the good sense with which they approach the change in their condition.

"They demand, in the first instance, that to whatever punishment they may be subjected, they shall not be flogged.

"2d. That they shall labor only when they are well treated.

"3d. That families should not be separated.

"4th. That their children shall be educated.

"With these stipulations I have never found any person of that race who did not readily accept the necessity of continuous and faithful labor at just rates of compensation, which they seem willing to leave to the Government. As far as the experiment goes in this department, they have justified in the fullest degree this conclusion, and, subject to the conditions which they impose, they are willing to and have rendered faithful labor.

"There were in this department, when I assumed command, many thousands of colored persons without employment or home, who were decimated by disease and death of the most frightful character. To these, natives of the plantations in the department, have been added many thousand fugitives from the surrounding States, of every age and condition. There are not,

at this time, 500 persons that are not self-supporting, and there has not been in the last year, any day when we would not have gladly accepted ten or twenty thousand, irrespective of their condition, in addition to those we have of our own. Except that the negro understood the necessities of his position, and was able, in the language of your letter, " to meet and discharge the duties incident to the great change in his condition," this result would have been physically impossible.

" Wherever, in the department, they have been well treated, and reasonably compensated, they have invariably rendered faithful service to their employers.

" From many persons who manage plantations, I have received the information that there is no difficulty whatever in keeping them at work, if the conditions to which I have above referred are complied with."

And George H. Hanks, Colonel of the 15th Regiment, Corps d'Afrique, member of the Board of Enrollment, and Superintendent of negro labor in the Department of the Gulf, under date of February 6th, 1864, deposes: " that he went to Louisiana as a Lieutenant in the 12th Connecticut Regiment, under Gen. Butler; that he was appointed superintendent of contrabands under Brig. Gen. T. W. Sherman. The negroes, he says, t" came in scarred, wounded, and some with iron collars round heir necks. I set them at work on abandoned plan tations, and on the fortifications. At one time we had 6,500 of them; there was not the slightest difficulty with them. They are more willing to work, and more patient than any set of human beings I ever saw. It is true there is a general dislike to return to their old masters; and those who have remained at home are suspicious of foul play, and feel it to be necessary to run away to test their freedom. This year the dislike has very much lessened; they begin to feel themselves more secure, and do not hesitate to return for wages. The negroes *willingly accept the condition of labor for their own maintenance, and the musket for their freedom.* I knew a family of five, who were freed by the voluntary enlistment of one of the boys. He entered the ranks for the avowed purpose of freeing his family. His name was Moore; he was owned by the Messrs. Leeds, iron-founders; they

resided within one of the Parishes excepted in the Proclamation of Emancipation. He was the first man to fall at Pascagoula. Upon starting, he said to his family: "I know I shall fall, but you will be free."

"A negro soldier demanded his children at my hands. I wanted to test his affection. I said: 'they had a good home.' He said: 'Lieut., I want to send my children to school; my wife is not allowed to see them; I am in your service; I wear military clothes; I have been in three battles; I was in the assault at Port Hudson; I want my children; they are my flesh and blood.'"

Col. Hanks, whose true-hearted and faithful service to the colored people in the Department of the Gulf, cannot be too highly appreciated, did not, of course, undertake to withstand that appeal. The children were delivered to the father.

Next to the right to work for his own maintenance and that of his family, the colored man here, as elsewhere, asks for the privilege of sending his children to school.

"The colored people," says Col. Hanks, "manifest the greatest anxiety to educate their children, and they thoroughly appreciate the benefits of education. I have known a family to go with two meals a day, in order to save fifty cents a week to pay an indifferent teacher for their children."

The universal and urgent desire of the colored people for education was most strikingly illustrated by a fact that came to my knowledge during a recent visit to Port Hudson. In each of the camps of the colored regiments, the best built cabin was a school-house. These regiments had obtained the authorization of Gen. Andrews for the establishment of regimental schools. They proceeded with their own hands to erect school-houses, and, at their own cost, to procure teachers (in some of the regiments the chaplains undertook that duty); and, according to the testimony of their officers, all their leisure time was most assiduously and perseveringly devoted to their studies. Ought not the Government to encourage this most praiseworthy desire of the colored regiments, by providing for each, at least one permanent teacher? A disabled veteran white soldier, might be thus employed.

A desire for education, a love of knowledge in any community

or people have been always considered the surest proofs of their intrinsic worth, the most hopeful signs of their capacity for civilization and future advancement. The extraordinary manifestation of this love and desire among the emancipated colored people, when taken in connection with their previous condition of degradation, is one of the most amazing facts with respect to them. And when contrasted with the almost universal indifference, even contempt, with which the poor Southern whites regard that matter, is well calculated to stagger the white man's boast of the great superiority of his race. The colored man came out of Africa without a single element of civilization. Not even a tradition of any trace of education belongs to his ancestry. On the other hand, what are called "*the poor white trash*" of the Slave States, are for the most part, the descendants of the same race as the men who have carried our civilization from the hills of New England through the great wilderness, to the shores of the Pacific Ocean. They set out upon their career with many advantages of climate and soil, and with equal opportunities for education and enlightenment. But there stood in their way the formidable barriers of the *mastership*. Its all devouring darkness swallowed them up, and to-day it can only be said of them, that no more ignorant, demoralized, and pitiable community of human beings ever lived in any civilized country, in any age.

It may therefore be questioned, whether after all, the most pernicious and fatal work of the masters has not been wrought against their own race, even leaving out of the account their present attempt to overthrow the grandest results of its history—the nationality, civilization, and free institutions of the People of the United States.

"Besides their hearty appreciation of education, the colored people," says Col. Hanks, "are very religious and devotional, and through this channel are easily controlled and taught. I have had frequent exhibitions of their trust in God relative to their freedom. I have known them to pray to God to bless the d—d Yankees."

"The negroes," says Mr. Roudanez, "are much more virtuous since the Proclamation of Freedom. The men respect themselves much more, and the women are much more chaste, because

an honest livelihood is open to them. Cohabitation was often prompted by their wants, such as clothing and other necessaries."

It is hardly necessary for me to speak of the character of the colored man as a soldier, as presented here in the Valley of the Mississippi. The universal official attestation to his soldierly bearing and true valor under the severest trials, has put that beyond question. Nor are his sobriety, orderliness, and willing submission to discipline, less conspicuous. Gen. Andrews, in command at Port Hudson, recently assured me that his colored troops were his best troops, that they performed all their duties, and especially fatigue duties, with greater cheerfulness and more faithfully than the white regiments; and that, with competent officers, he believed no troops would be more reliable.

Even the single instance of apparent insubordination which occurred recently at Fort Jackson, was provoked by such unheard-of outrages on the part of the Lieut.-Col., and the other white officers implicated, that Gen. Dwight, who was sent there by General Banks to investigate the matter, personally declared to me, that the colored soldiers were blameless. The officers were dismissed from the service—a very light punishment, considering the enormity of their offences.

This affair was published in many public journals in the United States and abroad as a case of mutiny. It had really nothing of the *animus* of a mutiny. What the men proposed to do was to take with them their shameless and guilty officers, march to New Orleans and deliver themselves up to Gen. Banks as the Commander-in-Chief.

We need not then despair of the emancipated negro. Notwithstanding the degradation imposed upon him by the slave system, there is much left in him to build upon. He is at least ready and willing to undertake the performance of his humble and toilsome part in the new order of things. Indeed, if one may take as a proof, the results of the life-struggle and history of the old free colored people of Louisiana, before referred to, the conclusion is unavoidable, that the black man is not only capable of self-guidance and self-maintenance, but, that under the influence of higher and nobler human motives and incentives, his progress in the arts and attainments of civilized life, is subject only to the same laws that control that of other races of men.

On the other hand, what is to be said of the white man, his old master, and of his capacity, disposition, and attitude relative to the part which he is called upon to perform in the new industrial and social system?

Col. Hanks, a large portion of whose daily life, for two years past, has been spent in daily intercourse with the planters in the Department of the Gulf, declares that "although they begin to see that Slavery is dead, yet the spirit of Slavery still lives among them. Many of them are even more rampant to enslave the negro than ever before. They make great endeavors to recover *what they call their own negroes.* One planter offered me $5,000 to return his negroes. They have even hired men to steal them from my own camp. (The old spirit still prompting to the old crime, which, long ago, was declared felony by the law of nations if perpetrated in Africa.)" "They yield," he continues, "to the idea of freedom only under compulsion. They submit to the terms dictated by the Government, because obliged so to do. Mr. V. B. Marmillon, one of the richest and most extensive sugar planters in the whole valley of the Mississippi, took the oath of allegiance, but refused to work his plantation unless he could have *his own negroes* returned to him. He had 1,450 acres of cane under cultivation; his whole family of plantation hands left him and came to New Orleans, reporting themselves to me. Among them could be found every species of mechanic and artisan. I called them up and informed them that the Government had taken possession of old master's crop, and that they were needed to take it off, and would be paid for their labor. All consented to return; but next morning when the time came for their departure, not one would go. One of them said: "I will go anywhere else to work, but you may shoot me before I will return to the old plantation." I afterwards ascertained that Marmillon, whom they called 'Old Cotton Beard,' had boasted in the presence of two colored girls, house servants, how he would serve them when he once more had them in his power. These girls had walked more than thirty miles in the night to bring the information to their friends." These people were set to work elsewhere.

"It is undoubtedly true," says Col. Hanks, "that this year a change for the better seems to be taking place. In some parishes

the letting of plantations to Northern men has a powerful effect. The disposition of the planters, however, towards their old slaves, when they consent to hire them, is by no means friendly. I told a planter recently, that it was the express order of Gen. Banks that the negroes should be educated. He replied that, 'no one should teach *his negroes.*' "

Col. Hanks further declares it as his deliberate judgment that "if civil government be established here, and military rule withdrawn, there is the greatest danger that the negro would become subject to some form of serfdom."

His testimony on this point is referred to elsewhere.

The statement of Col. Hanks, and the general correctness of his views, were concurred in by many other intelligent persons, familiar with the subject, and my own personal observation fully confirms them. In a stretch of three hundred miles up and down the Mississippi, but one creole planter was found (there may, of course, have been others with whom I did not come in contact,) who heartily and unreservedly adopted the idea of free labor, and honestly carried it out upon his plantation. And although he declared that, in itself it was successful much beyond his expectation, "yet," he said, "my life and that of my family are rendered very unhappy by the opposition and contumely of my neighbors."

The simple truth is, that the virus of slavery, the lust of ownership, in the hearts of these old masters, is as virulent and active to-day as it ever was. Many of them admit that the old form of slavery is for the present, broken up. They do not hesitate even to express the opinion that the experiment of secession is a failure; but they scoff at the idea of freedom for the negro, and repeat the old argument of his incapacity to take care of himself, or to entertain any higher motive for exertion than that of the whip. They await with impatience the withdrawal of the military authorities, and the re-establishment of the civil power of the State to be controlled and used as hitherto for the maintenance of what, to them doubtless, appears the paramount object of all civil authority, of the State itself, some form of the slave system.

With slight modifications, the language recently used by Judge Humphrey in a speech delivered at a Union meeting at

Huntsville, Alabama, seems most aptly to express the hopes and purposes of a large proportion of the old masters in the Valley of the Mississippi, who have consented to qualify their loyalty to the Union by taking the oath prescribed by the President's Proclamation of Amnesty. After advising that Alabama *should at once return to the Union by simply rescinding the ordinance of secession*, and after expressing the opinion that the old institution of slavery was gone, Judge Humphrey says: "I believe, in case of a return to the Union, we would receive *political co-operation*, so as to secure the management of that labor by those who were slaves. *There is really no difference, in my opinion, whether we hold them as absolute slaves, or obtain their labor by some other method.* Of course we prefer the old method. But that question is not now before us."

It is true that Gen. Banks entertains slightly different views of the disposition and purposes of the planters, predicated, however, on the belief that the Government will adopt some system of "sufficient supervision to compel the negro to labor," although, as we have seen he elsewhere declares that good treatment and fair wages have in all cases been found compulsion enough. What the old masters understand by "a supervision to *compel* the negroes to labor," is not difficult to imagine; certainly it is not good treatment and fair wages.

In the letter before referred to, Gen. Banks says: "I have no doubt that many of the planters within our lines, who are protected by the Government in the enjoyment of their property, honestly accept the new situation, and enter into the idea of free labor with sincerity; but it is coupled with an incredulity as to the success of the experiment, natural to their situation, and to the ideas in which they have been educated. This is fostered more by the intractability and brutality of the overseers—the middle class between the laborer and the employer—than it is by any innate disposition of the planter himself, and *their disbelief of any sufficient governmental supervision to compel the negro to labor*, to which they think he is disinclined. If such governmental supervision fail in this regard, the experiment itself will fail."

For a more full expression of the opinions of Gen. Banks on

this subject, reference may be had to a copy of his letter herewith submitted.

The opinions hereinbefore expressed as to the spirit and disposition of the old masters, is fully and explicitly sustained by the testimony of Brig.-Gen. James S. Wadsworth, than whom no man has had better opportunities for an intelligent judgment.

In his examination before the Commission, soon after his return from an official tour through the Valley of the Mississippi, in the early part of the past winter, in speaking of the state of things in Louisiana, Gen. Wadsworth said:

"There is one thing that must be taken into account, and that is, that there will exist a very strong disposition among the masters to control these people, and keep them as a subordinate and subjected class. Undoubtedly they intend to do that. I think the tendency to establish a system of serfdom is the great danger to be guarded against. I talked with a planter in the La Fourche district near Tibadouville; he said he was not in favor of secession; he avowed his hope and expectation that slavery would be restored there in some form. I said: 'If we went away and left these people now, do you suppose you could reduce them again to slavery?' He laughed to scorn the idea that they could not. 'What,' said I, 'these men, who have had arms in their hands?' 'Yes,' he said, 'we should take the arms away from them, of course.'"

Much other testimony of like import might be adduced, but it is believed not necessary to a clear understanding of the present attitude and position of the two principal constituent elements of the disrupted slave society, in the region under consideration.

For the sake of greater perspicuity, I have hitherto refrained from any reference to the treatment and actual condition of the emancipated population, or to the labor system recently introduced in the Department of the Gulf. In what I deem it my duty to say of the former, I refer for the most part to a period antecedent to the date of the proclamation of Gen. Banks prescribing the latter; that proclamation having been issued but a few days previous to my arrival at New Orleans.

Col. Hanks speaks of the patience of these people. Certainly, their uncomplaining endurance under the severest privation and

suffering, is one of the most remarkable characteristics of their race everywhere. Their previous life of slavery inured them to daily, habitual suffering, and up to this hour, their initiation into Freedom has been attended with little else than danger, ill usage, deprivation, sickness, and bereavement. The mortality among them in the Valley of the Mississippi has been frightful. The most competent judges compute it at not less than 25 per cent. in the last two years. With few exceptions, they have everywhere come under the control of incompetent and otherwise unfit officials. Often here, as elsewhere, they have fallen a prey to the avaricious and unscrupulous. In many instances, clothed in rags, without wholesome or sufficient food, lodged at night without beds or bedding, they have toiled for months, and in the end have been turned off with little or no compensation. The great exposures to which they have been subjected, gave rise to severe and fatal diseases amongst them, in which they were left, in many cases, without proper care or medical attendance. Great mortality was a natural consequence. Much deprivation and suffering were, under the most favorable circumstances, inevitable to the exigencies in which they were placed by the war. But I should fail in my duty if I neglected to declare, that in my judgment, many of the injuries of which they have been the victims, and a great deal of their suffering, have resulted from the failure of the national authorities to provide a proper and uniform system for their care and protection.

In departments where, as here in the Department of the Gulf, there is good reason to believe that the chief military authorities have had at heart their best interests, occupied as they have been with the movements of great armies and by the absorbing cares of the military government devolved upon them, it was inevitable that they should often fall into the hands of incompetent and unfaithful subalterns; even under the system recently put into operation here, and which in many respects is certainly better than the lack of system previously existing, they come directly under the control and government of the assistant provost marshals,* to each of whom is assigned a certain district of the

* "All questions," says the order of Gen. Banks, "between the employer and the employed, until other tribunals are established, will be decided by the provost marshals of the parishes."

planting region. These assistant provost marshals are usually young subalterns, army officers, captains or lieutenants. They are received into the houses of the planters and treated with a certain consideration. It is hardly to be expected that they should resist the influences that are brought to bear upon them, or that often, without being fully conscious of it, they should not become the employer's instrument of great injustice and ill treatment towards his colored laborers.

An upright and competent witness whose testimony is herewith submitted, says: "I am free to declare that the provost marshals have not done justice to the laborers on the plantations. They do not see that Gen. Banks' orders are carried out. On many plantations whipping is still permitted." More than one instance of great neglect, injustice and abuse have come to the knowledge of the Commission.

The plan of Gen. Banks has been in operation too short a time to judge fully of its merits. But, as I have just said, it is believed on the whole and as a *temporary* arrangement, superior to any hitherto adopted in that department. As a permanent system it contains great defects. In the first place it leaves the classification of the laborers to be determined between the employers and the assistant provost marshals, which is practically leaving it to the employers themselves. Then, secondly, without reference to the capacities or wishes of the employed, or to the competition of the labor market, it determines beforehand the wages of their labor.

In the third place, it implies that the clothing and subsistence of the laborer and his family, should be left to the employers' sense of what is needful for them, with liberty to be sure, for the employed to commute for clothing at the rate of three dollars a month for first class hands, and in similar proportion for other classes.

If the only object to be accomplished was simply "to compel the negro to labor" in a condition of perpetual subordination and subjection, this arrangement would be appropriate enough. But if the object be to make the colored man a self-supporting and self-defending member of the community, then he must be placed in a position where he can determine the value of his

own labor, and be left to take the responsibilities of his own existence and well being, as well as that of his family.

As a general proposition this is too plain, and in itself too cogent to require argument. In the actual condition of things in the Department of the Gulf, it might not be convenient or even possible to give it full effect at the present moment; but the temporary adoption of an opposite principle, should not be allowed to become the basis of a permanent system, which would differ very little in its practical working from that of slavery itself.

In regard to classification, clothing, and the rate of wages, the plan of Mr. Wm. P. Mellen, Agent of the Treasury Department at Natchez, appears to me a much nearer approach to right principles and justice, as between employer and employed. In this plan the classification is determined beforehand, and the employed are allowed to clothe themselves. The rate of wages is here also fixed by authority, which, as before suggested, is only to be justified by the necessity of protecting the laborer under the peculiar circumstances in which he is placed by the war; but here the rate is much nearer to the standard of the public market.

According to Mr. Mellen's plan, all sound persons between the ages of 20 and 40 are No. 1 hands. Between 15 and 19 and between 40 and 50 years, No. 2 hands. Between 12 and 14 and over 50, No. 3 hands.

The wages for males, No. 1 hands, are $25 per month; No. 2, $20, and No. 3, $15. For females the wages are for the several grades respectively, $18, $14, and $10.

Persons suffering from any physical defect or infirmity constitute a fourth class, and are paid accordingly. In Mr. Mellen's system the employers are obliged to keep on hand a sufficient supply of proper clothing, and to sell the same to the employed at wholesale cost price and ten per cent. advance.

The rate of wages of the several grades of laborers, as fixed in the Department of the Gulf, is eight, six, five, and three dollars a month, with clothing, or three dollars per month commutation for clothing. In this Department also, the laborer having once selected his employer is compelled to remain with him for a year. While under any system that may be adopted it is doubtless

of the greatest importance that the colored laborer should be made to understand the nature and obligations of a contract, and should be held to the just fulfillment of such as he may voluntarily enter into, this form of enforcing the obligation is deemed wrong in principle and liable to serious abuses, and only to be tolerated as a temporary necessity.

The system of Gen. Banks provides also for the education of the colored children on the plantations, and for the establishment of free labor savings institutions, both of which meet the entire approval of the Commission.

I do not deem it necessary here to enter further into the details of these several systems. The proclamation and the orders under which they are established, are undoubtedly of record in the War and Treasury departments. Nor do I desire to criticise too closely plans adopted, doubtless with the best intentions, to meet the urgent necessities which presented themselves in the confusion and chaos consequent upon the breaking up of the old systems, in the midst of a great war. Neither, however, seems to me sufficiently to recognize the freedman's right to intervene in his own affairs, or to contemplate sufficiently the great end of educating him to self control, self reliance, and to the exercise of the rights and duties of civilized life.

This must, of course, be a work of time. But unless a system be speedily adopted which shall embrace these as its fundamental and primary objects, the practical freedom and future well-being of the emancipated population, no less than the great industrial interests dependent upon their voluntary, enlightened, and justly compensated labor, will be seriously, if not fatally jeopardied.

But, in the judgment of the Commission, the most serious error in connection with the present arrangements for the care and protection of these people arises out of the assignment to a different agency of the care and disposal of the abandoned plantations. To enter into the detail of all the evils and abuses that have arisen out of this error, and which are unavoidable, so long as it continues to exist, would occupy too great a space in this report. Suffice it to say that it is the source of the greatest confusion and a perpetual collision between the different local authorities, in which not only the emancipated population

the Government itself, suffers the most serious injuries and losses.

Gen. Banks, in the letter hereinbefore so often quoted, says: "The assignment of the abandoned or forfeited plantations to one department of the Government, and the protection and support of the emancipated people to another, is a fundamental error productive of incalculable evils, and cannot be too soon or too thoroughly corrected."

And this is the purport of all the testimony which the Commission has been able to obtain, not in the Department of the Gulf only, but everywhere, in relation to this matter.

The unhesitating judgment of every person, official or other, not interested in the opportunities it affords for peculation, with whom we have consulted, coincides with that of Gen. Banks. All, without exception, declare that no system can avail to effect the great objects contemplated, that does not assign to one and the same authority, the care and disposal of the abandoned plantations, and the care and protection of the emancipated laborers who are to cultivate them.

And, after the most thorough investigations, I am authorized in saying that this is the deliberate judgment of the Commission.

If, in the preceding cursory survey of the present state of things in the valley of the Mississippi, I have succeeded in presenting the two constituent elements of the old slave society in their true light, it cannot fail to suggest the intrinsic nature of the antagonisms that stand in the way of the successful introduction of the free labor system there, and of the political reconstruction based upon it. Every analysis of slave society everywhere brings us to a like conclusion. The difficulty is not with the emancipated slave; but with the old master, still enthralled by his old infatuation.

I am aware that this master class has been hitherto generally represented as a body of men remarkable for their proficiency in statesmanship, politics, and deportment. It is hardly necessary now to controvert this view of them, any further than to say, that there is another quite as intrinsic and much more important to be well understood.

Aunt Phillis, the old slave cook of the highly respectable and

thrifty St. Helena cotton planter, Mr. John Pope, in the midst of the story of her long experience of the cruelties and sufferings of plantation life, upon the very ground where she then stood free at last, stopped, as if some new light had burst upon her weary and bewildered soul, and looking up said: "Trute is, Massa, Massa Pope tought God was dead." That was her account of them, her explanation of the phenomena she had been witness to in the secret recesses of that social order of which they were the founders and chiefs. And by no means a very irrational one, for certainly, to men who had come to ignore so utterly, the existence of God's image under the black skin, so often lacerated by the blows of their many thonged whip of dried bull's hide, such a thought was not at all unlikely.

However this may be, what is certain is that these masters, isolating themselves, in their fierce pride, from the great movements of the free, democratic society and civilization of their country and age, had come to entertain some very strange and erroneous beliefs, as well with regard to themselves as with regard to the world around them. With their hearts filled with the indisputable ownership of broad domains and toiling slaves, is it strange that the fumes of unrestrained and illicit power and dominion, should have mounted into their heads and perverted, not their own self consciousness only, but their whole sense of truth and of the quality of actions and of things, even to the extent of believing their monstrous system of organized barbarism, the supremest and most excellent product of the ages, and its maintenance the one paramount concern of the world? What to them was the value of constitution, government, or country, compared with the interests of their God-ordained slave commonwealth and mastership?

Seldom has the ethical providence of the world had to deal with so profound a blindness and degeneration. It is only to be paralleled by that of an order of men whose *regime* was extinguished in its own blood at the end of the last century in France. Apparently that ancient "noblesse" was as besotted with pride and disdain as even this new order of the slave-whip. They seem to have entertained as supreme a contempt for the poor, white-skinned drudges, upon whose spoilated labor they had lived and prospered and revelled for a thousand years, as any

master for his black-skinned chattels. It is related that one of them, a certain Count de Charolais, whom Dulaure calls the finest specimen of a feudal lord of his time, used sometimes to amuse his leisure by shooting at the tilers on the roofs of the neighboring houses; and when one of them rolled down, wounded or dead, it was an occasion of great merriment to him and his companions. Doubtless, that to him was as enjoyable a feat, as the blows of the coach-trace whip upon the bare back of a prostrate, pregnant woman to that South Carolina master, Fararby, whose exploit is mentioned in the main Report of the Commission.

And yet it would seem that even these people had not got to quite the depth of Aunt Phillis's master. They did not "believe that God was dead." The faith they had come to entertain and profess was only that, so confidently announced by a lady of the Court of Louis 15th. Speaking of some de Charolais who had just been called to his final account, she said, "Depend upon it, sir, God will think twice before damning a man of that quality." It took the Reign of Terror and the Guillotine to cure that ancient *noblesse* of their delusions.

The culmination of the masters' infatuation in their present atrocious war would seem to indicate a somewhat similar kind of Providential surgery, to have been necessary for them.

However this may be, had not their infatuation and blindness infected and demoralized the mind and heart of the whole people of the United States and of their public servants, the intrinsic nature of their mastership, and the utter incompatibility of its existence, with that of our free democratic institutions and civilization, would long ago have been recognized and acted upon frankly, and without equivocations or reservations.

Every diagnosis of the malady under which the body politic is writhing and staggering in the present hour, discloses its nucleus in the old mastership. That in this mastership is the seat of the disease, containing the pestiferous virus by which the whole nation has been infected. That this seed of national dishonor, dissolution, and death, was brought from Africa, and landed upon the banks of the James River, Virginia, in the autumn of that same year (1620) in which the Pilgrims, with the germs of our national life, civilization, and glory, landed

upon Plymouth Rock. That this fatal virus has spread and increased in virulence for more than two hundred years, until the glow of the fever had come to be mistaken for the bloom of health; until the summits of the mountainous social carbuncle generated by it, had come to be regarded as the heights of national culture, wealth, and glory. Let us thank God that it has burst at last, and opened up to the eyes of all men its loathsome depths, so that the merest tyro in the science of social and political health and statesmanship, need no longer be mistaken as to its nature, or as to the treatment proper for its cure.

Let us indeed thank God, that under the operation of his own infinitely just and inexorable laws, the white man's great enterprise of nearly four hundred years' duration, to rob the negro race of its labor and enrich himself with it, approaches its final termination.

A more stupendous scheme of human selfishness and wrong was never projected or prosecuted on earth. Taking it from its beginnings, in the slave-hunts in Africa, in which it is said two human beings, on an average, were destroyed for every one taken—through the nameless atrocities of the middle passage, in the course of which it is estimated that more than two millions of human bodies, dead and alive, were cast into the sea, to its final consummation on this continent, in a gigantic system of organized inhumanity and barbarism, it involved the commission of every crime known to civilized nations.

It could not be otherwise; the very nature of the enterprise made the commission of all crimes a necessary incident, to its successful prosecution. Viewed then, simply, in the light of its own legitimate operations, the slave system may well be defined "the sum of all villainies." Viewed in the light of its own essential idea, of its own intrinsic nature, it involves a still profounder guilt; for it not only contemplated the overthrow in morals and legislation, of the distinction fundamental to all human civilization, between person and property, but the extinction in a whole race of men, of that divine spark which constitutes the manhood, and gives to that distinction its validity. Thus, in import and intention it outreached all secular crime, to sap the innermost foundations of the immortal life.

Only in the terrible glare cast upon it by the present war did the true nature of the mastership, and the order of slavery founded upon it, begin to reveal itself to the popular understanding. We may well believe that when the great revolution now transpiring shall have swept out of existence all its interests and passions, all the blindness and infatuation engendered by it, it will be difficult for the future historian to realize or recall that state of the public conscience in which its enormities were not only deemed innocent, but here in the United States, were accepted as an essential, component part of a great System of Democratic Liberty and Christian civilization.

We still stand in the midst of that revolution. Its great work, the regeneration of the reason and conscience of the nation and of its public servants, has yet by no means been fully accomplished. By a great law of the ethical Providence, the struggle must continue until both are cleansed of the moral and political pollutions and lies, that slavery has engendered there, and the people and their rulers, accept with all their hearts and in their true and broadest meaning "the self evident truths" of the great declaration: "that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." For, let us rest assured, that in these truths are contained the germs, the vital forces of whatever national prosperity, civilization, and history is possible to us as a people.

In all manner of official proclamations and manifestoes, it has been repeatedly declared that the war on our part was waged alone for the preservation of the constitution and the reestablishment of the Union. But what would be the value of the letter of the constitution unless quickened by the spirit of these "self-evident truths." And what would the Union be, without the inherent principle of cohesion, the living unity founded in these truths?

Reunion then, and the preservation of the essential life of the constitution, demand, not only the release of the slave population from their bonds and the degradation thereby imposed upon them; but the deliverance of the master population also, wholly and forever, from their mastership, and from the fatal delusions and depravations that are inherent in it. This is the primary

necessity of any rational attempt to establish free labor and a better social order in the Slave States, the very first step towards any wise, or well-founded reconstruction; for in no other way can the rebel States ever be rehabilitated with a truly loyal, democratic, concurrent citizenship.

And this brings me to speak of the means which, in the judgment of the Commission are deemed necessary to give practical effect to the acts of Congress and the President's Proclamation of January, 1863, "to the end that the colored population thereby emancipated may defend and support themselves." Their recommendations embrace three principal measures, which with more or less completeness have been heretofore, in their several preliminary reports and are herewith, in their final report, submitted to the War Department.

The object of the first of these measures is to secure beyond any possible peradventure or doubt, the civil right of the colored man to personal freedom, by placing that right, in the new order of thing, on the same broad basis as that of the white man.

In the Declaration of Independence, and in the Bills of Right, contained in nearly all of the Constitutions of the States, even in those of the Slave States, this right of Personal Liberty, with others, considered as personal endowments of the Creator, attributes of the human nature—are expressly reserved as above all governmental interference, as too sacred to be meddled with by human legislatures. And this doctrine is the keystone of our whole system of Free Democratic Institutions. These rights are as sacred in the person of the colored man as of the white man; and upon every consideration of justice to him, as of safety to the commonweal and honor of the nation, ought to be as securely guarantied, as sacredly guarded.

This is to be effected most surely by an amendment of the Constitution of the United States. That measure is already before Congress, and although not exactly in the form recommended by the Commission, yet it is believed sufficient, especially if accompanied with other legislation in the same spirit and with a like intent, to accomplish the great object proposed, and every true lover of his country's permanent peace, prosperity, and honor, cannot but await with the greatest anxiety its final consummation.

The second is a measure of scarcely less importance, and considering the exigencies of the approaching crisis and the present temper and disposition of the master class, even more immediately urgent than the first.

Whenever civil authority shall be re-established in the rebel States, and they shall be re-admitted to the Federal Union, the greater portion of the civil and political rights of their inhabitants, necessarily fall under the jurisdiction and control of State authority. In all these States the colored people, even such of them as have been always free, have been uniformly debarred the enjoyment of all political and many civil rights. Unless, therefore, the emancipated population have secured to them their civil and political rights by national authority, antecedent to such re-admission, they will stand in imminent danger of being defrauded of any practical freedom, notwithstanding "the acts of Congress and the President's Proclamation."

In the language of a witness whose intimate acquaintance with the spirit of the master-class, gives great weight to his words: "They had much better be slaves with the present feelings of the Southern whites against them, than to be left without national guarantees for the maintenance of their rights as freemen."

It is the producing class—that class whose whole life is devoted to toil—that under every form of civil government is most in danger of being made the victim of the leisure, capital, and opportunities of the non-producing class. Under the most favorable circumstances, therefore, it is this class that most needs and deserves to be fenced about with civil and political guarantees. But the circumstances and position of the emancipated population are most unfavorable and critical. Without their own volition, without previous preparation, and as a measure of national self-preservation, they have been suddenly precipitated into new and wholly untried relations with an antagonistic, far more able and adroit class. To leave them in this position, defenceless and at the mercy of their old masters, would in its cruelest meaning be to keep with them "the word of promise to the ear and break it to the hope."

Nay, not only the national honor, but future national peace and well being demand that the National Government should secure to these people now, while they are still under the sole

jurisdiction and control of that government, the permanent possession of such civil and political rights as will enable them "to defend and support themselves," against the machinations and schemes of any class or power to subject them again to any form of slavery or serfdom.

To this end, I cannot too earnestly urge that Congress be invoked to fix and establish by law antecedent to, and as a condition precedent to reconstruction, the civil rights of the emancipated population; and, at the same time, to provide for the future enjoyment by all free persons of color of the fundamental right of citizenship in a free government, the right to the elective franchise, based upon the acquisition on their part, of such qualifications only, as are deemed essential in their white fellow-citizens.

Another matter intimately connected with the foregoing, and as I believe, profoundly involving the existence and future prosperity of free society in the Southern States, is the disposition to be made of the confiscated estates, or other forfeited lands in these States. No such thing as free, democratic society can exist in any country where all the lands are owned by one class of men and are cultivated by another. Such ownership of the lands of a country constitutes the basis of the most permanent and oppressive aristocracies. Upon this foundation stood, for a thousand years, the feudal aristocracy of France. And, to-day, the aristocracy of England maintain their supremacy upon the basis of the partition and tenure of the soil of England, robbed by William the Conqueror from the original owners, the people of England, and granted in large estates to his captains.

So incompatible has that tenure become with modern civilization and the well-being of society in that country, that the wisest statesmen there are beginning to apprehend the most fearful consequences from its continued existence.

In the sugar and cotton producing portions of the South, almost all the cultivated soil has been hitherto held in large tracts by the master-class.

I need not stop to argue the utter incompatibility of such a state of things with the existence of a free, independent, democratic yeomanry, or with the development of free democratic institutions. The poor whites of the South are a sufficient illus-

tration of its pernicious influence and effect upon a whole community, of the same race with the landholders.

If not for the sake of the emancipated colored people, then for the sake of these poor whites, these most pitiable men of our own race, this whole scheme and tenure of the mastership should be overthrown. The great necessity, as I have before intimated from another point of view, which at the present hour lies upon the people and Government of the United States, is not so much a political as a social reconstruction of the Southern States. Any well founded plan for the former, to be effectual and permanent, must include the latter; and for the latter, the initiation of a policy on the part of the National Government, which shall have for its aim the ultimate division of the great plantations, into moderate sized farms, to be held and cultivated by the labor of their owners, is of the utmost importance.

I am aware that an opinion has been hitherto generally entertained that sugar and cotton cultivation, could only be profitably carried on upon large estates, and by the employment of large gangs of laborers, principally because a large capital is necessary to the erection of the sugar mills, cotton gins, and other machinery connected with the production of these commodities. All the investigations of the Commission go to show, that this opinion is but a part of the system of slavery, and has no foundation in the necessities of the case. There is, in reality, no more reason why the sugar cane should be raised and converted into sugar by the planter alone, than there is that wheat should be converted into flour, only by the farmer who raises it. And so with the raising, ginning, and baling of cotton. On the contrary, a proper division of labor in the raising and manufacture of sugar and cotton, would almost inevitably lead to a great development in their production; while, at the same time, it would tend not only to mitigate the labor, but to secure the industrial prosperity and independence of all those employed in that production, and thus constitute an entirely different order of social relation and condition in these States. I consider this a matter next in importance to the permanent security of the civil and political rights of the emancipated population, and beg leave to recommend it to the earnest attention of the national authorities.

And, finally, permit me once more to call the attention of Government to the third of the measures proposed by the Commission—the establishment of some uniform system of supervision and guardianship for the emancipated population in the interim of their transition from slavery to freedom. No one acquainted with the facts could hesitate a moment as to the necessity and propriety of such a system; not only for the sake of the emancipated, but for the general interest of the Government and country.

In the letter so frequently hereinbefore mentioned, General Banks most forcibly says: "It is undoubtedly true, as you say, that for some time to come, and until the new order of things shall be better understood by the employer and the employed, and the free-labor system be more completely established, there will be a necessity for some kind of Government supervision and protectorate for the benefit of both parties."

"But this is not specially incident to the new system of negro labor. It is only by Governmental supervision and assistance that the labor of any race has been fostered and established. It is of course as necessary for the blacks as for the whites, and if you look at the stipulations which the blacks in this department have themselves suggested, as the condition of their service, you will find that their ideas embody in substance and in character, the spirit of all statute legislation for the protection of white labor."

"It is no more incident to the condition of the blacks than of any other class of people, except that they enter the arena of civilization at a later period and the difficulties of their position are presented at a glance and a remedy instantly demanded."

All of which is respectfully submitted.

J. McKAYE,

Special Commissioner.

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No. 59.

Lincoln oder McClellan?

Aufruf an die Deutschen in Amerika,

von Franz Lieber.

Landsleute und Mitbürger!

Die Präsidentenwahl der Vereinigten Staaten nahet mit raschen Schritten, und es ist hohe Zeit, daß sich jeder Bürger entscheide, für wen er stimmen will, und gewissenhaft überlege, für wen er stimmen sollte. Es ist unwürdig und feige, zurückzubleiben, und bei einer so wichtigen Wahl, in der Alles auf dem Spiele steht, das Recht zu stimmen wegzuwerfen; es ist unpatriotisch, den politischen Castraten zu spielen. Die ganze politische Existenz dieses Landes, dessen Bürger wir durch den Willen unseres Mannesalters und nicht durch den Zufall der Geburt geworden sind, beruht auf der freien Wahl, und wer das Recht hat zu stimmen, hat auch die Pflicht zu stimmen. Wenn der besonnene und tüchtige Bürger vom Wahlplatze wegbleibt, so kann er sicher darauf rechnen, daß der feile Bürger und der, welcher gar kein Stimmrecht hat, auf demselben erscheinen werden.

Die große Mehrzahl der Deutschen, die nach Amerika kommen, sind Demokraten im wahren Sinne des Wortes, und da sich eine große Partei dieses Landes seit Jahren die demokratische genannt hat, so lassen sich viele Deutsche irre führen. Der Haufe, welcher zu Chicago Generalmajor McClellan für die Präsidentschaft ernannt hat, nennt sich auch „die demokratische Partei." Was für Leute bildeten diesen bunten Haufen? Erstens bestand ein großer Theil aus alten Knownothings. Sie bekannten sich offen als solche. Wollt Ihr Deutsche mit diesen Leuten stimmen, deren einziges Prinzip ist, die Thüre dieses weiten Continentes, nachdem ihre Väter von Europa eingezogen sind, Euch vor der Nase zuzuschließen, oder, da Ihr nun einmal hier seid, Euch des Bürgerrechtes zu berauben? Wollt Ihr mit denen stimmen, die, wie ihre Freunde, die Rebellen, Euch mit Infamie überhäufen, und von Euch reden, als wenn Ihr der Abschaum der Erde wäret? Die Knownothings arbeiten im Geheimen. Sie haben Logen und sind eine geheime Gesellschaft. Ist das demokratisch in einem freien Lande? Freiheit besteht vor Allem auf Oeffentlichkeit.

Ein anderer Theil der Chicagoer Versammlung waren Leute, welche die sogenanten Staaten-Rechte über Alles setzen, die offen heraus sagen, daß der Amerikaner kein Vaterland hat, und der Einzel-Staat über dem Lande steht; daß jeder Staat das Recht hat, sich loszureißen und ein eignes Reich zu bilden; daß wir demnach kein Recht haben, einen solchen Staat zu zwingen, in der Union zu bleiben. Sie sind unwahr, und sie wissen, daß sie unwahr sind. Was hätten dieselben Leute gethan, wenn Ohio oder Massachusetts sich plötzlich losgerissen und zu einer Monarchie erklärt hätte? Was sagen in diesem Augenblicke die Regenten in Richmond von den Männern in Nord-Carolina, die eine Ausscheidung ihres Staates von der sogenannten Conföderation wünschen? Sie nennen sie Rebellen. Wie kommt es, daß bis zu diesem Tage Leute aus Missouri und Kentucky im Congreß zu Richmond sitzen? Sind ihre Staaten je abgefallen? Sie sitzen da, weil Missouri und Kentucky Sklaven haben oder hatten. Sklaverei ist also für diese Feinde der Union das Prinzip der Vereinigung des Landes, aber Staatssouveränität ist nicht das Prinzip des Rechtes, abzufallen. Warum gingen alle diese Herren für General Jackson, als der alte Held Süd-Carolina bedrohte, es mit Waffengewalt in der Union zu halten? Und ist diese Lehre von der Staatssouveränität demokratisch? Ich schäme mich fast, Deutschen diese Frage vorzulegen. Die Demokratie ist immer und in allen Ländern für die Einheit des Vaterlandes gewesen, — für das ganze Land, einer großen Nation würdig. Alle Pumpernickel-Reiche, all' die kleinen „Raubstaaten," wie man sie jetzt in Deutschland nennt, sind immer der Demokratie ein Ekel und ein Gräuel gewesen.

Allerdings hat jeder Staat in Amerika seine Rechte, und muß sie haben; aber so hat jeder einzelne seine Rechte. Ja, die Menschenrechte, die in einem freien Lande jeder Mann für sich behält, sind weit wichtiger und machen eine größere Summe aus, als die Staaten-Rechte, aber der Einzelne ist deswegen kein Souverän. Wißt Ihr, daß das Wort Souveränität auch nicht ein einziges Mal in der großen Verfassung der Vereinigten Staaten vorkommt? Das Wort Souveränität wurde erst später eingeschmuggelt. Wer denn ist Souverän in Amerika, wenn es nicht die Staaten sind? — Niemand. Kein Mensch, keine Corporation, kein Congreß, kein Beamter, Niemand ist souverän in einem freien Lande. Die Vereinigten Staaten sind souverän jedem andern souveränen Staate gegenüber. Wir sind souverän, wenn wir mit England oder Frankreich verhandeln, oder wenn wir Krieg führen, aber im Lande selbst ist Niemand souverän.

Dies ist keine neue Theorie, oder überhaupt eine Theorie. Es ist eine Thatsache. Als vor zweihundert Jahren die berühmte Bill of Rights im englischen Parlamente debattirt wurde, erklärte der größte Jurist Englands, daß das englische Recht den Ausdruck souverän nicht kenne. Niemand sei souverän in England. Er that es, weil die vertriebene Dynastie fortwährend von der souveränen Königsgewalt sprach.

Aber ist es nöthig, mit Deutschen über diese Kleinstädterei zu reden? Staatssouveränität fürwahr! Haben wir nicht genug von dieser Waare im alten Vaterlande? Wenn ein Deutscher ein Ragout von Staaten wünscht, so braucht er wahrlich nicht nach Amerika zu kommen. Hat er nicht souveräne Staaten und Stäätlein genug zu Hause?

Was sind die höchsten Ideen, die den Deutschen in Deutschland beleben? Es ist Einheit Deutschlands und Bürgerfreiheit; und hier soll er eine Stimme für Leute geben, welche die Zerstückelung des Landes und Sklaverei befördern?

Deutsche Arbeiter! Warum habt Ihr Eure Heimath, Eure Familien, Eure Jugendfreunde verlassen, um nach dem fernen Amerika zu wandern? — Weil Ihr gehört hattet, daß die Vereinigten Staaten ein Land seien, in dem Ihr und Eure Kinder alle Rechte eines freien Bürgers besitzen würdet, wo Geschick und

Fleiß ihren Lohn findet, und wo Euern Kindern kein Privilegium eines andern im Wege steht, das höchste Ziel zu erreichen. Nun denn, wollt Ihr, daß die Union nicht ein Land der schmählichsten Unterdrückung für den Arbeiter werde, viel schlimmer als die bedrückten Länder Europa's, so schließt Euch nicht der unheilvollen Partei an, welche den Landeigenthümern des Südens die Herrschaft über die Union in die Hände geben will.

Wißt Ihr auch, was diese Sklavenhalter-Aristokratie will?—Ihr glaubt vielleicht, sie kämpfe nur für den Besitz ihrer Sklaven? Die Sklavenhalter des Südens kämpfen für das alte Privilegium der Landbesitzer, den Arbeiter, sei er weiß oder schwarz, zum Werkzeuge seiner Macht, seines Genusses und seiner Arroganz zu machen. Der Arbeiter soll die ganze Last des Staates tragen, aber keine Rechte in demselben haben. Er soll gehorchen, der Reiche allein soll herrschen. Hört, was die Führer der Secession sagen:

„Kein Staat kann bestehen, in dem die Arbeiterklasse politische Rechte hat. Die Besitzer des Bodens und des Capitals müssen allein regieren und die Herren der Arbeitskräfte sein;"

und — prägt es Euch ein:

„Das Capital hat ein inwohnendes Recht, Arbeit (das heißt den Arbeiter) als Eigenthum zu besitzen."

Wollt Ihr, daß eine solche Herrschaft über Euch errichtet werde, so stimmt für McClellan. Wollt Ihr gleichberechtigte Bürger eines freien Landes bleiben, so stimmt für Lincoln, der war, was Ihr seid, ein ehrlicher Arbeiter.

Ein anderer Theil der Convention zu Chicago bestand aus denen, die zu glauben scheinen, daß Alles abgemacht ist, wenn man nur aus vollem Halse schreit: „Constitution! Constitution!"

Wir kennen die Constitution so gut wie jene Herren, und achten sie höher wie uns scheint; denn es ist wohl zu bemerken, daß die sogenannte demokratische Partei in den letzten Jahren immer die Constitution bei Seite gesetzt hat, wenn es ihr Vortheil zu bringen schien. War die Nullification etwa constitutionell? War es constitutionell, wenn Douglas kurz vor der letzten Präsidentenwahl dem Sünden versprach, für ein Gesetz zu stimmen, nach welchem jede Discussion der Sklaverei mit schwerer Strafe belegt werden sollte? War es constitutionell, daß zwanzig Jahre lang und vielleicht mehr, die Briefsäcke im Süden aufgerissen wurden, um zu sehen, ob nicht Abolitionssachen darin seien? War es constitutionell, daß man das Recht der Petition verweigerte? Ist Secession constitutionell? Ist es der Constitution gemäß, daß die Chicago Leute behaupten, der Präsident habe das Recht und die Pflicht, einen Staat zu entlassen, wenn dieser es fordert? Ist es constitutionell, zu behaupten, daß Secession zu den „reservirten Rechten der Staaten" gehöre? Ist es constitutionell, zu proklamiren, daß unser ganzes Staatengebäude nur für eine Klasse von Menschen bestehe, — eine Classe, die durch die Hautfarbe bestimmt ist? Die alten Heiden hatten eine höhere Ansicht vom Staate und den Pflichten der Regierung. Ist es constitutionell, unsere ganze Regierung als eine bloße Conföderation oder League zu schildern — die armseligste aller Regierungen?

Wir halten die Constitution in hohen Ehren, aber sie ist kein Gott. Das Land, die Nation, die Freiheit, die wir lieben — die stehen alle weit über der Constitution, und was nie vergessen werden muß, die Rebellion des Südens hat einen Zustand hervorgebracht, für welchen die Constitution nie berechnet war und nicht berechnet werden konnte. Sollen wir denn die Hände in den Schooß legen, wie Präsident Buchanan es that und erklären: Ich kann nichts thun, das Land zu retten, denn die Constitution gibt nicht an, wie ich es thun soll? — So lautete der Bericht seines General-Anwalts der Ver. Staaten. Gott behüte!

Wir sind eine Nation, wir wollen Ein Volk sein und das Land muß erhalten werden; eben wie das Leben eines Kranken gerettet werden muß, ob das Receptbuch genau paßt oder nicht. Die Constitution hat nicht das Volk erschaffen, das Volk hat die Constitution gemacht. Aber ist denn die Constitution verletzt worden? Die genaue Beantwortung, meine Landsleute, würde eine lange Discussion erfordern, die hier nicht Statt finden kann. Gesetzt aber, daß einige Dinge vorgefallen seien, die nicht genau nach den bestehenden Gesetzen gerechtfertigt werden können, so nehmt hier den Ausspruch eines Mannes, der dreist genug ist, zu sagen, daß er die Geschichte der Vergangenheit und der Gegenwart wohl eben so gut kennt, wie irgend ein Chicago Herr. Ich sage es wohl überdacht, daß nie ein Bürgerkrieg stattgefunden hat, ja nie auch nur ein gewöhnlicher Krieg, in welchem die Regierung den tausendsten Theil von Freiheit erlaubt hat, den die Feinde der Regierung und Freunde des Feindes bei uns genießen, und den wir genießen würden, wenn unsere Opponenten die Zügel der Regierung in der Hand hätten.

Es ist die sogenannte demokratische Partei, die diesen Bürgerkrieg hervorgebracht hat, und nun sagt sie, sie allein könne ihn beendigen. Warum? Wohnt eine mysteriöse Gewalt oder Kenntniß in einem Manne, sobald er sich „Demokrat" in Amerika nennt? Sie wollen Frieden schließen, den Rebellen alles aufgeben; sie wollen die Rebellen „wärmer als je bei der Hand nehmen," und ihnen „alle mögliche erhöhte Garantieen geben" — kurz gesagt, sie gehören zu jenen Leuten im Norden, die unglücklicherweise immer die Lakaien des Südens gespielt haben — die glauben, daß es eine Ehre ist, die Befehle eines arroganten Sclavenbesitzers zu erfüllen. Ist das demokratisch?

Freunde, laßt uns für Lincoln stimmen. Manche von Euch glauben ohne Zweifel, daß er einiges gethan hat, was Ihr mißbilligt; daß er zuweilen nicht rasch genug gehandelt hat; aber die einfache Frage vor dem Volke ist, soll Lincoln oder McClellan unser Präsident sein? Ihr müßt zwischen diesen Beiden wählen. Kein anderer kann erwählt werden; und welcher Deutsche soll da zweifelhaft sein, oder welcher Deutsche könnte da gleichgültig sich des Stimmens enthalten. Jener ist national, dieser ist es nicht. Jener ist für Freiheit und für die Abschaffung des Schandfleckens dieses Jahrhunderts, — er ist gegen die Sklaverei, die dieses Unheil des Bürgerkriegs hervorgebracht hat; Dieser ist für Sklaverei; Jener ist offen und aufrichtig; ist es Dieser? Jener ist für alle Bürger dieses großen Landes, ob sie hier geboren sind oder nicht; Dieser ist großentheils durch Knownothings ernannt. Jener ist ein wahrer Demokrat, ein Mann des Volkes; Dieser ist keiner, wenigstens ist der Haufe, der ihn ernannt hat, alles eher, als demokratisch gesinnt. Jener hat in unerhörten Schwierigkeiten das Schiff wenigstens so gelenkt, daß wir dem Hafen nahe sind; Dieser, an der Spitze eines der größten Heere dieses Zeitalters, that nichts als zaudern, als er, wie der Feind jetzt zugesteht, dem Kriege hätte ein Ende machen können.

Es läßt sich verstehen, warum einige sehr reiche und einige sehr arme Deutsche, die Anstellungen wünschen, sich für General McClellan bemühen; aber von jedem, nichts der Art erwartet und aufrichtig für die Ehre, Einheit und Freiheit des Vaterlandes stimmen will, und der sich nicht durch den Namen Demokrat täuschen läßt, muß man erwarten, daß er für Lincoln stimmen werde, wenn er ruhig die große Lage der Dinge und die Charaktere der beiden Männer überlegt.

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Peace through Victory.

SERMON

BY

REV. J. P. THOMPSON.

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PEACE THROUGH VICTORY:

A THANKSGIVING SERMON,

PREACHED IN BROADWAY TABERNACLE CHURCH, NEW YORK, ON SABBATH, SEPTEMBER 11, 1864,

BY

JOSEPH P. THOMPSON, D. D.

PSALM 98, 1.—O, sing unto the Lord a new song, for He hath done marvelous things; His right hand and His holy arm hath gotten him the victory.

ISAIAH 32, 17.—And the work of righteousness shall be peace; and the effect of righteousness, quietness and assurance forever.

THE VICTORIES OF SHERMAN AND FARRAGUT.

We have assembled to-night, on the recommendation of the President of the United States, to render thanks unto Almighty God for the signal triumph of our arms upon the land and upon the sea. The annals of war contain few records so illustrious as the campaign of our Western army, terminating in the capture of Atlanta, and the achievements of our navy in the harbor of Mobile. For a hundred and fifty miles our army has fought its way into a hostile territory, against hills terraced with intrenchments and planted with cannon; through rocky defiles bristling with bayonets; over morasses tangled with thickets, and traversed by treacherous streams; around mountains fortified from base to summit, and across rivers whose bridges were destroyed, and whose fords were contested by cavalry and by batteries;—a march which for three months has been one continuous fight with a wily and desperate foe; assaults in front to dislodge him from his fastnesses, skirmishing upon the flank and in the rear, to keep open communications, and to guard against surprise; the victory of to-day preparing a new battle for the morrow—from Missionary Ridge to Ringgold, from Ringgold to Tunnel Hill and Buzzard's Roost, from

Rocky Face to Dalton, from Dalton to Resaca, from Resaca to Dallas and the Altoona Pass; then to Lost Mountain, the Kenesaw and Marietta; from Marietta to the Chattahooche, and thus on through all the weary and bloody, yet triumphant way, until Atlanta, the westward focus of the rebel Confederacy, with its network of railroads, its founderies and arsenals of war, its magazines of food and ammunition, lay captive at SHERMAN's feet.

A march so full of conflict and of peril, in which so many natural obstacles and military obstructions have been overcome by bravery, by strategy, and by perseverance, recalls the sixth campaign of CÆSAR—to subdue the revolt of the Belgian tribes, and to chastise the invading hordes of Germany. That memorable campaign was fought in a country which was "no other than one great ambuscade;" and CÆSAR's troops were exposed to be cut off in detail, whenever they were separated from the main body. The enemy, when repulsed, would retreat into the forests, and obstruct the march of the Romans by felling trees, and multiplying the obstacles which nature had created, so that it was almost impossible to bring them to a pitched battle. "They could not be reached in any vital part," and it was only by a kind of political flanking, dividing the rebel allies through the jealousies of the barbarian tribes toward each other, that CÆSAR was enabled to make head against a foe so favored by all the forces of nature.

Yet CÆSAR had before him an enemy who, though superior in numbers and in sheer brute force, was far inferior to his veteran legions in military discipline, and in the arms and materials of war—an enemy altogether ignorant of strategy, and not even knowing how to fortify a camp with ditch and rampart; while our General, likewise marching through "one great ambuscade," has had to contend with a foe who possessed all the resources of war known to himself, who had weapons and materials of the same manufacture and the same destructive power, who had been educated in the same military school, who could conduct his strategy with a familiar knowledge of the country, and with the advantage of defensive engineering at every step.

When the nature of the country and the resources of the foe are considered, and the difficulties in subsisting an invading army at an ever increasing distance from its base of supplies, and with desperate roving bands hovering upon its long, narrow line of communication, history will assign to the campaign from Chattanooga to Atlanta, a place among the great achievements of military science and genius. Its crowning victory puts to shame those who have murmured at the slowness of the advance; shame that they should know so little of the

physical geography of their own country; shame that they should have so little sympathy with the brave men who were conquering, not armies alone, but rivers and forests, marshes and mountains, and were winning for the arms of the Union a record as proud as Roman legions ever bore. Well does the head of the nation give the nation's thanks to the Western Army for such "glorious achievements." Well does he summon us to give thanks to God who hath done for us such "marvelous things."

Of the achievements of the fleet at Mobile, it were impossible to speak in terms of exaggeration. Sailing right into the concentrated fire of forts and of rams, battling with walls of stone upon this side, and upon that with walls of iron, butting wooden prows against iron plates, and pouring shot and shell into the huge floating battery that thought to run them down, crowding on into the deadly grapple through a channel sown with torpedoes and raked by artillery from ship and shore—crowding on and on, till the iron-hearted Admiral, lashed to the rigging, signals to the fleet that the day is won. Before the glory of that achievement the victories of the Nile and of Trafalgar, with Nelson's fame, must readjust their claims to naval pre-eminence; while all faction at home and all prejudice abroad should yield to Farragut "an unconditional surrender." Well does the President express the feeling of the nation in thanks to the gallant navy and the co-operating troops; well does he call upon us as a Christian people to make devout acknowledgment of "the signal success that Divine Providence has vouchsafed to the operations of the United States fleet and army in the harbor of Mobile."

WHY CHRISTIANS REJOICE IN VICTORY.

And yet the question comes up, "Why should we, a Christian people, rejoice in the bloody triumphs of war?" Why set apart these sacred hours, in the house of God, to give thanks for victories? These victories have been achieved at a fearful cost of suffering and life. Thousands have fallen in the long campaign whose final success we celebrate. Other thousands have been maimed or permanently enfeebled by disease, while in thousands of homes there is mourning and wo, because the young, the manly, the brave who went forth to the fight with stout hearts and high hopes, will return no more, or have been brought back to sleep in a soldier's grave. Why then, I ask again, do we, a Christian people, rejoice in these victories of war, and give thanks to God for success as a signal mercy?

It is not for mere military success that we rejoice and give

thanks. A triumph of material force alone could not awaken these congratulations that for a week past have brightened the whole face of society. A military or a naval combat, arranged to test the superiority of either party, we would turn from with horror, as from the gladiatorial show of the Roman arena, or the bull-fight of the Spanish theatre.

Our rejoicing is not simply the gratification of national pride in the victory of our arms. There might be victories that would bring us shame. The wanton invasion of a weak neighbor, the seizure of his ports and towns, the desolation of his territory, and the massacre of its inhabitants, or such wars of aggression and conquest as Britain has sometimes waged in India and China, might call for humiliation in proportion to their success. The unprovoked destruction of the port of Kagosima by a British man-of-war, elicited strong condemnation from the pulpit, the press and the Parliament of England. There was no glory in that victory.

Christianity has taught us that to warrant national rejoicing in time of war, not only must the national arms be successful, but the cause must be just. As a Christian people, we cannot delight in war for its own sake; we cannot exult in victory simply as the evidence of superior strength or the occasion of military glory. Yet, though we are a Christian people, and even *because* we are such, we may rejoice in military successes that vindicate a righteous cause.

THE BIBLE DOCTRINE CONCERNING WAR.

When a nation is challenged by the assaults of evil men to draw the sword in defence of justice, it may rightfully appeal to God to grant it victory upon the field, and may appropriately refer its victories to His favoring Providence.

(1.) The Scriptures teach us that the arbitrament of war is a method of referring to Almighty God the righteousness of a cause against the machinations of bloody and deceitful men. When David, the anointed of God, was set upon by conspirators, he prayed: "Arise, O Lord, in thine anger; lift up thyself because of the rage of mine enemies; and awake for me, Thou who hast ordained judgment." When David took up the challenge of Goliath, whose army threatened to annihilate Israel, he said to the Philistine: "Thou comest to me with a sword, and with a spear, and with a shield; but I come to thee in the name of the Lord of hosts, the God of the armies of Israel, whom thou hast defied; for the battle is the Lord's, and He will give you into our hands."—(1 Sam. xvii. 45, 47.)

The children of Israel were instructed by the Lord to make

their warfare a service of religion, and to go to war only upon rightful occasion. The priests were to sound the alarm with the sacred trumpets of silver. "If you go to war against the enemy that oppresseth you, then ye shall blow an alarm with the trumpets, and ye shall be remembered before the Lord, and ye shall be saved from your enemies."—(Numbers x. 9.)

When Solomon, at the dedication of the temple, invoked the favor of God in all national contingencies, he prayed: "If thy people go out to battle against their enemy, whithersoever thou shalt send them, and shall pray unto the Lord toward the city which thou hast chosen, and toward the house that I have built for thy name, then hear thou in Heaven their prayer and their supplication, and *maintain their cause*," or, as it reads in the margin, maintain their *right*, vindicate the rightness of their cause, by granting them victory.—(1 Kings viii. 44.)

It was "the sword of *the Lord* and of Gideon" that prevailed over the Midianites, when they were gathered against Israel like the grasshoppers for multitude. "The Lord led forth the armies of Israel." So strong is the testimony of the Scriptures on the point that a just war is a necessary and a lawful appeal to God to maintain the cause of right, that a curse is invoked upon those who stand aloof from such a conflict, and "come not to the help of the Lord against the mighty." (Judges v. 23.) When Amalek came up to destroy Israel, Moses took a conspicuous place on the top of a hill, and stretched forth over the people the rod of God—the symbol of Jehovah's presence, the invocation of his power. While that rod was uplifted, Israel prevailed; and when the victory was sure, Moses built an altar and called it Jehovah-nissi—"the Lord *my banner*."

(2.) The Scriptures abound in examples of thanksgiving to God for success in war. Deborah sang, "Praise ye the Lord for the avenging of Israel. So let all thine enemies perish, O Lord."—(Judges v.) The Psalmist sings: "Blessed be the Lord my strength, which teacheth my hands to war, and my fingers to fight."—Psalms cxliv. 1.)

"O, sing unto the Lord a new song; for he hath done marvelous things: His right hand and His holy arm hath gotten Him the victory." "The Lord is the strength of my life; of whom shall I be afraid. Though a host should encamp against me, my heart shall not fear; though war should rise against me, in this will I be confident. Now shall mine hand be lifted up above mine enemies round about me. Therefore will I offer in His tabernacle sacrifices of joy, I will sing, yea, I will sing praises unto the Lord."

A special victory is thus celebrated by name:

"Thou hast broken *Rahab* in pieces as one that is slain;

thou hast scattered thine enemies with thy strong arm. In thy name will we rejoice all the day. For the Lord is our defence, and the Holy One of Israel our King."

> "The right hand of the Lord is exalted,
> The right hand of the Lord doeth valiantly."

A national hymn of the Hebrews commemorated their victories upon all great religious occasions:

> "O give thanks unto the Lord,
> For his mercy endureth forever,
> Who overthrew Pharaoh and his host
> in the Red Sea;
> For his mercy endureth forever.
> To him who smote great kings,
> For his mercy endureth forever;
> And slew famous kings,
> For his mercy endureth forever.
> Sihon, King of the Amorites,
> For his mercy endureth forever;
> And Og, King of Bashan,
> For his mercy endureth forever."

The eighteenth Psalm is a religious war song.

"The Lord liveth, and blessed be my rock; and let the God of my salvation be exalted. It is God that avengeth me, and subdueth the people under me; therefore, will I give thanks unto thee, O Lord, among the heathen, and sing praises unto thy name." (See Psalms xxvii., lxxxix., cxxxvi., xviii.)

(3.) The Scriptures teach us also, that war and its issues are in the hands of God. Sometimes He sends war as a judgment upon a guilty land; sometimes He calls for the sword to scourge the oppressor and the wrong doer. In the famous battle of Barak against Sisera, when the Israelites struggled for their very life as a nation, the "stars in their courses fought against Sisera," and "the Lord discomfited him and all his chariots, and all his host with the edge of the sword before Barak." "Some trust in chariots, and some in horses, but we will remember the name of the Lord our God." Moses, David, Hezekiah, and other leaders of Israel were wont to inquire of the Lord, by prayer and through his prophets, whether they should go up against an enemy; since they regarded the issue of war as beyond all human foresight, and lodged in the secret purpose of the Almighty. And because the issue belongs to God, it is a sin not to recognize His hand in our victories, but to ascribe them to our own power, or to the skill and the strength of our leaders. "There is no King saved by the multitude of an host. A mighty man is not delivered by much strength." "Our soul waiteth for the Lord: he is our help and our shield."

THE JUSTNESS OF OUR CAUSE.

We are upon Biblical ground, therefore, when we invoke God in doing battle for a just cause, and we are following Biblical precedent when we ascribe to him the victory. And, surely, we can appeal to God with pure hearts for the justness of our cause as a nation. Whatever our sins as individuals and as a people—sins that deserve that our liberties should be threatened if not taken away—yet the CAUSE for which we fight is a *just* cause.

(1.) We draw the sword in defence of a Government that was ordained "to establish justice, to promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity." Concerning such a Government, thus defined in its own Constitution, there can be no doubt that it was ordained of God, not only as to the fact of its existence, but as to the spirit and intent of it as a Government. Its spirit is freedom, based upon the recognition of the rights of all its subjects; its object, "to establish justice," and "to promote the welfare of all." No Government, in its theory, could approach more nearly the apostolic ideal of government as "the minister of God for good, and a terror to evil-doers." And in view of the Scriptural requirement of respect to Government *as Government*, as a permanent ordinance of God, it has been fitly said, that "the great duty of submission to civil authority should be made a part of our *elementary morality*."

THE GUILT OF THE REBELLION.

That elementary morality, the first principles of right, the foundations of order, of justice, of society were assailed by a rebellion against such a Government—a rebellion wanton, reckless, long-plotted, seeking pretexts in vain, and at last creating pretexts for its own desperate use; a rebellion that aimed at the overthrow of this Government, and that would set up in its stead the sovereignty of separate States, each claiming the right to make the laboring man a slave, and to practice injustice and cruelty upon the mass of its working population, without interference of law and without protest from the moral sentiment of mankind. Rather would the rebels destroy all liberty than suffer the liberty of denying their right to make men slaves. Rather than that you and I should be free to say, that to seize the wife of another and defile her before his eyes and then lash and torture him for complaining, is a crime against man and God, the wretches who commit such crimes would blot out from the land all freedom of the pulpit and the press,

the freedom of speech, and of thought itself. The war which they are waging upon the Government of the United States is an unholy war, a monstrous conspiracy of crime.

WHAT WE ARE FIGHTING FOR.

Our war in defence of that Government is a just war—a war to maintain a just and good Government—to maintain the existence of a nation which has in its history, its spirit and its institutions, more elements of hope and of blessing for mankind than can be found in any other; a war to preserve a home of liberty for the laboring man, for the exile from other lands, for all coming times. Every victory in such a war tends to make more firm and sure, not this Union and Government alone, but *popular* government and constitutional liberty for after ages. We have drawn the sword for the hope of universal humanity, for a stable liberty, in opposition alike to anarchy and to despotism; and may God speed the right!

THE QUESTION OF SLAVERY.

(2.) In the progress of the war, the way has been opened for the deliverance of an oppressed race from the house of bondage, and this is laid upon us as a *necessity* for our own life. I care not to argue again the question of Slavery upon moral and Biblical grounds. It is a waste of time to seek to convince men who refuse to be convinced. And those who will not acknowledge the iniquity of Slavery, after the revelations which the war has made of its effects upon Southern society, of its vices and its cruelties, of its hostility to education, to free Government, to an independent press, and to an honest and humane Gospel, of its utter incompatibility with the progress of the laboring classes in the comforts and the arts of life, in knowledge and in social elevation, and with the family relation as ordained by God at the beginning—those who will not acknowledge that Slavery violates the simplest elements of justice, and all those rights of man which this nation has declared to be his inalienable endowment from the Creator, are beyond the reach of ethical and Biblical argument touching any moral or social wrong.

But aside from moral considerations, there is a military and political necessity for the destruction of Slavery. We undermine the rebellion by sapping Slavery. And our future peace as a nation demands the removal of that system of injustice and outrage which was the spring and motive of the rebellion, and which, in vindication of the divine justice, has drawn upon us the awful scourge of war. The path of victory opens the

way for the emancipation of an unhappy race, and for the deliverance of the nation from a stupendous crime. We rejoice and give thanks for victories that mark the sublime march of freedom and of justice in the land.

LONGINGS FOR PEACE.

3. And, thirdly, we rejoice and praise God for victory as the way to peace, through the establishment of just government, and the destruction of the cause and *animus* of the rebellion. Years of familiarity with war have not inured us to its horrors, nor made us oblivious of the blessings of peace. Even a just and necessary war, a war that tends to the enlargement of freedom and the advancement of civilization through the overthrow of oppression and wrong, a war that the Providence of God lays upon us in the interest of humanity, and that the word of God sanctions as right, a war that animates patriotism, develops the national life, that unifies and invigorates the Government, that purifies public sentiment and evokes the moral sense of the nation—even such a war carries with it so much of calamity that we shrink from the cost and the pain when within reach of the prize. The nation yearns for peace. Wounded hearts and sorrowing households, ready to bleed and mourn afresh for the bereavements of others, sigh and pray for the return of peace. Parents, wives, children, who through anxious months and years have watched the lists of the sick, the wounded, the dead, and who still thank God that *their* soldier lives, pray and long the more for the peace that shall bring him home again. And the soldier in the trenches, in the hospital, in the prison, turns homeward many a wistful look, with the prayer of peace upon his lips. Peace, *peace*, PEACE, is the supplication of this whole people to Almighty God, even amid the rejoicings of victory. It is the daily prayer of him who from the Executive mansion at Washington calls for yet another and another hundred thousand men, no less than of the poor widow who hopes, even against hope, that her one soldier-boy yet lives.

How *base* it is then to pervert this holy aspiration for peace, into a partisan cry, that means not peace but *place;* not peace for the nation but place for a candidate! How *cruel* to deceive the ignorant and unreflecting, with promises of peace that could be kept only by parting with the honor, the sovereignty, the life of the nation, and after that could not be kept at all! How *mean*, how dastardly, how utterly faithless towards those who for years have stood the brunt of war, and are now in the final grapple with the foe, to unfurl the white flag in order to march over their trenches—trampling

under foot the sufferings and the victories of our defenders—to march over these into the camp of the enemy, there to strike hands with the authors of all this destruction and misery, and to beg of them a dispensation of pardon and peace! There is an ignominy worse than war; there is a shame harder to be endured than suffering; there is a pusillanimity and a paltering in presence of treason that only mocks the sacred name of peace.

NO PEACE WITHOUT JUSTICE.

Peace? We long for peace; but let us be admonished by that saying of Burke, that "the deliberations of *calamity* are rarely wise." Let us not take counsel of our fears; let us not take counsel of our losses; let us not take counsel of our pockets; let us not take counsel of our enemies, nor of those who, since the war began, have been covertly upon their side, but too cowardly to take the risk of avowing it. No; if we would have peace let us take counsel of judgment, of experience, of principle, of the Word of God; and "the work of righteousness shall be peace, and the effect of righteousness, quietness and assurance forever." Unrighteousness hath disturbed our peace. Injustice and wrong, the robbery of the poor, the oppression of the needy—legalized by States, and connived at for years by the dominant party in politics—had filled the cup of our iniquity, so that the Almighty Judge of nations must come forth in justice and in judgment. And we can never settle the controversy that God hath with this nation, until we are willing to settle it upon the basis of justice to our fellow-men. We may try peace-mongering and compromising, and submitting ourselves again to the insolent domination of the slave power;—and if we attempt to barter away the liberties of others as the price of peace, we shall have to pay for it over and over again in our own debasement and deprivation of liberty—but there can be no peace and union, thus cemented, that will last. "For thus saith the Lord: Judgment will I lay to the line and righteousness to the plummet; and the hail shall sweep away the refuge of lies, and the waters shall overflow the hiding-place. And your covenant with death shall be annulled, and your agreement with hell shall not stand."

This war was conceived in the most foul injustice. It was a violation of solemn faith; it was perjury, and fraud, and robbery; it was a conspiracy against liberty, against civilization, against mankind; and we can never settle the controversy between the nation and the rebels save by the destruction of the conspiracy, and by a defeat of the criminals, so signal and complete that their crime shall never again be attempted. The question between the nation and the insurgents

will never be settled until it is settled *right;* for the issue is fundamental in politics and in ethics, and a fundamental principle must be laid down squarely by line and plummet, or woe be to that which is built upon it.

THE REAL QUESTION.

Viewed on its political side, the question is not merely one of the national domain, nor of the national Union and Constitution as a device in government. These are but superficial indications of the real question. *That* lies whole ages deeper. It is the question whether a free and a Christian people shall govern themselves peaceably by their own laws, or be bullied out of their laws and their liberties by the bayonet. We are a *nation.* Shall we become a mob? We have a form of Government defined by law. Shall we surrender it to faction and to anarchy? We have a legal, peaceable, constitutional way of electing rulers, in which every citizen has his voice. Shall we yield the sanctity of the ballot-box to a band of conspirators in arms, who seek by violence that which they have failed to get by votes? The great issue, I repeat, is whether in this Nineteenth century, after all the struggles of the past, a free people can govern themselves peaceably by their own just and equal laws, or whether we must go back to the bloody factions and military feuds of the last days of the Roman Republic. And that issue can be met only by blotting out the conspiracy—its whole political and military organization—from the face of the country and from the page of history. Either that must go down, or you and I and all of us go down—"and bloody treason triumph over us." It is a question of foundations, and must be settled right.

Upon its moral side, it is a question of fundamental ethics affecting the rights of man, made in God's image. It was for Slavery that they conspired; for Slavery they rebelled; for Slavery they organized their government; and in every declaration they make the rights of Slavery the condition of reunion and peace. But conscience and humanity, Christianity and civilization, God and eternal justice are at war with Slavery, and the controversy now opened before God and the world, can never be settled till it is settled right. Victory compelling "the abandonment of Slavery" can alone give peace.

THE DELUSION OF AN ARMISTICE.

I know that men deceive themselves with words; and, what is worse, some try to deceive others with words. But we must watch against that treachery, by instructing the ignorant

and supporting the weak. In the midst of our thanksgiving for victory, the cry is raised for "an immediate cessation of hostilities," with the confession that a war which has saved to the nation the States of Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri, and has recovered one-half of Virginia, the whole of Tennessee, —a territory equal to the empire of France—a war which has opened the Mississippi from St. Louis to the Gulf, which has secured the keys of Louisiana and of Georgia, has sealed up Mobile, Charleston and Savannah, and commands the coast from Fortress Monroe to Galveston, a war which has never turned backward from a territory that it had fairly conquered to hold, and that has now shut up the enemy in his own capital, and is worming its way into his vitals—we are called upon, I say, to proclaim an armistice, with the confession that such a war has been a failure, and are told that this will bring us Peace! Peace! *Peace!* With rebels still in arms, asserting independence and breathing defiance! Peace? *Peace?* With rebel ports opened for the exchange of cotton and tobacco for ships and munitions of war, and the rebel Government reinforced to ride over our Constitution and our commerce with an Anglo-French alliance at its back! Peace, by strengthening an almost exhausted foe, and by conceding to him that national *status* as a treaty-making power, which he has begged in vain of every Court in Europe! Nay, nay, my friends; *that* way is war; fierce, long, dreary, doubful, terrible war; in which submission or extermination were the issue. Would you vote, to-morrow, to recall the Union fleets and armies, to abandon your hard-won territory, to open the rebel ports to European supplies and the rebel capital to European recognition, and then fold your arms and trust for peace to the magnanimity of men who stole your arsenals, robbed your treasury, spat upon the Constitution they had sworn to uphold, and levied war against their slumbering, confiding, forbearing fellow-cttizens? Peace! That way lies WAR, bloody, protracted, doubtful, dreadful,—or submission to the terrorism that rules the unhappy South.

And if you could vote *yourself* under that, what right have you to remand to it the loyal men of Tennessee, of Missouri, of Louisiana, of Georgia, who have suffered the loss of all things for their country? What right have you to remand to this fate the thousands of freedmen who have fought your battles? —to remand them to the tender mercies of Fort Pillow and the fate of Union prisoners in Georgia pens?

NO PEACE FROM RECOGNITION.

Shall we seek peace by a recognition of the rebels as an independent power? And shall we gain peace, think you, by

creating upon our borders a hostile and defiant race—a restless and reckless rival? Could there be a lasting peace between a Republic of freemen and an aristocracy of slaveholders who had robbed us of half our territory, and then bullied us into acquiescence? Would it tend to peace to set up two such antagonistic nations upon a once common soil, with a long chain of forts between them, and a standing army on either side?

Besides, if we yield to one rebellion against the people's choice at the polls, how long before we shall have another? How long before the secret traitors at the West would plot another insurrection, with the Southern Confederacy as an ally? Recognition means sectional war for generations.

By recognizing the South we should sink to a third-rate Power. We should stand before the nations degraded as a people who had relinquished one half of our territory to one third of our population, because we could not defend our own flag from treason. And what respect could remain for a flag that we would so ignominiously abandon?

But let us conquer this rebellion, and we rise to a position of power that will make us masters of peace at home and abroad. Then will the nation hold the place given to its continent in MERCATOR's projection of the globe—the central figure of the civilized world; the seas kissing its feet upon either side; the isles and continents bowing their obeisance from afar. That is the recognition that we shall win for the Union itself by a decisive victory.

COMPROMISE NOT PEACE.

But may not peace come through compromise? Compromise with what? With an armed insurrection against law, and freedom, and popular liberty? Such compromise, by its fatal precedent, would transform our elections into bloody feuds. Compromise with Slavery? And is any weak enough to dream that conscience, and speech, and humanity and religion can be silenced with respect to that stupendous wrong? Or that the abettors of Slavery would receive in silence the rebukes of humanity and religion? Compromise is but chronic war. Justice, and this alone, will give us peace.

THE SOLEMN ORDEAL.

The Providence of God is once more bringing this nation to the test of its virtue. Three years ago God brought us to the test of physical courage, sacrifice, endurance—demanding whether for the sake of the free and beneficent Government

he had given us, for the sake of the fathers who had toiled and fought for that, for the sake of the nations who were slowly, bravely, struggling toward its light, for the sake of the ages whose character we are shaping and whose institutions we have in charge, we would stand up and quit ourselves like men, and save freedom for this continent and for mankind. And blessed be God we were equal to that test. Blessed be God for the heroism of our young men, the valor of our yeomanry, the lavish offerings of our merchants, the passionate patriotism of woman. Blessed be God for all the dead who gave themselves for the redemption of the nation; for the sons whose blood has gone to feed afresh the springs of liberty opened by our revolutionary sires.

> For all thy saints, O God,
> Accept our thankful cry;
> Who counted this their great reward,
> That they for *us* might die.

And now once more God is calling us to a higher, sterner test; the test of moral courage, the test of intelligent and responsible patriotism, the test of religious principle. I tremble at such a strain upon poor human nature. This crisis, more than any known to history, will test the progress and the stamina of the race—the reality and the worth of a Christian civilization. We are presently to decide whether all this cost, and toil, and suffering shall have been in vain, or whether we shall gather its ripening fruit by enduring to the end. We are presently to decide whether we shall be a nation of freemen, or a land of jealous, frenzied, fighting hordes. We must determine whether principles and patriotism or *prices current* shall decide our destiny. Whether we will sell our birthright for a mess of pottage and the cry of cheap bread, or defend it against the robber bands that would wrest it from us and our children. Every man of you will carry the honor, the safety, the unity, the peace, the liberty of this nation—or its infamy and disruption, the destruction of Union and of freedom, wrapped in the little paper that he will drop into the ballot box within fifty days. God is putting you to the test; the world awaits the issue.

An Italian patriot, who in former days has suffered all things for his country, writes me by a late mail: "I follow with the deepest interest all the events of the great struggle, and my admiration increases in proportion to the magnitude of character which the people are progressively developing. You are fighting the battles of freedom for old Europe. We are threatened with a reaction of the worst character, which does not dare to show itself, but keeps in readiness for the day when they hope to see the death of liberty among you. But

I feel the greatest confidence in the final triumph of liberty and justice." And shall we, my countrymen, destroy the hope of liberty in the Old World, by *voting liberty out of the New!*

THE WORDS OF ROBERT HALL.

Seeking almost in vain words worthy of so great a crisis, I recall the magnificent appeal of ROBERT HALL to the soldiery of England, when marshalled to meet the threatened invasion of the First Napoleon: "Go forth with alacrity to the battle of the civilized world, where God himself musters the hosts to war. The faithful of every name will employ that prayer which has power with God; the feeble hands which are unequal to any other weapon, will grasp the sword of the Spirit. While you have everything to fear from the success of the enemy, you have every means of preventing that success, so that it is next to impossible for victory not to crown your exertions. The extent of your resources, under God, is equal to the justice of your cause.

"As far as the interests of freedom are concerned, the most important by far, of sublunary interests, you, my countrymen, stand in the capacity of the Federal representatives of the human race, for with you it is to determine (under God) in what condition the latest posterity shall be born; their fortunes are intrusted to your care, and on your conduct at this moment depends the color and complexion of their destiny. If liberty, after being extinguished on the continent of Europe, is suffered to expire here, whence is it ever to emerge in the midst of that thick night that will invest it? It remains with you, then, to decide whether that freedom, at whose voice the kingdoms of Europe awoke from the sleep of ages, to run a career of virtuous emulation in everything great and good; the freedom which dispelled the mists of superstition, and invited nations to behold their God; whose magic touch kindled the rays of genius, the enthusiasm of poetry, and the flame of eloquence; the freedom which poured into our laps opulence and arts, and embellished life with innumerable institutions and improvements, till it became a theatre of wonders; it is for you to decide whether this freedom shall yet survive, or be covered with a funereal pall, and wrapt in eternal gloom."

Then, rising to a yet loftier eloquence, he adds: "I cannot but imagine the virtuous heroes, legislators and patriots of every age and country are bending from their elevated seats to witness this great contest, as if they were incapable, till it be brought to a favorable issue, of enjoying their eternal repose." Enjoy that repose, illustrious immortals! Your mantle fell when you ascended; and thousands, inflamed with your spirit

and impatient to tread in your steps, are ready to swear by Him that sitteth upon the throne and liveth for ever and ever, they will protect freedom in her last asylum, and never desert that cause which you sustained by your labors and cemented by your blood.

"And Thou, sole Ruler among the children of men, to whom the shields of the earth belong, gird on Thy sword, Thou Most Mighty; go forth with our hosts in the day of battle! Impart, in addition to their hereditary valor, that confidence of success which springs from Thy presence! Pour into their hearts the spirit of departed heroes! Inspire them with Thine own; and, while led by Thine hand, and fighting under Thy banners, open Thou their eyes to behold in every valley and in every plain what the prophet beheld by the same illumination—chariots of fire and horses of fire!"

Already do those chariots and horses appear for our defence. Oh, let us prove ourselves worthy of the hour! Worthy of our ancestors; worthy of the Government they provided for us; worthy the name of Christians; worthy a place in history; worthy a future of unending fame! The path of victory is the path of peace, "and righteousness shall give us assurance forever." Stand by the Government to the end: give it confidence; give it votes; give it prayer; give it money; give it men, and soon this tottering rebellion shall go down like the *Alabama* under the guns of the *Kearsarge*, and there shall not be seen of it a wreck, a plank, a floating spar, nor remain a ripple on the surface to mark the spot where it was engulphed forever.

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LOYAL PUBLICATION SOCIETY,
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No. 61.

SHERMAN VS. HOOD—"A LOW TART, INCLINED TO BE VERY SWEET"—SOMETHING FOR DOUGLAS DEMOCRATS TO REMEMBER—AN APPEAL TO HISTORY—WHERE GOVERNOR SEYMOUR GOT HIS "LESSONS"—ON THE CHICAGO SURRENDER.

SHERMAN VS. HOOD.

THE following is the reply of General Sherman to General Hood's charge of "studied and ungenerous cruelty," and which was received in Washington September 21:

"HEADQUARTERS MILITARY DIVISION OF THE MISSISSIPPI AND IN THE FIELD,
ATLANTA, GA., *September* 10, 1864.

"*General J. B. Hood, Commanding Army of the Tennessee, Confederate Army:*

"GENERAL—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of this date at the hands of Messrs. Ball and Crew, consenting to the arrangements I had proposed to facilitate the removal south of the people of Atlanta who prefer to go in that direction. I enclose you a copy of my orders, which will, I am satisfied, accomplish my purpose perfectly. You style the measures proposed 'unprecedented,' and appeal to the dark history of war for a parallel as an act of 'studied and ungenerous cruelty.' It is not unprecedented, for General Johnston himself very wisely and properly removed the families all the way from Dalton down, and I see no reason why Atlanta should be excepted. Nor is it necessary to appeal to the dark history of war when recent and modern examples are so handy. You, yourself, burned dwelling-houses along your parapet, and I have seen to-day fifty houses that you have rendered uninhabitable because they stood in the way of your forts and men. You defended Atlanta on a line so close to the town that every cannon-shot and many musket shots from our line of investments, that overshot their mark, went into the habitations of women and children. General Hardee did the same at Jonesboro', and General Johnston did the same last summer at Jackson, Miss. I have not accused you of heartless cruelty, but merely instance these cases of very recent occurrence, and could go on and enumerate hundreds of others, and challenge any fair man to judge which of us has the heart of pity for the families of a 'brave people.' I say it is a kindness to these families of Atlanta to remove them now at once from scenes that women and children should not be exposed to, and the brave people should scorn to commit their wives and children to the rude barbarians who thus, as you say, violate the laws of war, as illustrated in the pages of its dark history. In the name of common sense, I ask you not to appeal to a just God in such a sacrilegious manner—you, who, in the midst of peace and prosperity, have plunged a nation into civil war, 'dark and cruel war,' who dared and badgered us to battle, insulted our flag, seized our arsenals and forts that were left in the honorable custody of a peaceful ordnance sergeant, seized and made prisoners of war the very garrisons sent to protect your people against negroes and Indians, long before any overt act was committed by the (to you) hateful Lincoln Government, tried to force Kentucky and Missouri into the rebellion in spite of themselves, falsified the vote of Louisiana, turned loose your privateers to plunder unarmed ships, expelled Union families by the thousand, burned their houses, and declared by act of your Con-

gress the confiscation of all debts due Northern men for goods had and received. Talk thus to the marines but not to me, who have seen these things, and who will this day make as much sacrifice for the peace and honor of the South, as the best born Southerner among you. If we must be enemies, let us be men, and fight it out as we propose to-day, and not deal in such hypocritical appeals to God and humanity. God will judge us in due time, and he will pronounce whether it be more humane to fight with a town full of women and the families o a 'brave people' at our back, or to remove them in time to places of safety among their own friends and people.

"I am, very respectfully,

"Your obedient servant,

"W. T. SHERMAN."

"A LOW TART, INCLINED TO BE VERY SWEET."

GENERAL SCHENCK describes the Chicago platform in a speech at Hamilton, Ohio, on Saturday as follows:

"The truth is, that neither you nor I, nor the democrats themselves, can tell whether they have a peace platform or a war platform; a peace ticket or a war ticket. Perhaps it may be explained in this way: that it is either one or the other, or both, or neither; but, upon the whole, it is both peace and war, that is, peace with the rebels and war against their own government. It seems to have been thought necessary that Pendleton should be put on to balance McClellan, and McClellan to balance Pendleton. I know nothing at all that is like it, unless it may be the character of the fruit that is sold by an old lady who sits at the door of the Court House in Cincinnati. She is a shrewd old woman. A young sprig of a lawyer stepped up one day and said to her: 'You seem to have some fine apples. Are they sweet or sour?' The old lady tried to take the measure of her customer, and find out whether his taste was for sour or sweet apples. 'Why, sir,' said she, 'they are rather acid; a sort of low tart, inclined to be very sweet.' Thus when we come to their leader after this, and inquire whether that platform is for peace or war, he will be compelled to say it is rather acid—a sort of low tart, inclined to be very sweet. It is neither peace nor war, and yet both—such a mixture as is intended to make it palatable as possible to democratic tastes all round, without turning the stomachs of any of them, [Applause.] And if you believe that a compound of that kind is possible, why, then, in God's name, shut your eyes and swallow it. But if you don't, I cannot understand how you and your leader, or any one, is going to be satisfied with the position in which you are placed."

SOMETHING FOR DOUGLAS DEMOCRATS TO REMEMBER.

BEFORE the rebellion broke out Senator Douglas, referring to the Southern States, said:

"If they remain in the Union, I will go as far as the Constitution will warrant me in securing their rights; but if they secede, I am in favor of allowing them *just as many slaves and just as much slave territory* as they can hold at the point of the bayonet."

AN APPEAL TO HISTORY.

HON. JAMES T. BRADY, a distinguished democratic lawyer and politician of New York, in a late speech says:

"Much has been said about usurpations of power; but where in history will you find a war against rebellion conducted with such moderation?"

WHERE GOVERNOR SEYMOUR GOT HIS "LESSONS."

A Western journal says :

"In his Milwaukie speech Governor Seymour boasted of the lessons he had learned of our 'forefathers.' The following will show what he must have studied :"

[From Horace Seymour's speeches at Milwaukie and Chicago.]

Three years have rolled away. The young men that responded to that call—where are they? More than five hundred thousand of our brave soldiers now sleep in their untimely graves. Look at the debt! An immense debt! Over two millions of men have been called for since that time to bear arms in the struggle. Five hundred thousand more are to-day being called for. The nation is crushed down with taxation, and the war not ended.

Our rights have been infringed upon. The freedom of speech and of the press has been denied us. The sacredness of our homes has been impaired. * * * * * * The guarantied right of the people to bear arms has been suspended up to the very borders of Canada. * * * * * * * * * *

Four years ago a convention met in this city, when our country was peaceful, prosperous, and happy. * * * *

Had wise statesmanship secured the fruits of the victories, to-day there would have been peace in our land.

I will fight to the death to preserve to you these rights that have been denied to us.

The Democratic party will put down despotism, because it hates the ignoble tyranny which now degrades the American people. * * * * * * *

The results of the coming election involve the liberties of the country. * *

Greater questions, graver questions—questions which come more directly home to the hearts and interests of men—have never been submitted to the people for their arbitration.

Mothers and sisters are in trouble by the family hearth, and when there is trouble there, there is no happiness in life. * *

Now is there no mode by which the people can be protected from these frightful sacrifices and the Union saved?

I implore you, therefore, to turn again to the wisdom of your forefathers. Turn again toward the lights of experience. * *

American servitude is put in bold contrast with British liberty. * * *

We propose to elect to the Presidency a patriot, a soldier, and a Christian—G. B. McClellan.

[From Benedict Arnold's proclamation to the citizens and soldiers of the United States, issued October 2, 1780.]

You are promised liberty by the leaders of your affairs, but is there an individual in the enjoyment of it save your oppressors? Who among you dare to speak or write what he thinks against the tyranny which has robbed you of your property, imprisons your sons, drags you to the field of battle, and is daily deluging your country with blood?

Our country once was happy, and had the proffered peace been embraced, the last two years of misery would have been spent in peace and plenty, and in repairing the desolation of the quarrel, that would have set the interests of Great Britain and America in a true light and cemented their friendship.

I wish to lead a chosen band of Americans to the attainment of peace, liberty, and safety—the first objects in taking the field.

What is America but a land of widows, orphans, and beggars?

But what need of argument to such as feel infinitely more misery than tongue can express?

I give my promise of most affectionate welcome to all who are disposed to join me in measures necessary to close the scene of our affliction, which must be increased until we are content with the liberality of the parent country, which still offers us protection and perpetual exemption from all taxes but such as we think fit to impose upon ourselves. Benedict Arnold.

ON THE CHICAGO SURRENDER.

What! hoist the white flag when our triumph is nigh?
What! crouch before Treason? make Freedom a lie?
What! spike all our guns when the foe is at bay
And the rags of his black banner dropping away?
Tear down the strong name that our nation has won,
And strike her brave bird from his home in the sun?

He's a coward who shrinks from the lift of the sword;
He's a traitor who mocks at the sacrifice poured;
Nameless and homeless the doom that should blast
The knave who stands idly till peril is past;
But he who submits when the thunders have burst
And victory dawns, is of cowards the worst!

Is the old spirit dead? Are we broken and weak,
That cravens so shamelessly lift the white cheek
To court the swift insult, nor blush at the blow,
The tools of the Treason and friends of the foe!
See! Anarchy smiles at the peace which they ask,
And the eyes of Disunion flash out through the mask.

Give thanks, ye brave boys, who by vale and by crag
Bear onward, unfaltering, our noble old flag!
Strong arms of the Union, heroes living and dead,
For the blood of your valor is uselessly shed!
No soldier's green laurel is promised you here,
But the white rag of "*sympathy*" softly shall cheer!

And you, ye war martyrs! who preach from your graves
How captives are nursed by the masters of slaves,
Or, living, still linger in shadows of death,—
Puff out the starved muscle, recall the faint breath,
And shout, till those cowards rejoice at the cry:
"By the hands of the Union we fought for, we die!"

By the God of our Fathers! this shame we must share,
But it grows too debasing for freemen to bear,
And Washington, Jackson, will turn in their graves
When the Union shall rest on two races of slaves,
Or, spurning the spirit which bound it of yore,
And sundered, exist as a nation no more!

BAYARD TAYLOR.

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The War for the Union.

BY WILLIAM SWINTON,

WASHINGTON EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES.

The First, Second, Third and Fourth Years of the War.

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1864.

THE WAR FOR THE UNION.

THE COURSE AND CONDUCT OF THE WAR.

A wise maxim of the greatest General of antiquity prescribes that we should esteem nothing done till all is done; but it is probable that its intent is rather to point out the danger of that indolent dwelling on the deeds of the past, which shuts out of view the duties and demands of the present, than to discourage (especially when a great task is laid upon a nation) such a retrospect of what has already been accomplished as will inspire courage for carrying it through to the end.

The country has lately passed through that trying experience which history shows is sure to come upon a people plunged into a great war—a period when, the first popular enthusiasm having died out, the burdens and the bereavements of the war are brought keenly home to all, and a reaction of general despondency results. In this mood of the public mind men forget that, while they have suffered, the *enemy* also has suffered in an equal or even greater degree, and that, too, perhaps, without the same ability to sustain his losses; they forget, while dwelling on their own defeats, that every victory they have won has been an equally sore defeat to the enemy. When this time comes, then comes the test of the mettle of a people. If weak, they sink under it; but the great-minded rise up stronger for the ordeal.

The feeling of depression which but lately prevailed regarding the seemingly indefinite prolongation of the war, and which is still felt by some, is a singular repetition of an experience which has frequently been felt by other nations conducting a long war. It has often happened that men, on the very eve of the conclusion of a war, have looked upon it as promising the longest duration; and it will be in the memory of many that just previous to the termination of the Crimean war, even as sagacious an observer as Mr. Cobden had just concluded proving in a pamphlet that it was certain to be prolonged for many years. It thus frequently happens that war, which in its

practical execution deals so largely in deception, is itself the greatest of deceptions. When, after years, perhaps, of strife, great armies still confront each other, it is hard to penetrate its outlet or issue ; but some sudden turn of affairs precipitates the catastrophe long preparing, and in the flames of a Waterloo, a Cannæ, or a Pultowa, fabrics and systems seemingly firm-rooted and imperishable go out in ashes and nothingness.

At the outbreak of the rebellion, the public mind became possessed with illusive anticipations that the war would be a short one—that our victorious columns, sweeping the rebels before them in their triumphant path, would, in a few months at most, end by precipitating them into the Gulf of Mexico. This was a great delusion no doubt; but it was not more so than that other sentiment which has arisen as the natural reaction after the rude shock this hope received—the error as to the indefinite prolongation of the war. The one fallacy is as pernicious as the other; for if the first was a great bar to the efficient execution of the duty of putting down the rebellion (and there is no doubt that our illusions as to the ease and speediness with which the work would be accomplished was a serious hindrance to the very preparations needed to *make* it short,) the other is an error equally fatal; *for the paralysis of effort produced by the sentiment of the probable longness of the war is sure to make it much longer than it would otherwise be.*

There is no higher duty, therefore, than for patriotic men to fortify themselves and others by the consideration of all the elements of hope and confidence which a retrospect of past progress and a survey of the present situation inspire. Such a survey justifies the conclusion that the end of the war—the crushing of the armed forces of the rebellion—is not only not far off, but that it is near at hand.

It will show the outlines of a war continental in its proportions, waged on a theatre equal to the size of all Europe.

It will show armies the greatest the world ever saw, raised and sustained by the spontaneous patriotism of a free people.

It will show how, by the progress of our arms, the area of the rebellion has, step by step, been shorn of three-fourths of its proportions.

It will show the insurgent territory cut off from communica-

tion with the outside world by a blockade which dwarfs any on record, and at the same time the most perfect of any on record.

It will show how every stronghold on the coast has either been captured, or is now closely invested.

It will show the interior of this territory cut up by our great lines of conquest, bisected laterally and longitudinally, and the dominion of the Confederacy left a kingdom of shreds and patches.

It will show a succession of battles of colossal magnitude, in three-fourths of which the Union arms have triumphed, and all of which, whether victories or reverses, in a purely military point of view, have redounded to the advance of the great cause.

It will show the manhood of a population defending free institutions, vindicating itself against years of the gibes and insolence born of the plantation.

It will show the fighting population of the insurgent States *reduced, by battle, by disease, and by captures, from three-fourths, of a million to between a hundred and a hundred and fifty thousand men.*

It will show this force—the forlorn hope of the rebellion—separated by an interval of a thousand miles, divided into two armies, the one of which, driven from Chattanooga to Atlanta, has at length been compelled to give up that point, the material capital of the Confederacy, while the other is shut up in Richmond, the political capital of the Confederacy.

It will show that the annihilation of both these armies is a mathematical certainty, if we put forth the strength at our command.

It will reveal, finally, as the result of all this, the radiant figure of PEACE hovering not afar off, and plainly visible through the cloud of war that still overspreads the land.

If this be the magnificent result which we have to show for the three years of war for the Union, it will give the people of the loyal States a criterion of action in the great issue now before the country—an issue that will determine whether by the maintenance of the Administration under which the war has been conducted to these results, *and which can alone carry it through*, we are willing to crown and justify all that has been

done by a Peace that will vindicate and establish forever the unity and integrity of the nation; or whether we shall surrender our destinies into the hands of a party committed to a peace which makes the war for the Union a mockery—a party whose creed throws to the winds all that has been achieved by the toil and blood, the faith and the self-sacrifice of this nation, in the most terrible war in the world's history, whose creed casts disgrace on every soldier under the sod, makes the heroic bones that on a hundred battle fields render the continent sacred, the monuments of folly, which makes every sailor that has gone down at his guns for the love of the old flag a fool, and every man who wears the insignia of a glorious wound a poor simpleton; a creed, finally, the delusive peace resulting from which can only be the beginning of unending war.

II.

THE TASK LAID UPON THE ADMINISTRATION BY THE WAR.

When overt war begun by the firing on Fort Sumter, in April, 1861, and brought to a head in the battle of Bull Run in the July following, had fairly inaugurated the rebellion against the constituted authorities of the United States, the Administration found itself committed to a struggle continental in its proportions. The task imposed upon it, as described in President LINCOLN's inaugural, was to "*repossess the forts, places and property which had been seized from the Union.*" But to do this it was needed that the embodied power of the Government should sweep armed resistance from the whole territory of the insurgent States. It is the nature of war, like that of a conflagration, to involve and swallow up everything within its reach. The Southern heart, "fired" by a few powerful leaders, plunged into the war with a recklessness akin to madness, and from the Ohio to the Gulf, from the Potomac to the Mexican border, was all a-glow with red-hot rebellion. The Government accepted the task put upon it, for the people willed it, and it was the people's war. Conscious of its strength, arousing itself as a giant from slumber, the nation accepted the gage of war for the Union.

There are, however, certain considerations which, little thought of at the time, entered so deeply into the military problem then presented, have so influenced the course of war and count for so much in a proper estimate of what has been accomplished, as to demand immediate statement here. They all go to show that the task of quelling this rebellion was much more difficult than was conceived at the time, or than is commonly apprehended even now.

It is a common fallacy, in estimating the amount of force the Government could bring to bear on the revolted States, to state it merely in the ratio of the population of the two sections—twenty millions in the loyal States against eight in the revolting States. But it is proper to consider that the rebels had within themselves a slave population of over four millions, and that this population was able to carry on all their simple industries, while it required more than double that number to carry on the much more complicated industries of northern civilization. It is thus apparent that the whole fighting white population of the South was available for service in the field, while nearly half of our own population was necessarily neutralized in the way just mentioned. It is not wonderful, therefore, that the rebel leaders were able to put into the field, at the very start, armies nearly equal to our own, though our own levies were unparalleled in history.

To this must be added the astonishing ascendancy which a small minority of leading men had acquired over the Southern population, and by which, when they had once usurped power, they were able to wield an absolutely despotic control over all the resources of men and material in the South. These men, in fact, had long been preparing for this war, as many of them publicly confessed after the inauguration of the rebellion. "We have," said Mr. Barnwell Rhett, in a speech in the convention which took South Carolina out of the Union, "we have been engaged in this war for more than thirty years. *It is no consequence of Lincoln's election, or the failure to execute the fugitive slave law, but we have been engaged in this war for more than thirty years.*" It is a thread-bare story how Buchanan's infamous secretary had, for the last twelve months of that administration, bent all his energies to furnish forth the

rebels with all they needed for their premeditated treason. It is a matter of official record that, by the robbery of forts and arsenals, and by purchase from abroad, FLOYD had distributed, at various convenient points throughout the South, 707,000 stands of arms and 200,000 revolvers. Even before Mr. LINCOLN'S inauguration there were 30,000 men under arms in the South; and two days after that inauguration, the Confederate Congress passed a bill to raise an army of 100,000 men. And this, bear in mind, was at a time when the United States Government had not under its control an organized force of 5,000 men.

To enhance the difficulty of the task imposed on the administration, the theory of the war into which it was driven by the very nature of the contest, was that of the offensive. Now military history is replete with illustrations of the enormous advantage which a people has when able to stand at bay (covering its own communications and holding interior lines) and await in chosen positions the attacks of the enemy.

The career of FREDERICK the Great affords an eminent example of a small nation, never able to raise an army of over a hundred thousand men, conducting a defensive war, (with offensive returns,) and successfully resisting for seven years the attempts of a coalition of five of the leading Powers of Europe. But offensive operations against a people holding such defensive attitude, becomes tenfold more difficult when the war becomes what is called a "national war," the nature of which is thus depicted by the greatest modern writer on the theory of war, Gen. SOMINI:

"The difficulties in the path of an army in national wars are very great, and render the mission of the General conducting them very arduous. The invader has only an army; his adversaries have an army and a people wholly or almost wholly in arms, and making means of resistance out of everything. Each individual conspires against the common enemy—even the non-combatants have an interest in his ruin, and accelerate it by every means in their power. Each armed inhabitant knows the smallest paths and connections—he finds everywhere a relative or a friend who aids him; the commanders also know the country, and learning immediately the slightest movement on the part of the invader, can adopt the best measures to defeat his projects."

These embarrassments, enormously increased by the prodigious extent of the theatre of war, the topography of which is all against the offensive and in favor of the defensive (as witness the immense depth of the lines of communications in any great aggressive movements, the impossibility of supplying our armies from the country, as is done in Europe, etc.,) entered into the portentous problem which the Administration had to solve; and yet, in face of this accumulation of difficulties, forming a task the gravest that ever met an Executive, the war has been pushed successfully through to the splendid results we witness—the armies of the rebellion have been driven from the vast extent of territory the rebels claimed, till now the one is shut up in the States bordering on the Gulf, and the other is besieged without hope of escape in Richmond.

III.

THE UPRISING OF THE NATION.

The response of the people to the call of President LINCOLN for men with which to execute the authority of the Government, will always remain one of the grandest manifestations of the spontaneous energy of a free people in the vindication of free institutions. It was then we saw that sublime "uprising" of the people, when all party differences were merged in enthusiastic devotion to the Union—or rather, when armed loyalty cowed and quelled secret traitors, who, driven to their lurking-places, saw the prudence of awaiting some other opportunity to show their hands.

After Bull Run had shown that an arduous and protracted war was before us, Mr. LINCOLN issued his proclamation for 300,000 men. The response of the North to the call was without a parallel in the history of the world, and it was soon evident that more troops would be in the field than the act of Congress authorized. Within fifteen days it is estimated that 350,000 volunteers offered themselves in defence of our national flag. And from first to last, under the different calls, more than a MILLION AND A HALF of men have been under arms in the war for the union. There is in history but one example of a similar uprising of the people in defence of its nationality, and

that is the rushing to arms of the French during the great revolution when threatened by the coalition. And yet the comparison only serves to show how far even that fell short of what we have witnessed; for modern historians have proved that, notwithstanding all the exaggerations in regard to the number of men raised by France at that epoch, the figure never exceeded 500,000. Yet we have trebled that number.

The task now before the Government was herculean, and such as might have made even NAPOLEON stand aghast. To raise and fit for the field an army of six hundred thousand men, to be supplied with all the needs of a modern army, and that, too, without even the skeleton of a veteran force on which to build, was indeed a work of frightful magnitude. And yet this was accomplished in the space of three months, an achievement that has extorted the wonder and admiration of military men throughout the world.

IV.

THE FIRST YEAR OF THE WAR.

As the chief force of the rebellion—the head and front of the offending—was collected in Virginia, it became a necessity to place here an army of proportions fitting it to foil the purpose of the enemy touching the capture of our capital, at the same time to drive the opposing force out of Virginia.

With this view a grand army of over 200,000 men was collected at Washington, and placed under command of Major-General G. B. McCLELLAN, whose name, from a series of successful minor operations in Western Virginia, which another than he had planned and executed, had acquired a halo that did not properly belong to it. It was not until sometime afterward that that constitutional *inactivity*, which seems to be a part of Gen. McCLELLAN's nature, and that secret sympathy with treason that has always made him tender of hurting traitors, began to be appreciated, and hence it was that for many months our armies were kept at a dead-lock, thus giving the rebels the opportunity to prepare their plans, and the rebellion its best ally, *time*, and we were put in a position of humiliation before the world.

There was one result springing from the presence of our army in Virginia, however, which even the generalship of McClellan could not prevent; it thwarted the realization of those dreams of invasion that had fired the Southern imagination. A powerful party of red-hot belligerents had made the carrying of the war upon Northern soil their rallying cry. Washington was in particular the object of their chief desires, and their direst hate. The rebel Secretary of War boasted at Montgomery, on the 12th of April, that "the flag which now flaunts the breeze here will float over the dome of the old Capitol at Washington before the 1st of July."

After Bull Run, the same ambition fired these men. Said the Richmond *Examiner:* "From the mountain tops and valleys to the shores of the sea there is one wild shout of fierce resolve to capture Washington City at all and every human effort." But this "wild shout of fierce resolve" was vain against the 200,000 bayonets present to defend the capital; and though the early history of our army in Virginia was not of the character the people justly expected, and the army eagerly desired, it was at least something, in view of these desperate projects of the rebels, that Washington, by its presence, was rendered *safe.*

But outside of the immediate influence of the McClellan strategy, a series of operations in the western theatre of war had been inaugurated, which laid the foundation of the splendid victories of the Union arms in that quarter. While McClellan, during the winter of 1861–'2, kept his magnificent army of two hundred thousand men in inaction, maturing plans which were never matured, the early pages of the history of the war were lit up by a succession of brilliant victories on the Atlantic seaboard and west of the Mississippi river. Christmas of 1861 saw the powerful force of rebels, which had overrun Missouri, insolently proclaiming their purpose of seizing St Louis, driven down to the Arkansas border. Gen. Grant had begun on a small scale the operations on the Mississippi, destined to swell into campaigns of colossal proportions. The first of our series of coast victories had been gained at Hatteras Inlet, (August 27,) giving us two forts, thirty-six guns, six hundred and nineteen prisoners, and the key to Albemarle Sound.

This was followed up, at the end of October, by DUPONT's exploit at Port Royal, one of the memorable triumphs on record of ships over forts. The spoils of this victory included not less than fifty cannon.

V.

THE SECOND YEAR OF THE WAR.

The opening of the second year of the war was gilded by two other victories on the coast—the capture of Roanoke Island by a combined attack of our land and naval forces, giving us six forts, 2,500 prisoners, and forty-two guns, followed up promptly by the capture of Newbern, which added six other forts and 34 heavy guns. These conquests restored the sovereignty of the flag over all the inland waters of North Carolina, which, up to this time, had been the main resort of the whole crew of the blockade runners. Another brilliant point in the chain of coast victories was added by the reduction and capitulation of Fort Pulaski. With the fort were surrendered 47 guns and 360 prisoners. This gave us the control of the mouth of the Savannah River.

Turning to the great theatre of war between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi, the Spring of 1862 saw there the inauguration of a combination of magnificent operations by several distinct columns drawn out from the Ohio to the mouth of the Mississippi, and destined to carry their conquests into the very heart of the Confederacy, and reclaim the valley of the Mississippi to the sovereignty of the Union.

The rebel line of defence on this frontier extended from Columbus, a powerfully entrenched camp on the Mississippi, eastward to the Alleghany Mountains. About midway was Bowling Green, another entrenched camp, where ALBERT SIDNEY JOHNSON commanded in person. East, toward the mountains, was ZOLLICOFFER, with a large force, where early in the winter he had taken up a fortified position on the Cumberland river, near Mill Spring.

Against this line of defence GRANT, and the gunboats under FOOTE were preparing to move on the west; BUELL was advancing on Bowling Green in the centre; while THOMAS was

in motion on the east, near the mountains. THOMAS struck the first blow, and gave the country the firstlings of victory in the West. On January 19, he engaged the rebels at Mill Springs, defeated and routed them, with the loss of their artillery, their intrenched position, and their General ZOLLICOFFER, killed. The effect of this victory was to expose the whole rebel right flank, by way of East Tennessee.

On the left flank, GRANT and FOOTE were moving to break the rebel lines of defences by the Cumberland and Tennessee River. It was clearly seen that could these rivers be forced, the great rebel strongholds at Columbus and Bowling Green would be taken in reverse, and their evacuation made a matter of resolute compulsion. But these rivers were barred by two strong works—Fort Henry, on the Tennessee, and Fort Donaldson, on the Cumberland. The former fell a prey to the gallantry of FOOTE's naval attack, surrendering on the 6th of February, with its armament of sixty guns.

A week after the surrender of Fort Henry, Gen. GRANT drew his lines of investment around Fort Donelson, and after a conflict running through four days and nights, and rendered memorable by the hardest fighting that had yet occurred in the war, the rebels were forced to accede to Gen. GRANT's demands for that "unconditional surrender" which has become so inseparably connected with his name. The surrender included fifteen thousand prisoners and forty pieces of artillery.

The fall of Forts Donelson and Henry promptly produced its anticipated effect. Columbus, which the rebels had styled the "Gibraltar of America," was immediately abandoned. At the same time JOHNSTON evacuated his intrenched position at Bowling Green, and fell back to Nashville, or rather *through* Nashville, (for the opening of the Cumberland to our gunboats, which resulted from the fall of the fort made Nashville untenable ;) Gen. BUELL, whose army had been threatening the rebel force at Bowling Green, immediately followed up and took possession of that city. Thus it was by the magnificent series of successes that illustrated the Spring of 1862, that the rebel line, on a stretch of over five hundred miles, was pushed back from the Ohio to the Cumberland, and the whole State of Kentucky and a third of Tennessee were recovered to the dominions of the Union.

Simultaneous with these operations the waters of the Mississippi were lit up by the splendors of Farragut's astonishing combat below New Orleans, with the forts, gunboats, steam-rams, floating batteries, fire-rafts, obstructions, booms and chains which the rebels had prepared for the defence of the great metropolis of the gulf, ending in the fall of that city; whose capture the London *Times*, doubting, with its usual cynicism, its possibility, had declared would be "putting the tourniquet on the main artery of the Confederacy."

After their retreat from Columbus, the rebels under Polk took up a new position on the Mississippi, at Island No. 10. This stronghold was able for many weeks to hold out against all the operations directed against it, till finally the gunboats ran the gauntlet of the batteries, and the stronghold, with a hundred heavy guns, fell into our hands. From this point they fell back to Memphis, only to be compelled to abandon that city, which in June following came under control of the Union forces.

After the retreat of the central army of the rebellion from Nashville, it took up a strongly fortified position at Corinth, under Beauregard. There he was besieged by the Union army under Halleck, whose siege operations, pushed on to such a point as to make the capture of the whole force a matter of high probability, compelled the evacuation of this position also.

The result of the victories of 1862 was thus to leave the situation in this gratifying position: Butler was at New Orleans; Curtis was pushing his way to Little Rock, the capital of Arkansas; the chief points on the coast were in our hands; Halleck was at Corinth; the Union flag waved over Memphis and Nashville, while Mitchell, in Alabama, was advancing from victory to victory.

This was glory enough for one year; for if we turn our eye to the theatre of war in the East, we are presented with the spectacle of a campaign toward Richmond, in which the finest qualities of heroism in the army, gaining victories wherever it met the armed enemy, and driving him back to his capital, were neutralized and rendered fruitless by the imbecility of its head. Turning upon McClellan, Lee terminated the offensive campaign by himself assuming the initiative, and carrying his army for the first time into the territory of the loyal

States. The issue was at length tried out at Antietam, where the absence of directing generalship could not prevent our soldiers from winning a victory of which their Commander had not the capacity to take advantage. Nevertheless, the first invasion of the rebels ended disastrously by their retreat into Virginia.

VI.

THE THIRD YEAR OF THE WAR—THE BATTLE SUMMER.

The first day of the third year of the war (1863) was signallized by the battle of Stone River or Murfreesboro, fought by General Rosecrans on the Union side, and by Bragg on the part of the rebels. The most desperate battle of the war up to that period, it inaugurated the army in Murfreesboro, with the prodigious loss to the enemy of 14,560 men. This was to be followed up from this base by a brilliant campaign in Tennessee, destined to culminate in the possession of Chattanooga, which had long been recognized by military heads as the key to the whole theatre of war in the West.

In the meantime General Grant was drawing his lines of investment around the last great stronghold of the rebels on the Misssissippi, at Vicksburgh. After many attempts against this point, he finally, by an audacious stroke of strategy, unparalleled save by Napoleon's passage of the Splugen, crossed his army over the Mississippi at Grand Gulf, and, dividing the army of Johnston from the possibility of reinforcing the garrison at Vicksburgh, beat the rebels in half a dozen battles, and ended by throwing his army as a besieging force around this position. The siege of Vicksburgh will take its place in history as among the most wonderful engineering operations on record. It was crowned by its unconditional surrender on the 4th of July, with 31,720 prisoners and 234 guns. At the same time the garrison at Port Hudson surrendered to General Banks, thus adding 7,000 prisoners and 40 pieces of artillery to the account. The effect of these two victories was to restore the national authority along the whole vast stretch of the Mississippi and that great continental highway was thrown open to its embouchure in the Gulf of Mexico.

At the very time that the right wing of our immense line of

battle, stretching from the Potomac to the Mississippi, was thus engaged, its left wing—the army of the Potomac—was manœuvering to meet Lee's second invasion of the loyal States. The rebel army was brought to bay at length at Gettysburgh, where a three days' battle, the most collossal of the war, was fought, ending in the utter defeat of Lee, who was fain again to make good his retreat into Virginia, with a loss of 23,000 in killed and wounded and 6,000 prisoners.

The centre of our great line, held by General Rosecrans, was at the same time on the advance. By a magnificent series of flanking movements, that Commander drove Bragg from his two powerfully intrenched positions at Shelbyville and Tulahoma, and advancing from this point, planted his army, at one splendid stroke, in the central citadel of the South—Chattanooga.

On the coast, the operations were being pushed on with equal vigor. General Gillmore had effected a landing on Morris Island, whence, with his long range siege guns, he was able to batter down Fort Sumter, leaving that memorable stronghold, whose reduction by the rebels was the first overt act of the war, a mass of ruins. Assisted by the cooperation of the iron-clad fleet, the works on Morris Island—Forts Wagner and Gregg—were also reduced, and they with they armament fell into our hands. The possession of Morris Island has enabled our fleet ever since to keep up a blockade of Charleston which hermetically seals that place.

Leaving out of view the single exception of that brief period during which the Napoleonic war involved all Europe in its conflagration, you will search all history in vain for a parallel of that great battle summer, whether as respects the vastness of the theatre of war, the proportion of the contending forces, or the substantial greatness of the results. During a single period of thirty days embraced in this titanic epoch, not less than 60,000 prisoners were captured. The losses to the enemy in this respect, added to his prodigious sacrifices in killed and wounded, left the Confederacy at the close of the year bleeding, prostrate and exhausted.

VII.

THE FOURTH YEAR OF THE WAR.

The opening of the fourth year of the war saw the forces of the rebellion driven from the whole circumference of the Confederacy, and brought to definite points in two armies—the army of BRAGG, on the mountain ridges south of Chattanooga, and the army of LEE, on the Rapidan. The former, assailed by General GRANT in his mountain fastnesses, saw himself driven from his stronghold, and his army broken and routed in the most disastrous defeat since Waterloo. He left in our hands 10,000 prisoners and sixty guns, suffered a loss of 8,000 in killed and wounded, and sought shelter for his shattered force by a disordered retreat to Dalton.

This review brings the catalogue of Union victories up to the time of the commencement of the great campaign of this Summer, the events of which are too fresh in the memory of all to require any detailed recital.

During the early days of May the two grand armies of the Union, under the supreme control of the Lieutenant-General commanding all the armies of the United States, began their advance—the one from Chattanooga, the other from the Rapidan.

General SHERMAN, after an advance from Chattanooga, over a hundred miles, marked by a series of brilliant manœuvres and actions, in which the enemy's force was driven from a succession of strongholds looked upon as impregnable, at length planted his army in front of Atlanta. Here he was thrice assailed by an enemy willing to lavish everything in the desperate effort to drive him back.

The enemy thrice met a bloody repulse. SHERMAN now began working slowly but surely round on the rebel communications, not with a view to take Atlanta simply, but for the purpose of capturing the rebel army—a result from which HOOD has only been saved by a precipitate flight from Atlanta—thus abandoning the foremost city of the Southwest, and the important communications it commands. In the engagement which resulted in this brilliant success, the rebels lost two thousand prisoners and very heavily in killed and wounded. It may now be safely said that HOOD's force, as an *army*, no longer exists.

In this great campaign General SHERMAN has put *hors du combat* over forty thousand men, that is, more than half the army opposed to him, besides effecting great captures in men and *materiel.*

General GRANT has planted his army before Petersburgh and on the communications of Richmond, after a campaign of even greater magnitude, marked by the most terrible and continuous fighting on record. During its progress he has gained a dozen victories, any one of which would have sealed the fate of any European war. Its course has been marked by the constant use of those double instruments of war—strategy and what WELLINGTON called "hard pounding;" by the former he has driven the enemy, by bloodless victories on our part, from six chosen lines of defence; by the latter he has put out of the way between fifty and sixty thousand of the fighting veterans of the South. In addition he has taken over twenty-five thousand prisoners, and a prodigious number of guns. He is certain, ere long, to crown his work by the capture of the rebel capital and the destruction of the main rebel army.

Finally, while the situation is as thus presented at the main points of war, the progress of our arms by land and sea shows equal lustre wherever they met the foe. It is but the other day that Admiral FARRAGUT capped the climax of his great achievements by the capture of the forts guarding the entrance to Mobile bay, the destruction or capture of the enemy's powerful fleet in those waters—thus sweeping away, it is believed, the last vestige of rebel naval power on the coast of the Atlantic and the Gulf. From the high seas, too, the rebel naval power has been swept. It is but the other day that its most formidable embodiement, the *Alabama*, was sent to the bottom by the *Kearsarge*, affording a significant lesson both to the rebels and the British allies who have furnished them with that and other proofs of their material support.

VIII.

GROUNDS OF COURAGE AND CONFIDENCE.

After such a retrospect of the glorious achievements of our army and navy, have we not a right to ask, with some emphasis, of those who complain of the slow progress of the war, and fear

its indefinite prolongation, what substantial ground they have for their repining? It is true the course of the war has not been an uninterrupted succession of victories; it has presented the chequered aspect of successes and reverses which all wars present. But we ask any dispassionate observer, looking at the war by the map, and in the fiery characters in which it is writ all over the continent—contrasting the rebellion at the start with the rebellion where it now stands—surveying this great struggle for the Union in its solid and substantial *results*—we ask such an observer to point out in the annals of war where *more* has been done in the same period. He will find it hard to point out where *as much* has been done! It is the common practice we know in war of popular Governments for men to belittle what has been done, to criticise and complain; but we ask in all seriousness is it the part of dignity or of patriotism, in this crisis of our nation's struggle, to depreciate its grand and providential achievements?

There is to a people battling in any cause a force, purely metaphysical in its character, which is yet stronger than the sinews of war—stronger than the sinews of men's arms. It is *courage.* Never has it been more needed than of late, when a fatal paralysis has benumbed the public sense, and in the eclipse of faith, "the whole noise of timorous and flocking birds, with those that love the twilight, flutter about, and in their envious gabble would prognosticate a year of sects and schisms."

I believe we have already touched the nadir of our fears and our despondency, and that a breath of patriotism and hope is now vivifying the national pulse. But each man can swell the rising tide. To diffuse the inspiration of courage is the duty of every patriot. And happily we need draw this inspiration from no illusive fountains; for the more earnestly and honestly we look at the situation, the more grounds of hope we find. Some of these grounds can be briefly set down:

1. The body of the rebellion is moribund. Gen. T. Seymour, whose critical habit of thought and conservative temper, add a prodigious weight to any declarations he makes on this head, states as the result of his three months' observation in the interior of the South, that "*the rebel cause is fast failing from exhaustion.*" This is profoundly true, whether it has regard to the material resources in the South, or to the still more vital

resources in men, of which the field is now reaped and bare. Every man and every boy is now in the field; there is nothing behind. In a private letter lately written by General Grant, he used the pungent expression that the rebels have "*robbed the cradle and the grave to reinforce their armies.*"

2. It is true, in inflicting on the rebels the immense damage they have received in the great campaigns of Grant and Sherman, we also have lost quite as severely—perhaps even more so; but (if it is lawful to speak thus of so grave a matter) *we can afford it.* We can stand to lose man for man, till every man in the armies of the rebellion is put *hors du combat*, and and leave behind untouched a force equal to all we have lost in the war.

3. But I do not believe it will be needful to wade through such an ocean of blood as this. All that is needed is a blow that will disrupt the two main rebel armies. It is worthy of note, that the merciless conscriptions that have swept over the South have even simplified the problem for us. The war has no longer those thousand-fold embarrassments that attend a *national* war, or war on populations. There *is* no population. Our task is confined to beating the armies at Richmond and Atlanta. For the rest, the southern people are tired of the war and are sighing for peace.

4. In a military point of view, such is the situation held by General Grant and General Sherman, toward the insurgent forces opposed to them, that the reinforcements they are receiving will certainly enable them soon to complete their work. General Seymour on this head, says.

"There is but one course consistent with safety or honor. Let the people awake to a sense of their dignity and strength, and a few months of trifling exertion comparatively—of such effort as alone is worthy of the great work—and the rebellion will crumble before us. Fill this draft promptly and willingly, with good and true men; send a few spare thousands over rather than under the call, and the *summer sun of* 1865 *will shine upon a regenerated land.*"

5. The war is really near its close. The present front of the rebellion, menacing though it be, is really nothing more than a mask, concealing the hollowness and rottenness within. The South is literally exhausted—exhausted of that without

which it is impossible to carry on war—exhausted of men. The field, in the impressive expression of Napoleon, regarding France after her three conscriptions, is reaped down to the stubble. Out of an available fighting population of upwards of three-quarters of a million, with which the war was inaugurated, they have saved an effective force of one hundred or one hundred and fifty thousand men. The rest are in their graves, in the hospitals, disabled, or prisoners in our hands. These are the forlorn hope of the rebellion.

6. Our territorial conquests have reclaimed three-fourths of the area originally claimed in the limits of the Confederacy. The Confederacy stands now thrice bisected—its great lines of communication cut or in our hands. Besides, its resources of all kinds are all but exhausted. The desperate men at its head may continue the struggle for some time longer—they may for a while oppose a formidable front to our blows—but the rebellion is doomed. Its struggles will be the frantic final efforts of the gladiator before he falls down exhausted and exanimate.

7. The leaders of the rebellion have ceased to see any hope for their cause in the arena of war. *They are looking now to the arena of politics.* A party has been set up whose creed and aims have their entire sympathy and moral support. The platform of that party have nothing but expressions of contumely for the sacred war, the recital of which has been made; for Jeff. Davis and his crew it has nothing but expressions of sympathy and respect. The people of the North have now before them the momentous question of determining by their action whether they will justify all the precious blood shed in this war by carrying it triumphantly through and crowning it with a glorious and honorable peace, or whether by a base surrender they will project it into history as the monument of a nation's folly.

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GERRIT SMITH

ON

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AND

ACCEPTANCE.

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GERRIT SMITH ON M'CLELLAN'S NOMINATION AND ACCEPTANCE.

I WRITE these pages for the candid. Partisans would not hear me. They follow party. Those only will hear me who follow truth ; and who will still follow it at whatever expense to party.

The North is divided—fearfully divided. One portion holds that the North and the other that the South is the guilty party in this War. Which of them is right is thg great, nay the only, question to be answered at the cominn Election. If the North is the guilty party, then McClellae should be preferred. If the South, then Lincoln. I name them because every day makes it more evident that all our votes will finally be concentrated on them. McClellan is the candidate of those who hold the North to be the guilty party, and therefore whatever exceptions some of them take to him, all will feel constrained to vote for him. So, too, all who hold that the South is the guilty party, will feel it to be their duty to vote for Lincoln. Many of them would prefer to vote for Fremont, if they could thereby vote as effectively to defeat the candidate whose sympathies are with the South. But this they now see they cannot do. It is in this wise that Fremont and Cochrane will themselves, notwithstanding their dislike of some of his measures, vote for Lincoln. They are too magnanimous to let personal considerations hinder them from voting for him ; and they are too patriotic to withhold a vote, which the salvation of the country calls for. May they hasten to inspire their friends with the like magnanimity and patriotism ! So, too, the great influence of Wendell Phillips will be brought to the side of Lincoln, as soon as he shall see that the man to be elected must be either Lincoln or a servant of the South. Strong as is his preference for Fre-

mont, he will not let it work to the destruction of his country.

We need not go back of the Convention which nominated Lincoln to learn that the Union Party lays all the blame of the War upon the South. Nor need we go back of the Convention which nominated McClellan to learn that the Democratic Party lays all the blame of it on the North. The proceedings of the Chicago Convention afford conclusive evidence that the Democratic Party is identified with the Rebellion; is at peace with the enemies instead of the friends of the nation—at peace with the South and at war with the North. Nevertheless it is not to be condemned but rather to be honored for this, provided the North is the guilty party in the War. I am not of those whose motto is: "Our country right or wrong." It is only when she is right that I am with her. I can be loyal to the North so far only as she is loyal to justice. Nor, if I would, could I help her wherein she breaks with justice. A nation, like an individual, puts herself beyond the reach of help in proportion as she defies the claims of truth and righteousness.

Let me here say that McClellan, no more than any other member of the Democratic Party, is necessarily worthy of condemnation for opposing the cause in which his country is embarked. Nay, if it is an unrighteous cause, then it is proper in him to stand forth against it—to stand forth as distinctly and emphatically as he does by accepting his nomination at the hands of the enemies of that cause.

I repeat, the question to be passed upon at the coming Election is—which is the guilty party in this War—the North or the South. It is admitted that the South took up arms to dismember our nation: and that she robbed it of moneys, forts, guns, and portions of our little standing army. It is admitted, too, that it was only in reply to these outrages that we armed ourselves. Hence, whilst the War on her part is offensive, on ours it is but defensive. Notwithstanding all this the North may not be the innocent party. For she may have oppressed and provoked the South beyond endurance. I am slow to admit that any Rebellion in a land where there is free access to the ballot-box can be justified. Nevertheless if it can be shown that it was because she was made to suffer intolerable oppressions that she flew to arms, I will not condemn her. Had she such oppressions to complain of?

It is said, more in Europe, however, than in America, that our high Tariff was a burden upon the South. Never, however, had we a Tariff so nearly approaching Free Trade as

when her States began to secede. Moreover the South could have had it as much lower as she pleased. What however if our Tariff were not a proper one?—that surely would not be enough to justify Rebellion.

Had the South any right to call herself oppressed by the election of Lincoln? None at all. He was elected Constitutionally. But he was against Slavery! It is true that he was—only moderately so, however. Several of the Presidents immediately preceding him were thoroughly *for* Slavery. And yet the North did not claim that she was oppressed by their election. Least of all did she claim that their election furnished ground for Rebellion.

Was the South at liberty to regard herself oppressed because so much was said at the North against Slavery? Certainly not. The Constitution provides for free speech. Moreover, the South spoke as freely against our systems of labor as we did against her Slavery. She sneered at our "small-fisted farmers," and our "greasy mechanics." She stigmatized our noble laborers as "the mudsills of society." Then, too, the South helps send missionaries over the earth to argue against idolatries and other abominations; and thus is she estopped by her own acts from forbidding others to search and criticise herself.

Was the South oppressed by Northern legislation against Slavery? Never. The North was always willing to have the Supreme Court of the United States pass upon such legislation. When, however, the North sent Commissioners to the South to induce her to consent to have the Constitutionality of those laws under which she was casting Northern freemen into the pit of Slavery, passed upon by that Court, those Commissioners had to fly for their lives before the murderous onset made upon them.

But John Brown, and at other times other Northern men, went into the Southern States to help persons escape from Slavery! The North, however, was not responsible for this. She ever stood by Slavery, and helped the South tighten the chains of the slaves. Little right has the South to complain of the sympathy of John Brown and others with her slaves. Where these delivered one slave, her kidnappers made slaves of ten Northern freemen. But there was rejoicing at the North over the escape of Southern slaves! I admit it. So was there rejoicing at the South over the escape of Southern men from Algerine Slavery. Such rejoicings cannot be stopped. And all attempts of the South to stop them will be vain attemps to change human nature.

Was the South oppressed by the refusal of the Northern people to accede to a proposition of the Southern people to have an amicable separation of the States, and an amicable division of the Territories and other National property? There was no proposition from the Southern people to the Northern people. There was a proposition from Southern individuals unauthorized by the Southern people; and it was made not to our people, but to our Government—to a Government which, instead of being authorized to dismember our nation, is sworn to preserve it, and which, instead of being authorized to throw away the Constitution, is sworn to keep it sacred and unbroken. The people of the North were ready to meet the people of the South in a Convention of Delegates. They were ready to make large concessions in order to save from disruption the nation so dear to them. Entirely ready they were, I am sorry to believe, to indorse and consummate the remarkable action of Congress in favor of altering the Constitution to the advantage of Slavery. In fine, they would have consented to almost any demand of the South short of the sundering of the Nation. This they would not consent to: and, because she knew they would not, the South would not have the National Convention. The sundering of the Nation was the one thing she was intent on; and nothing else, nor all things else, would she accept in lieu of it. Hence to get this one thing, which she could not hope to get otherwise, she resorted to arms. Herein, and herein only, is the explanation of the outbreak of the Rebellion. Could she but have been brought to recede from her determination to set up a nation for herself and by herself, all other difficulties with the South might have been adjusted. It is in no degree necessary to my argument to explain why she then insisted, has ever since insisted, and never more strenuously than now, on this national independence. Nevertheless as some, under whose eye this paper may fall, might like to meet with the explanation, I will give it. The whole explanation of this pertinacity on the part of the South is to be found in the fact that she is determined to maintain Slavery, and that she despairs of maintaining it unless she shall erect herself into a nation independent of every other nation. The South saw Slavery cast out of all Europe, and all American Slavery except her own to be tottering. She saw, too, that the North was every day becoming more enlightened in regard to Slavery, and therefore more hostile to it. Hence the great and absorbing question with her was—what she should do most effectually to insulate herself, and shut out those ever-swelling

floods of Anti-Slavery sentiment and Anti-Slavery influence, which were constantly pouring in upon her. Her natural decision was to build up about herself the high and, as she hoped, impervious walls of a new nationality. The North she regarded as already abolitionized. To remain therefore in connection with her was to allow herself also to be abolitionized. Hence she broke off from the North. For what else would she have consented to break out from it, and to lose the incalculable advantage of being a part of this great nation?

In all this, which I have now referred to, and I know not that there is anything more of this bearing to refer to, has the South suffered intolerable oppressions? Nay, has she suffered any oppression? None whatever. In our national affairs she was generally allowed to have her own way. I admit that we wronged her; but never, even in the slightest degree did we oppress her. And the only way in which she was ever wronged by us was our shameful indulgence of both her tyrannous spirit and her greed of place and power. Surely, surely, then, the North is not to be accused of provoking the Rebellion. Surely, surely, then, the South is the guilty and the only guilty party in the Rebellion. And surely, surely, then, the North cannot, without making herself very criminal and very base, vote for the candidate of those who hold the North and not the South to be the guilty party. But it may be said that their candidate (General McClellan) does not hold in this respect as they do who nominated him. If he does not, then he is very unfortunate in being misrepresented by his friends, who put him forth as the representative of themselves, and who, it is fair to suppose, knew him thoroughly when they did so. Since the Northern men, who espouse the cause of the South, single out McClellan for their standard-bearer, it would be madness in us, who cleave to the cause of the North, to believe him to be with us, and to vote for him. If he is indeed a North-side man, nevertheless since they, who know him, have set him forth as a South-side one, he cannot complain of us for not voting for him. He can complain but of his friends, who have misrepresented him, and whose misrepresentations justify us in withholding our votes from him. But we are cited to McClellan's Letter of Acceptance. That it is a Letter of *Acceptance* is of itself sufficient to disentitle him to the vote of every loyal man. That he is the candidate of a Convention composed of the open enemies of that cause for which his country is pouring out her treasure and her blood—composed

of those whose War is upon the North only—is surely reason enough why no intelligent friend of that cause can give him his vote. But we will look further into this Letter. I said that the North is divided between those who hold the North and those who hold the South to be the guilty party. On which side does McClellan's Letter place him? It spares the South, but it abounds in inculpations of the North. The indirect and unmanly way in which he makes or rather insinuates his charges against the Government was doubtless intended to render them more effective. It will, however, serve but to denote the lack of an open, brave, and manly spirit in their author. He has nothing to say of the barbarity with which the South conducts the War—murdering fresh captives—or, if sparing them, sparing thousands to be tortured in spirit and body, thousands to be starved to death, and (worst fate of all) thousands to be sunk in slavery! Nothing of all this does he say. But in his characteristic cowardly, roundabout way, he accuses the North of the high crime of perverting the War. I grant that there have been a few instances in which Anti-Slavery zealots have shown their disposition to pervert it, and innumerable instances in which Pro-Slavery zealots have shown the like. Just here let me say, that miserable men are all they who, when monsters are striking parricidal blows at the country, are incapable of making a single and square issue with those monsters, and are intent on mixing up with the one question of putting down these monsters conditions in behalf of or against Slavery, *Habeas Corpus*, or something else. "Down with the Rebellion, come what will of it, to any of our schemes, or theories, or interests," is the voice of wisdom. Moreover, if Slavery, or Anti-Slavery, this or that political party, this or that church, shall be found to stand in the way of putting it down, let them all be swept out of the way. Nothing is worth preserving that stands in the way of putting down so unmitigated and unparalleled a wickedness as the Rebellion. When it shall have been put down will be time to decide (and not till then will it be time so much as to consider it) whether the safety of the nation shall call for the weakening or strengthening of Slavery, for its utter annihilation, or for overspreading the whole land with it. In the meantime use Slavery, or Apprenticeship, or anything else in whatever way you can use it most effectually to the crushing of the Rebellion; and let all heads, all hearts, and all hands find their one thought, one feeling, and one work to that end.

I admitted that there were instances of a disposition to

pervert the War. But by far the most signal of all the instances of the actual perverting of the War, and of perverting it even to the direct help of the rebels, is that of McClellan himself. He it was who began his mediating military career —his half-one-way and half-the-other-way Generalship—with a Proclamation of safety to the foe at that very point where the foe was most vulnerable and most alarmed. He it was who assured the slaveholders that he would guard their homes, their wives, and children from servile insurrection, and who thereby left them free to go forth to swell Rebellion's battling hosts. And now for him whose duty, instead of ministering peace and security to the enemy, was to leave him appalled and paralyzed with every possible terror—and now for him, I say, to throw out in his cowardly way his utterly false charge that the Government has perverted the War, is enough to make the soul of every honest man boil over with indignation. Very far am I from saying that McClellan should have favored servile insurrection. But I do say that he should have left the slaveholders to all their fears from their slaves, and to all that occupation of their thoughts and time which those fears called for. I add that his relieving them of those fears and of that occupation was treason to his country—was even literal treason—for it was "adhering to her enemies, giving them aid and comfort."

McClellan professes great love of the Constitution and the Union. I love them. The costliest gift whereby I might contribute to preserve them I have not withheld. Both in Peace and in War, abundantly with both lips and pen, I have opposed even the slightest alteration in the Constitution. But whilst McClellan sees our Government making war upon the Union and the Constitution, I see no other war upon them than that which his own Party and its Southern allies are waging.

I said that I love the Constitution. But I love my country more. I would use the Constitution to save the country. But the Democrats juggle with it to destroy the country. Instance their incessant knavish talk about the Constitutional rights and the reserved rights of the seceded States. Whereas the plain fact is that those States did, in seceding, forfeit every right but the right to be punished. France, were England to conquer her, would have no *right* to the present political subdivisions of her soil; and the South, being a rebel, and the guiltiest of all rebels, will, if conquered, be more emphatically destitute of all *right* to hers. I would hope that her old State lines might be recognized; but this

would be for her conqueror alone to determine. The theory so industriously, and injuriously, and traitorously inculcated by the Democrats—that what were rights before the Rebellion must be rights after it, ay, and all the way through it—is the veriest nonsense. I have instanced the talk of the Democrats as one point. Instanced, too, their incessant knavish talk about carrying on the War according to the Constitution. They know that the nation which should try to carry on War according to a Constitution would certainly perish; and hence indeed is it that they are continually urging the Administration to make this altogether unprecedented experiment. Our Constitution does not attempt the folly of prescribing the way in which we shall carry on War. The simple truth in this matter (and they are either silly or disingenuous who deny it) is, that War must ever be a Law unto itself, and that no other Law can meet its exigencies.

I said that I love the Union. My whole heart is set on its restoration, and therefore have I done all I could to compel the South to return to it. I say *compel*, because I believe she must be *compelled*. During all the years of the Rebellion McClellan and his party have constantly held that the South would return to the Union if the North would prepare the way. But the South has as constantly held to the contrary. For the reasons I have already given, the South will not consent to return. She has set up her new nation with Slavery for its boasted corner-stone; and she will not, but upon compulsion, belong again to a nation of another kind. There is, I admit, one way in which the South might possibly be induced to return to the Union. That way McClellan and his party know; and that way I have not the slighest doubt they are willing, and no small share of them eager, to prepare. Should the North consent to set up Slavery within all her borders, and to put, as Slavery requires, the claim of property in man on the same footing with the claim of property in horses and hogs, the South might possibly consent to return to the Union. The Democratic Party knows that this is the only way in which she would consent to return, and this way the Democratic Party would open to her.

The pernicious cry that our sole legitimate object in prosecuting the War is to save the Constitution and the Union is, of course, abundantly echoed in McClellan's letter. The declarations both in and out of Congress in the early stages of the War that our one work was to restore the Constitution and the Union, I am not disposed to criticise. But very unwise was it to repeat such declarations after the Rebellion had

taken on its wide dimensions and was putting forth its gigantic and appalling efforts. Then our one work was to put down the Rebellion; and if need be, at whatever expense to Constitution or Union. The forms of the Constitution and the terms of the Union had then become of comparatively little account. Nay, the Rebellion, greatest of all crimes earth ever knew, must go down, though all do go down with it. Alas, how unreasonable and insane for the enemies of the Rebellion at such a time as this, when the common work of putting it down claims the hands of all and all the interest of all, to be making issues between themselves about the character of the Constitution or the conditions of the Union! Put down the Rebellion! Put it down now, and unconditionally! Matters about the Constitution and the Union can be adjusted afterward. This Democratic shouting for the Constitution and the Union is but to call us off from crushing the Rebellion.

I notice McClellan's pathetic appeal for the votes of the soldiers and sailors. What an impudent affectation in him to profess regard for these brave and devoted men, whilst he worms his way up to the platform in which the cause they are battling, bleeding and dying for is condemned and its abandonment called for! I say its *abandonment*—for such is the only possible meaning of immediate armistice or "cessation of hostilities," which the platform demands. If, as President Lincoln's favorite story says, it is "no time to swap horses when crossing the stream," so it is no time to stop horses when crossing it. To stop at that critical moment is to expose all to go down stream. For us to stop the War at this time is to abandon the War, and to make vain all we have sacrificed in prosecuting it. Moreover, it is to abandon it when we are on the very eve of accomplishing its one object—the overthrow of the Rebellion. I say it was an impudent affectation in McClellan, whilst indorsing the platform which insults the brave men who are fighting our battles, to be professing regard for them. So it is for him to be professing that regard while he places himself on that platform by the side of a Vice-Presidential Candidate, whose sympathies with the South are as open as his own are sly! This Candidate, for whom also is necessarily every vote cast for McClellan, and who, if elected, becomes, in no very improbable event, the President of the United States, is the George H. Pendleton, who is a member of Congress, and who in that capacity steadily votes against supplies of men and moneys and taxes for carrying on the War. He is the same Pendleton, who with

but nineteen others voted against censuring Harris for using treasonable language on the floor of Congress, and who with but fifteen others voted against the resolution, which declares the duty of crushing the Rebellion. Greatly mistaken is McClellan if, with his unenviable military reputation and his base and guilty political connections, he hopes to catch our discerning soldiers and sailors with such chaff as his heartless praises of them. They read him "like a book." They will turn their backs upon him; and will give their approving faces and their approving votes to the honest Lincoln, who deals in no twattle about the Constitution and the Union, and who speaks what he means; to the patriotic and earnest Lincoln, who believes in the cause for which our soldiers and sailors are contending, who does his utmost to reinforce them, and who scouts as spurious any peace with the rebels which shall precede their unconditional surrender. This attempt of McClellan to get the votes of the armed defenders of the country reminds us of a similar attempt of the Convention that nominated him. In one of its resolutions the Democratic Party is made to promise to take "care" of "the soldiery." Impudent and insulting promise! Undoubtedly "the soldiery" will, in turn, take care of the Democratic Party. It will take care of it at the approaching election; and when the War is over at the South, and the day of reckoning for Northern rascality shall have come, it will again take care of the Northern traitors, whose sympathies have made strong the hands of Southern traitors, and who have in this wise greatly prolonged the War and greatly swollen the sum of the sufferings of our army.

I spoke of McClellan's worming his way up to the platform which the Convention prepared for him and his fellow Peace man to stand on. He did not mount it like a bad bold man, but crawled upon it like a bad timid one. His timidity however was in no wise because of a disagreement between the platform and his own views—for he virtually says that there is no disagreement between them when he says: "Believing that the views here expressed are those of the Convention and the people you represent, I accept the nomination." He believes that the Convention and its constituents agree with him for the sufficient reason that having read their platform, he finds himself agreeing with them. It is well that the traitorous and infamous platform is so outspoken, since in this wise, inasmuch as McClellan does himself believe that he and its framers mean the same thing, we are enabled to put confident interpretations upon the double-meaning

phraseologies in his cunning and cowardly letter. Oh no! McClellan's shyness of the platform was in no degree because he dissented from it—for he did not dissent from it. It was solely because he feared that his open, plump indorsement of a Peace platform would leave him no votes but those of the Peace Democrats.

I have not failed to notice the patriotic, brave and warlike words with which McClellan has sprinkled his letter. Inasmuch however as they are at entire variance with other parts of it and with the obvious spirit and aim of the whole; and inasmuch also as they are repugnant to both the entire body and soul of that platform which by his acceptance of his nomination, as well as otherwise, he expresses his approval of; and inasmuch also as these cunningly flung-in words are out of all harmony with the words and deeds of that other George who stands beside him, and of the unprincipled party which nominated them—inasmuch as all this is so, I make no account of them. I cast the affected words aside, declaring them to be, as the lawyers would say, *void for inconsistency.* I could wish that these words might cost McClellan the loss of the votes of some Peace Democrats; but I have no idea that they will. These Peace Democrats know their man, and they are as sure of their one George as of the other. Hence, whilst nothing McClellan can say in favor of a War policy can shake their confidence in his purpose for a Southern and Pro-Slavery Peace, the more he shall say in favor of such policy the more will he rise in their esteem—all that he so says passing to the credit of his cunning in catching the votes of War Democrats.

I am not ignorant that the Daily News and Metropolitan Record, Vallandigham, and other such, have come out against McClellan. But they will be for him when election comes. Why should they not be? Why should they not trust him? Like them, he slanders the Government and the North. Like them, instead of ever saying so much as one word against Slavery, he is constantly proving that his great concern is to save it. It is true that their treason is more open and noisy than his, but his is nevertheless as real and earnest as theirs. The coming out of Peace Democrats against McClellan is most likely but part of the game. Their showing a want of confidence in him is expected to increase the confidence of War Democrats in him. But even if there are a few Peace Democrats, who, because of the warlike words in his letter, do not like to vote for him, they nevertheless will vote for him. Such fellows are always either coaxed or whipped in.

Let not the friends of the country flatter themselves that McClellan, who is in heart just what the Peace Democrats could wish him to be, will lose so much as one of their votes.

I pass on to inquire why it is, since the South is so obviously the guilty party in this War, so large a share of the Northern people goes with her. It is because of the power of party. It was long ago that the Democratic Party came into alliance with Slavery. I do not believe that it was, as a prominent politician in effect declared it to be, a "natural" alliance. In the early days of the Republic the parties, morally considered, were not essentially different. But its espousal of the Pro-Slavery policy wrought a sad change in the Democratic Party. Its good men saw it and lamented it; and from time to time many of them quit it. When at length Slavery, having failed to accomplish its ends by political, commercial and ecclesiastical agencies, burst forth in Rebellion (for the Rebellion is neither more nor less than Slavery in arms), then, as was to be expected, there was a great exodus from the Democratic Party. Thousands of that party, who had been guilty of falling in with its concessions to Slavery, hoping thereby not only to help their party, but to preserve the quiet and promote the prosperity of the country, could no longer remain in their Pro-Slavery Party after Slavery had undertaken the violent dismemberment of the nation. Nevertheless the Democratic Party did not become weak. As was natural, those who clung to it became more than ever devoted to Slavery; and the more Pro-Slavery the party became the more attractive was it to the aristocratic element in our population. For aristocracy, not in England only, but the world over, must ever be in sympathy with slaveholding. Contempt of the toiling poor, black or white, bond or free, is common to both. Moreover, as the Democratic party increased in devotion to Slavery, it grew in favor with those ignorant and debased multitudes who love Slavery because they love to have a stratum of humanity still lower than their own. Again, these multitudes go for Slavery because they are taught by the demagogues who get their votes that the colored people not in slavery are their rivals for the humble forms of labor.

The Democratic Party, now so openly and shamelessly the servant of the Slave-Power as to be at work either to break up the nation or to bring all parts of it equally under the reign of Slavery, has long been the servant of that power. Instance its innumerable mobs to prevent or break up the

discussion of Slavery. To embarrass the Government and help the rebels it has become the champion of the right of Free Speech. Nevertheless its Amos Kendall, who is now so conspicuously on the side of Free Speech, went so far the other way as to let Slavery stalk into the Post Office Department, and wield its mighty machinery against Free Speech. Even our bland and gentle Governor Seymour, who is now so distressfully concerned for the safety of Free Speech, was, but a little more than three years ago, planning in conclave with kindred spirits the forcible prevention of a speech against Slavery.

That the Democratic Party should, even now, when all Christendom is giving up Slavery, still cling to it is not unaccountable. Its whole life has come to be in Slavery; and it knows that when Slavery dies it must itself die. Hence to expect the Democratic Party to give up Slavery is to expect it to give up itself; and the political party has not yet been which will consent to give up itself.

The Democratic Party is, in short, neither more nor less than the Northern wing of the Rebellion; and the same spirit of opposition to universal freedom and to the lifting up of oppressed and degraded humanity, which imbues the Southern rebels, imbues the Northern rebels also. That such a party should do what it can to hinder the putting down of the Rebellion is only what might be expected. But that even so guilty a party should taunt us with incompetence to carry on the War, and with lack of success in it, is a meanness and hypocrisy which it surely did not need to add to its stupendous wickedness. How multiplied are its hinderances to our successful prosecution of the War? It discourages enlistments. It opposes drafts, and goes so far as to make them occasions for plundering and murderous riots. It impeaches the national credit, and does all it can to shake confidence and prevent investments in Government bonds. It slanders and vilifies our upright and able President and his upright and able Cabinet. Whilst sullen over the victories achieved by our army, it exaggerates and rejoices in its defeats. I need specify no further. Enough is it to add that its crimes and character are summed up in the crowning infamy of a Convention, which built that traitorous and hypocritical platform, and put upon it the two Georges, who are precisely suited to it and to each other. How sad that the men, who are doing these things, are even too depraved and too infatuated to pause and consider what a heritage of shame they are preparing for their children!

The friends of the country must not allow themselves to be discouraged by all that its Northern and therefore its worst enemies have done and are still doing to discourage them. They must continue to believe that a cause so good as is their cause, will not fail. They must still have faith in God, and still believe that He will not suffer the hard-earned treasure and righteous blood which we have poured out in the War to be but waste. They must still believe that our brave and dear soldiers and sailors, who have died or been crippled in this War, have not died nor been crippled in vain. They must still believe that the sorrows of our scores of thousands of bereaved families will find their soothing and recompense in a nation of all its former boundaries and of far more than all its former justice, freedom and prosperity.

This nation will live. It has given ample proof that it can withstand both foreign and domestic foes, both Northern and Southern rebels. This nation will live to see herself and the whole Continent free from oppressors—not from slaveholders only, but from imperial despots also. The Democratic Party will not much longer, by weakening and disgracing us, encourage the designs of the Napoleons and Maximilians. For the Democratic Party will soon die. As life is the law of righteousness, so death is the law of wickedness; and the wickedness of the Democratic Party is fast nearing that extreme limit where wickedness, all ripe and rotten, dies of itself.

Let us be of good cheer. Atlanta is already ours. So also is the Bay of Mobile. Very soon we shall have conquered two or three other important points; and then but a brief, feeble, flickering life will remain to the Rebellion. What is scarcely less important, the Election will also be ours. And then, thanks to God, the Democratic Party, that ugliest of all the enemies of human rights and human happiness, will be dead. The name may survive; but the party that shall wear it will be as unlike to the present Democratic Party as day is to darkness.

GERRIT SMITH.

PETERBORO, *September* 14, 1864.

Loyal Leagues, Clubs, or individuals, may obtain any of our publications at the cost price, by application to the Executive Committee, or by calling at the Rooms of the Society, No. 863 Broadway, where all information may be obtained relating to the Society.

LOYAL PUBLICATION SOCIETY.
No. 64.—Part 1.

LETTERS OF LOYAL SOLDIERS.

What General Grant says of the Administration.

What General Dix says of the Rebellion.

What General Sickels says of Peace.

What General Hooker says of the Election.

The Generals in command of the armies of the United States have had a better opportunity of judging what the nature, purposes and character of the Rebellion are than even the most skillful of our home observers. Hear what they say of it:

It is noticeable that all of these Generals have been identified in times past with the Democratic party, and thus they all claim to be, and are, Democrats still; not of the class which surrenders to the enemy abroad in arms or rebels at home in disguise. Democrats who scorn alike the Montgomery Constitution and the Chicago Platform.

Shall we maintain these gallant men, who peril life in defence of democratic institutions, or vote for those who stay at home?

The Army and the Administration.

"HEADQUARTERS ARMIES OF THE UNITED STATES,
"CULPEPPER COURT-HOUSE, May 1, 1864.

"THE PRESIDENT:—Your very kind letter of yesterday is just received. The confidence you express for the future and satisfaction for the past in my military administration, is acknowl-

edged with pride. It shall be my earnest endeavor that you and the country shall not be disappointed. *From my first entrance into the volunteer service of the country to the present day, I have never had cause of complaint, have never expressed or implied a complaint against the Administration or the Secretary of War, for throwing any embarrassment in the way of my vigorously prosecuting what appeared to be my duty.* Indeed, since the promotion which placed me in command of all the armies, and in view of the great responsibility and importance of success, I have been astonished at the readiness with which everything asked for has been yielded, without even an explanation being asked. Should my success be less than I desire and expect, the least I can say is, the fault is not with you.

"Very truly, your obedient servant,

"U. S. GRANT, Lieut.-Gen."

Gen. Dix at Sandusky.—A Serenade.—Speech of the General.

(*From the Sandusky Register of Sept.* 27.)

It being noised abroad last evening that Gen. Dix was in the city, a crowd collected at the West House, and on Columbus Avenue, in front of it. The Union Band of Sandusky repaired to the house and played several airs, when the crowd, which was by this time very large, began calling for "Dix," "Dix," when he came out upon the balcony of the hotel, and was introduced to the crowd by Capt. Steiner as the man who early in the war uttered that noble sentiment—"If any man dares pull down the American flag, shoot him on the spot."

He was received with three loud cheers, and briefly addressed the people, saying:

"Fellow-Citizens: I am very thankful to you for the honor you have done me. As I arrived here late to-night, am engaged in public business, and shall depart at an early hour in the morning, I know you will excuse me if I limit what I have to say to a simple acknowledgment of your kindness and courtesy.

"I will say one word, however, on the subject which lies nearest the heart of every loyal man—I mean the rebellion. It has been my conviction from the beginning that we can have no honorable peace until the insurgent armies are dispersed, and the leaders of the rebellion are expelled from the country. (Loud cheers.) *I believe that a cessation of hostilities would lead inevitably and directly to a recognition of the insurgent States;* and when I say this, I need hardly add that I can have no part in any political movement in which the Chicago platform is a basis. (Renewed cheering and applause.) No, fellow-citizens, the only hope of securing an honorable peace—a peace which

shall restore the Union and the Constitution—lies in a steady, persistent and unremitting prosecution of the war (great applause); and I believe the judgment of every right-thinking man will soon bring him to this conviction.

"With these few remarks, and renewing the expression of my thanks for your kindness, I bid you all good-night."

Speech of General Hooker at Brooklyn.

Ladies and Gentlemen: I need not tell you that I am entirely unprepared for this. I cannot and I do not take this demonstration, or any part of it, to myself. I am not worthy of this reception. [Cheers and cries of "Yes, you are!"] I am no more worthy than you. We are all in the same boat. You have been working in one place, and I have been working in another. Your victories are as dear to us in the front as the victories in the front are dear to you. [Cheers.] The victories of last Fall, (I speak from a full knowledge) were hailed with as much joy and as much enthusiasm in the army as though the victories had been achieved by other armies than the one which I belong to—the victory of Ohio [Cheers.] I hope that I may hear of many more; and I do not doubt that next November we will see one of which this rebellion has furnished no parallel. I need not tell you that I am rejoiced to find such an assemblage here to-night. It shows that it is all right with our cause and our country. [Applause.] Nothing, no reverse, no misfortune can befall us when our people are animated by the feeling which is evinced here to night. [Great applause.] If the war has been prolonged, it has not been from our weakness. We have not put forth all our resources, nor all our energies, although we have shown and employed resources which have amazed the world. The North has not yet endeavored to crush this rebellion by one great effort; and it can do it any day. [Cheers.] The people in these loyal States—and I am proud to say it—the people have been in advance of the authorities in this rebellion. [Cheers.] They will be until we reach the end, and the end is not remote. [Great cheering.] I am rejoiced to meet you to-night, and to meet you under such auspices. Tidings, glorious tidings, reach us from all of the armies. The work goes bravely on there. [Great applause.] *There are no Copperheads in the army* [Cheers.] They will fight well, and they will vote well. [Cheers.] More devotion, more loyalty, never animated the hearts and the hands of men more brave. I thank you most sincerely for the kindness with which you have received me to-night. I feel that I am unworthy of it. [Cries of "No! no!" and great cheering.] In my humble capacity I have never failed to do my duty, and I never shall. [Cheers.] I wish you good night. [Great and long-continued cheering.]

A Patriotic Letter from General Sickles.

General Sickles, who in other times was one of the foremost of the democratic leaders in this city, has written the following letter, which will, no doubt, cause the McClellan and Pendleton men to denounce him, as they did General Logan lately, as "an abolitionist":

NEW YORK, Sept. 29, 1864.

"DEAR SIR: Your inquiry made on behalf of several members of the Union Congressional Convention for the Ninth District, whether I would accept a nomination for Congress, has received the respectful attention due to the patriotic source from which the suggestion emanated. In declining the use of my name as a candidate for this high trust, I only adhere to a resolotion formed when I entered the military service, *to retire altogether from politics while holding a commission in the army.* This determination, with other considerations, had already constrained me, during the present canvass, to decline a similar request made by a number of my old and esteemed constituents in the Fourth District, who desired to present my name to the Democratic Convention. I yield to no citizen or soldier in my solicitude for the honorable termination of the war. *The war was deliberately begun by the rebels, and is persistently waged by them to divide and conquer the Union.* It is not so strange that our enemies should find allies among European antagonists of free institutions, but it will never cease to be a matter of humiliation and wonder that our own people could be seriously divided upon the question of submission or resistance. *Let who will be for submission, I am for resistance as long as we have a battalion and a battle-field left.*

"Until the Constitution and laws are vindicated in their supremacy throughout the land, the government should be confided to no hands that will hesitate to employ all the power of the nation to put down rebellion. The resources of the insurgents are already so far exhausted that they will give up the struggle as soon as a majority of the people at the ballot-box, seconding the martial summons of Farragut and Grant, demand the unconditional surrender of the enemy.

"Peace so won, through the noble aspirations of the people, will exalt the national character, and challenge the homage of all who honor patriotism and valor. Peace imposed upon us by an audacious and arrogant foe, who would owe his triumph, not to the superiority of his arms, but to a degenerate population, unworthy of their lineage and forgetful of their traditions, could only last until the contempt of mankind evoked from our shame enough manhood to renew the struggle.

"Very respectfully,

"DANIEL E. SICKLES, Major-General.

"HOMER FRANKLIN, Esq."

LOYAL PUBLICATION SOCIETY.

No. 64.—Part 2.

LETTERS OF LOYAL SOLDIERS.

How General Sherman proclaimed Peace at Atlanta.

How General McCall pronounced for Peace in Pennsylvania.

Who knows most about the Rebellion? Politicians, who have lived at home, outside of the reach of its cannon—or Generals who have been turning its flank all summer? Read the Chicago outrage and then listen to Generals who are further inside of the Rebel lines, than the Chicago politicians were outside of them, and judge between the two.

All of these gallant soldiers hate War and love Peace. They know something of both. Yet not one is willing to give up by disgraceful surrender, the glories and the honor, which have cost so much blood and treasure; all they ask of us, is, to see to it, that there is no fire in the rear; they will take care of the Rebellion in the front.

Letter of General Sherman to the People of Atlanta.

On the 11th inst. the Mayor and Council of Atlanta addressed an elaborate letter to General Sherman, requesting a revocation

or modification of his order for the removal of the inhabitants of the city. General Sherman replied as follows:

"HEADQUARTERS MILITARY DIVISION OF THE MISSISSIPPI,
IN THE FIELD,
ATLANTA, Ga., September 12, 1864.

"*James M. Calhoun, Mayor, E. E. Rawson, and S. C. Wells, representing City Council of Atlanta:*

"GENTLEMEN: I have your letter of the 11th, in the nature of a petition to revoke my orders removing all the inhabitants from Atlanta. I have read it carefully, and give full credit to your statements of the distress that will be occasioned by it, and yet shall not revoke my order, simply because my orders are not designed to meet the humanities of the case, but to prepare for the future struggles in which millions, yea hundreds of millions of good people outside of Atlanta have a deep interest. We must have peace, not only at Atlanta, but in all America. To secure this we must stop the war that now desolates our once happy and favored country. To stop war we must defeat the rebel armies that are arrayed against the laws and constitution, which all must respect and obey. To defeat these armies we must prepare the way to reach them in their recesses, provided with the arms and instruments which enable us to accomplish our purpose.

"Now, I know the vindictive nature of our enemy, and that we may have many years of military operations from this quarter, and therefore deem it wise and prudent to prepare in time. The use of Atlanta for warlike purposes is inconsistent with its character as a home for families. There will be no manufactures, commerce or agriculture here for the maintenance of families, and sooner or later want will compel the inhabitant to go. Why not go now, when all the arrangements are completed for the transfer, instead of waiting till the plunging shot of contending armies will renew the scenes of the past month? Of course I do not apprehend any such thing at this moment, but you do not suppose that this army will be here till the war is over. I cannot discuss this subject with you fairly, because I cannot impart to you what I propose to do, but I assert that my military plans make it necessary for the inhabitants to go away, and I can only renew my offer of services to make their exodus in any direction as easy and comfortable as possible. You cannot qualify war in harsher terms than I will.

"War is cruelty, and you cannot refine it; and those who brought war on our country deserve all the curses and maledictions a people can pour out. I know I had no hand in making this war, and I know I will make more sacrifices than any of you to secure peace. But you cannot have peace and a division of our country. If the United States submits to a division now, it will not stop, but will go on till we reap the fate of Mexico,

which is eternal war. The United States does and must assert its authority wherever it has power; if it relaxes one bit to pressure it is gone, and I know that such is not the national feeling. This feeling assumes various shapes, but always comes back to that of Union. Once admit the Union, once more acknowledge the authority of the national government, and instead of devoting your houses and streets and roads to the dread uses of war, I, and this army, become at once your protectors and supporters, shielding you from danger, let it come from what quarter it may. I know that a few individuals cannot resist a torrent of error and passion such as has swept the South into rebellion; but you can point out, so that we may know those who desire a government and those who insist on war and its desolation.

"You might as well appeal against the thunder-storm as against these terrible hardships of war. They are inevitable, and the only way the people of Atlanta can hope once more to live in peace and quiet at home is to stop this war, which can alone be done by admitting that it began in error and is perpetuated in pride. We don't want your negroes or your horses, or your houses, or your land, or anything you have, but we do want and will have a just obedience to the laws of the United States. That we will have, and if it involves the destruction of your improvements, we cannot help it. You have heretofore read public sentiment in your newspapers, that live by falsehood and excitement, and the quicker you seek for truth in other quarters the better for you.

"I repeat, then, that by the original compact of government, the United States had certain rights in Georgia which have never been relinquished, and never will be; that the South began war by seizing forts, arsenals, mints, custom-houses, &c., &c. long before Mr. LINCOLN was installed, and before the South had one jot or tittle of provocation. I myself have seen in Missouri, Kentucky, Tennesse and Mississippi, hundreds and thousands of women and childern fleeing from your armies and desperadoes, hungry and with bleeding feet. In Memphis, Vicksburg and Mississippi we fed thousands upon thousands of the families of rebel soldiers left on our hands, and whom we could not see starve. Now that war comes home to you, you feel very different—you deprecate its horrors, but did not feel them when you sent car-loads of soldiers and ammunition, and moulded shell and shot to carry war into Kentucky and Tennessee, and desolate the homes of hundreds and thousands of good people, who only asked to live in peace at their old homes, and under the government of their inheritance. But these comparisons are idle. I want PEACE, and believe it can only be reached through UNION AND WAR, and I will ever conduct war purely with a view to perfect and early success.

"But, my dear sirs, when that peace does come, you may call

on me for anything. Then will I share with you the last cracker, and watch with you to shield your homes and families against danger from every quarter. Now, you must go, and take with you the old and feeble; feed and nurse them, and build for them in more quiet places proper habitations to shield them against the weather, until the mad passions of men cool down, and allow the Union and peace once more to settle on your old homes at Atlanta.

"Yours, in haste,

"W. T. SHERMAN,

Major-General."

General McCall on the War and the Election.

The following letter from General McCall was read at a Union meeting in West Chester, Pennsylvania, on Saturday:

Belair, September 30, 1864.

"*Messrs. W. E. Barber, W. P. Marshall and others, committee:*

Gentlemen: I am in receipt of your letter of the 29th instant, inviting me 'to preside over a mass meeting of the loyal citizens of Chester, Delaware and Montgomery Counties, to be held at the Agricultural Fair Grounds, on Saturday next, the 1st of October.' Although I am constrained to decline the honor you have thus intended to convey, I will avail myself of the occasion to express to you my views with respect to the great question (the conduct of the war) now before our country, and soon to be decided at the coming Presidential Election, which views in the main have never, under any circumstances, undergone a change. No one deplored more than myself the stern necessity which required the Northern states to take up arms to quell the rebellion of the South, yet no one more than myself felt the necessity of rousing and exerting all the energies of the country to this end. One of two things then stared us in the face: either the positive suppression of the rebellion and the preservation of the Union, or the utter or irretrievable loss of position among the nations of the earth, and the entailment on our children of an everlasting disagreement, contention and war, with the southern people. I now believe, as I ever have believed, that if the Union is worth preserving, it is worth the prosecution of the war to a successful conclusion. With regard to the conduct of this war, I cannot say that I have approved or would now endorse all the measures of the present administration; *but I regard any administration that will energetically prosecute the war as preferable to one that is in favor of an armistice and a convocation of the states—until the states of rebellion have laid down their arms.*

"Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

GEORGE A. McCALL."

LOYAL PUBLICATION SOCIETY.

No. 64.—Part 3.

LETTERS OF LOYAL SOLDIERS.

How Douglas Democrats will Vote.

Letters of Generals Wool & Logan.

General Wool upon McClellan & the Chicago Platform.

Gen. Wool has written a letter to Hon. J. A. Griswold, of Troy, which concludes thus:

"With the unlimited confidence of the President and his Cabinet, having the control of all the resources at their disposal, with a 'splendid army' of one hundred and twenty thousand strong, increased to one hundred and fifty-eight thousand, as reported by the Adjutant-General of the Army, the goal was within the reach of General McClellan, but he knew not how to grasp it. He possessed 'the sword of Scanderberg, but could not wield it.' He neither comprehended the value of time, nor the advantages of prompt action and celerity of movement. His encamping in the swamps of the river Warwick, and the mud in front of Yorktown, for a month besieging the place, permitting its rebel garrison to be increased from nine thousand to over one hundred and twenty thousand men, as he represented, (the rebels say only seventy-five thousand,) and then allowing them to escape from Yorktown unobserved, was no less fatal to him as a commander than the result was disastrous to his army—at the same time it disappointed and depressed the hopes of every patriot throughout the Union. With advantages that few generals ever possessed, he signally failed.

Gen. McClellan expects to be President under the convention whose leaders sympathize with the Southern rebels, and whose platform was dictated by traitors calling themselves Democrats.

His friends say he repudiated the platform in his letter of acceptance. Can any one doubt, if the leaders succeed in electing him, no matter what he may have said in that letter, that he will be governed by the Chicago platform? It appears by the *New York Daily News*, the organ of the Peace men, that *the platform was approved by the General two months before the convention met at Chicago.* The editor says: "Early in July last—we have it upon the authority of a delegate from Indiana, who was selected by the delegation from his State to act as one of the committee to inform the candidates of the action of the convention—the platform, with its peace planks, almost word for word as adopted, was presented to General McClellan, *and was by him approved both in its letter and spirit.*" Under such circumstances, coming from the source it does, the truth of the statement cannot be doubted. *The General is bound by his plighted faith to be governed by the platform should he be elected.* To violate it, he would exhibit more courage than most men possess.

Allow me to ask, is there a Democrat who voted for Senator Douglas for President, that will vote for any candidate who accepts a nomination from a convention that sympathizes with the rebels, and which was dictated to by Southern traitors in the formation of its platform? I hope there is not one. Although Douglas was defeated in his election by the Southern Democracy, and a few Demorats in the North who co-operated with them, he was one of the first to declare his attachment to the Union and his readiness to sacrifice all he possessed, with life itself, if need be, to protect and defend the Republic in its unity and integrity.

In conclusion, I will simply remark that I belong to no party, whether Democrat, Whig, Republican, or any other, that is not for the preservation of the Union and the Constitution, without compromise or lines of demarcation, and which is not in favor of the prosecution of the war until the rebels lay down their arms, and are willing to submit to the laws and Constitution of the United States.

Respectfully yours,

JOHN E. WOOL.

Why General John A. Logan supports Lincoln and Johnson.

That gallant and successful soldier, Major-General John A. Logan, who has been claimed by the Democrats as a supporter

of the Chicago Platform and the peace-at-any-price candidates, made a grand Union speech at Carbondale, Illinois, on the 1st inst., in which he lashed the copperheads with just severity. We make the following eloquent extract:

I tell you, gentlemen, when you see men coming home from the army, it makes no difference what their politics may have been, if they have been honest, true and faithful men, you find that they would suffer their tongues to be torn out by the roots before they would lisp a word in behalf of that Chicago Platform or the men who made it. They can not and will not do it.

I used to be a follower of the illustrious STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS. They called me a Douglas worshiper. I believe many others thought as much of DOUGLAS as I did. If that great and good man were alive today, and I wish he were, he would stand on this War and Union Platform side by side with me, and advocate the same measures that I do. Listen to what he said in the last letter he ever wrote. It was a letter to VIRGIL HICKOX, Chairman of the State Democratic Central Committee. VIRGIL was looking around, not knowing exactly what he ought to do. DOUGLAS wrote:

"All hope of compromise with the Cotton States was abandoned when they assumed the position that the separation of the Union was complete and final, and that they would never consent to a reconstruction in any contingency—not eveu if we should furnish them with a blank sheet of paper, and permit them to inscribe their own terms.

"I know of no mode in which a loyal citizen may so well demonstrate his devotion to his country as by sustaining the Constitution, the flag and the Union, under all circumstances and every administration, regardless of party politics, against all assailants at home aud abroad."

That was the Douglas doctrine just before he died. It would be his doctrine to-day if he were alive. It is my doctrine today, and has been all along, and I intend to stand by it to the last. [Applause.]

This, then, is all that I care about saying in reference to these party platforms, or in reference to the candidates So far as Mr. LINCOLN is concerned, I know this. There were a great many people in this country who opposed him four years ago. I know I did it just as heartily as any other man in the country. If any man had told me four years ago, that I would ever make a speech in favor of his election, I would have told him it was not so, and you could have proved it.

Indignant Copperhead in the crowd—"I think I could."

General Logan—But you couldn't do it now. [Laughter.] But when I find the leaders of the party I acted with betraying the trust the people reposed in them, when I find them repudiating the doctrine of Jackson, who was for hanging traitors to the highest tree he could find, and for preserving the Union at all hazards, either with blood or without it; when I find them leaving behind them all the doctrines of the Democratic party, renouncing their allegiance to their God, their country and our flag, I am not compelled to follow you any further, I cannot go with you into the precincts of treason and disloyalty.

Mr. Lincoln stands, I say, upon the true Union platform, and, therefore, I am for him.

I believe he has endeavored to sustain the Government honestly and faithfully. Although he may not have acted just to suit my views in some particulars, that shall make no difference.

Andrew Johnson I believe to be equally honest and faithful. I have but one choice to make between the Constitution, the Union and its heroes, on one side, and their defamers, on the other; I will act with no party who is not for my country, and must refuse my support to the nominees of the Chicago Convention. [Applause.]

A Soldier on the Chicago Platform.

City Point, September 6, 1864.

When I first read the platform of the Chicago Convention I felt as if I could whip every enemy the country had, and if I had been put in action the next minute I doubt very much if I would have shown a particle of quarter whatever.

Only to think of a cowardly set of villians and traitors gathering together and making proposals of peace with a gang of outlaws, when any man of common sense and courage (which I suppose this convention never heard of) can see that they are about giving up the contest, knowing themselves that they are beaten as badly as any people ever was in the whole world. I don't believe there is a soldier in the army willing to abide by a cessation of hostilities, unless it may be a few bounty jumpers, and I don't call them friends to the cause, nor even men, much less soldiers. If I had my way, Jeff. Davis would have to call for peace twice, at least, before I would listen to him, and then I would answer, "Peace and pardon to all except Jeff. Davis, and hemp for him and for all others who are found bearing arms against the Government ten days after the issue of the proclamation."

G. F.

LOYAL PUBLICATION SOCIETY.

No. 64.—Part 4.

LETTERS OF LOYAL SOLDIERS.

LETTER OF GENERAL DIX,

His Opinion of the Chicago Platform.

The following letter, from General Dix, was addressed to the Committee of the Union mass meeting, held in Independence square, in Philadelphia, on Saturday:

"NEW YORK, October 6, 1864.

"GENTLEMEN: I have received your invitation to address the mass meeting to be held in Independence Square, on Saturday. The duties incident to the active command of a military department render it impossible for me to attend public meetings, or make political speeches; but I accede with pleasure to your request to write you a letter.

"There is but one question before this country in the approaching canvass. Shall we prosecute the war with unabated vigor until the rebel forces lay down their arms; or shall we, to use the language of the Chicago Convention, make 'immediate efforts' for 'a cessation of hostilities,' with a view to an ultimate convention of all the States, &c.

"Believing that the latter measure, for whatever purpose adopted, would lead inevitably to a recognition of the independence of the insurgent States; and believing, moreover, that true policy, as well as true mercy, always demands, in the unhappy exigencies of war, a steady and unwavering application of all the means and all the energies at command, until the object of the war is accomplished, I shall oppose the measure in every form in which opposition is likely to be effective.

"General McClellan, the candidate of the Chicago Convention, by force of his position, must be deemed to approve all the declarations with which he was presented to the country, unless he distinctly disavows them. Unfortunately he is silent on the only question in regard to which the people cared he should speak. He does not say whether he is in favor of a cessation of hostilities—the measure announced by those who nominated

him as the basis for action in case of his election—or whether he is opposed to it. He does not meet the question with manly frankness, as I am confident he would have done if he had taken counsel of his own instincts, instead of yielding to the subtle suggestions of politicians. The Chicago Convention presented a distinct issue to the people. As the nominee of the Convention he was bound to aceept or repudiate it. He has done neither; and whatever inference may be drawn from his silence, either the war democrats or the peace democrats must be deceived.

"In calling for a cessation of hostilities, the members of the Chicago Convention have, in my judgment, totally misrepresented the feelings and opinions of the great body of the democracy. The policy produced in its name makes it—so far as such a declaration can—what it has never been before, a peace party, degrading it from the eminence on which it has stood in every other national conflict. In this injustice to the country, and to a great party identified with all that is honorable in our history, I can have no part. I can only mourn over the reproach which has been brought upon it by its leaders, and cherish the hope that it may hereafter, under the auspices of better counsellors, resume its ancient, effective and benificent influence on the administration of the Government.

"Does any one doubt as to the true cause of our national calamities? I believe it to be found in the management of the leaders of both the principal political parties during the last quarter of a century.

In 1840, the great men of the Whig party—Webster, Clay, and others—men of universally acknowledged ability and long experience in civil life—were thrust aside, and General Harrison, a man of moderate capacity, was selected as its candidate for the Presidency. The principle of availability, as it was termed, was adopted as the rule of selection, and the question of fitness became obselete. The concern was to know, not who was best qualified to administer the government, but who, from his comparative obscurity, would be least likely to provoke embittered opposition. This was the beginning of a system of demoralization which has ended in the present distracted condition of the country. It reversed all the conservative principles of humane action by proscribing talent and experience, and crowning mediocrity with the highest honors of the republic. In 1844, the democratic party followed the successful example of its opponents in 1840. It put aside Van Buren, Cass, Marcy, and its

other eminent statesmen, and brought forward Mr. Polk—a man of merely ordinary ability. Parties which have neither the courage nor the virtue to stand by their greatest and best men soon fall into hopeless demoralization. This system of retrogradation in all that is manly and just, has continued, with two or three abortive efforts at reaction, for twenty-four years. It has driven pre-eminent talent out of the paths which lead to the highest political distinction; and multitudes, with a simplicity which would be ludicrous, were it not so deplorable, ask what is become of our great men. The inquiry is easily answered. They are in the learned professions—in science, literature and art, and in the numberless fields of intellectual exertion which are opened by the wants of a great country in a rapid career of developement. The intellect of the country is neither diminished in the aggregate, nor dwarfed in its individual proportions. The political market, like the commercial, under the influence of the inflexible law of demand and supply, is furnished wiih the kind of material it requires. It calls for mediocrity and it gets nothing better. The highest talent goes where it is a passport to the highest rewards. It withdraws from a field in which the chance of accession to the first civic honor is in an inverse ratio of eminence and qualifications.

"Thus, under the rule of the inferior intellects, which party management has elevated to the conduct of the public affairs, the peace, the prosperity, and the high character of the country have gone down.

"If the great men of the republic had controlled the policy and action of the Government during the last quarter of a century, we should have had no rebellion. Distraction within invites agression from without; and we are enduring the humiliation of seeing a monarchy established in contact with our southern boundary by one of the great powers of Europe, in contempt of our repeated protestations; and another of these powers permitting rebel cruisers to be armed in her ports to depredate on our commerce.

"Under such a system of political management no government can last long. I know it is not easy to change what such a lapse of time has fastened upon us. Politicians have the strongest interest in placing in the chair of state feeble men, whom they can control, instead of men of self-sustaining power, to whom they would be mere subordinates and auxiliaries. But the time will come—it may not be far distant—when the people, tired of

voting for men of inferior capacity, thrust upon them through the machinery of conventions, (in which they have no voice), will rise in their majesty, and place the conduct of their affairs in more capable hands. If such a change is not speedily effected, it is my firm belief that our republican institutions will fall to pieces, and an arbitrary government rise upon their ruins; for, unless the testimony of all history is to be discarded, no political system can be upheld except by giving to its administration the benefit of the very highest talent and the largest experience.

"Till this reform shall come, my advice to the great body of the people is, to hold fast to their traditionary principles and good name, by giving an earnest support to the war, and to scan with the severest scrutiny the conduct of those who control party movements. Many of the men who are most prominent in conventions have personal interest to subserve. Even those who are comparatively disinterested are not always the safest advisers. They have lived so long in the turbid atmosphere of party excitement and party traffic, that they have contracted morbid habits of thought and action, which, like chronic diseases in the human system, it is hard to alleviate and still harder to cure. The only hope left to us lies in the patriotism and disinterestedness of the great body of the people of all parties, who are facing the enemies of their country on the battle-field with a heroism unsurpassed in any age, or who at home, amid the prevailing tumult or disorder, are working out, in the quiet pursuit of their varied occupations, the momentous problem of the public prosperity and safety. When they shall send out, fresh from their own ranks, new men to consult together for the salvation of all that is most precious in government and society, there will be cause for hope and faith in our redemption from impending evils and dangers; bearing, in the meantime, as well as we can, the heavy burdens which have been cast upon us by a quarter of a century of political mismanagement and public misrule.

"It is time the people should understand these truths. No one perhaps, can tell them with more propriety than myself, having been, much of the period referred to, in public life, fruitlessly contending against party contrivances which have involved the country in all the evils of civil strife.

I am, very respectfully, yours,

JOHN A. DIX.

"James H. Orme, *Chairman, &c.*,
"Cadwallader Biddle, *Secretary.*"

LOYAL PUBLICATION SOCIETY.
No. 65.—Part 1.

THE SUBMISSIONISTS & THEIR RECORD.

THE DODGES OF MR. PENDLETON,

CHICAGO CANDIDATE FOR VICE-PRESIDENT.

[*From the Evening Post of Oct. 6,* 1864.]

THE McClellan journals have made a discovery about Mr. Pendleton. They triumphantly assure the public that he did not vote against several decided war measures. This is true; but neither did he vote *for* them; he "dodged." That is to say, he ran into the cloak-room or walked out of the chamber when the clerk began to call the roll, and remained away until the vote was decided.

He was the most notorious "dodger" in the House; and earned the reputation there of keeping such a constant eye upon the means of speedy retreat to the cloak-room, that there was not the slightest danger of his communications with this base being cut or interrupted. We have already given a pretty full summary of his votes, with passages from his disunion speeches. We had not space, at that time, to mention also the occasions when he "dodged." A few of these we present below to-day. It will be seen that the cloak-room of the House of Representatives was as useful to Mr. Pendleton as the gunboat Galena was to his colleague on the Chicago ticket, General McClellan.

July 15, 1861, Mr. McClernand offered a preamble and resolution declaring the rebellion "in violation of constitutional obligations," and pledging the House of Representatives to vote the required money and men "to ensure a speedy and effectual suppression of such rebellion." Only five members voted against this resolution. *Mr. Pendleton dodged.* His name appears in the proceedings of the House, in the *Globe*, but a few lines above the record of this vote.

We pass over several instances, and come to December 17, 1863, when Mr. Green Clay Smith, of Kentucky, offered a resolution:

"That we hold it to be the duty of Congress to pass all necessary bills to supply men and money, and the duty of the people to render every aid in their power to the constituted authorities of the Government in crushing out the rebellion, and in bringing the leaders thereof to condign punishment."

But one member, Mr. Harris, of Maryland, voted against this. *Mr. Pendleton dodged.* He was in the House, and voted against another resolution with the following preamble:

"Whereas, The organized treason, having its headquarters at Richmond, exists in defiant violation of the National Constitution, and has no claim to be treated otherwise than as an outlaw; and whereas this Richmond combination of conspirators and traitors can have no rightful authority over the people of any portion of the National Union, and no warrant for assuming control of the political destiny of the people of any State or section of the Union, and no apology but that of conspiracy and treason for any assumption of authority whatever."

This preamble was voted on separately, and was adopted unanimously. That is to say, all who voted, said "yea." *Mr. Pendleton dodged*, as did also Cox, the Woods and Ancona.

January 18, 1864, Mr. Smith, of Kentucky, submitted a preamble and resolution:

"Whereas, A most desperate, wicked, and bloody rebellion exists within the jurisdiction of the United States, and the safety and security of personal and national liberty depend upon its absolute and utter extinction; therefore,

"Resolved, That it is the political, civil, moral, and sacred duty of the people to meet it, fight it, crush it, and forever destroy it."

Mr. James C. Allen tried to "kill" this resolution by a motion to lay it on the table. This failed, though Mr. Pendleton, who for some reason did not dodge, was one of the twenty-six (against one hundred and two), who voted with Mr. Allen. The preamble and resolution were then adopted, yeas one hundred and sixteen, nays sixteen, and Mr. Pendleton did *not* dodge, but voted against it.

But on February 29th, 1864, Mr. Schenck submitted several resolutions. The second was in the following words:

"Resolved, That this rebellion shall be effectually put down; and that, to prevent the recurrence of such rebellions in future, the causes which led to this one must be permanently removed."

When the second clause in this sentence came up, it was adopted by yeas one hundred and twenty-four, nays none. *Mr. Pendleton dodged.*

The vote was next taken on the last of Mr. Schenck's resolutions:

"Resolved, That in this struggle which is going on for the saving of our country and free government, there is no middle ground on which any good citizen or true patriot can stand; neutrality or indifference or anything short of a hearty support of the government being a crime where the question is between loyalty and treason."

This was adopted, yeas one hundred and nine, nays none. Even Mr. Cox voted for it. *Mr. Pendleton dodged.*

We have not space or time to-day to cite any other cases where Mr. Pendleton dodged; but it may be useful to notice a few of the occasions when he did not dodge. July 10th, 1861, he voted with only ten others, amongst them Vallandigham and Wood, against the bill for collecting revenue in the seceded States. July 18th, he voted against the bill providing "increased revenue from imports" for war purposes. July 29th, he voted against another war revenue bill.

April 8th, 1862, he was one of fifteen who voted against the bill to provide internal revenue, support the government, and pay the interest on the public debt. May 28th, he was one of eighteen who voted against the bill to impose taxes in the insurrectionary districts, thus consistently defending the justice and right of secession. June 28th, he was one of ten who voted against the Tax bill. July 15th, he voted against the reduction of the mileage of members, showing himself thus averse to economy. April 9th, 1864, he voted against the expulsion of Harris, of Maryland for saying on the floor of the House:

"The South asked you to let them live in peace. But no; you said you would bring them into subjection. That is not done yet; and God Almighty grant that it never may be. I hope that you will never subjugate the South."

April 14th, he voted against the censure of Mr. Long for similar remarks. June 13th, he voted against the Army Appropriation Bill, as finally agreed upon by Committees of Conference of both Houses.

Finally, we find Mr. Pendleton asserting in the House of Representatives, on January 18, 1861, when South Carolina and three Gulf States had just adopted secession ordinances, that the

government of the United States can constitutionally recognize secession, and assist in its own destruction. Mr. Stanton said:

"I would be glad to know of my colleage if he holds that there is any power in any department of this government to recognize the secession of a State under the constitution? As to the matter of conciliation and compromise, the people of the seceding States say they want none and will accept none; and therefore it is useless to talk of it. I again ask my colleague whether there is any power, under the constitution, to recognize the secession of a State, and recognize it as a foreign nation?

Mr. Pendleton replied:

"What may be the constitutional power of this government to recognize the secession of a State, I decline to discuss at present. But this I say, if we should become engaged in a war with a foreign enemy, and a portion of our territory should be captured and reduced to possession by the enemy, and we should be obliged to make a treaty of peace on the basis of retaining what each party had acquired—*uti possidetis*—acknowledging the sovereignty of that territory to have passed away from us, certainly the federal government would have the power to conform to our restricted limits and to confine its jurisdiction to our admitted boundaries. If war be dismemberment, as my colleague declares, has not the federal government as much power to treat that question now as at the end of a war? Will a conflict of arms confer constitutional power upon the federal government?"

In the same speech he said:

"If these southern states cannot be conciliated, and if you, gentlemen, cannot find it in your hearts to grant their demands; if they must leave the family mansion, I would signalize their departure by tokens of love."

SHORT BUT EFFECTIVE SPEECH OF MR. PENDLETON.

On January 9th, 1863, Mr. Dunn rose in the House of Representatives and said:

"I ask the unanimous consent of the House for leave to introduce a bill to facilitate the transportation of troops, stores, and the mails of the United States between the city of Washington, Point of Rocks, and the city of Pittsburg."

Mr. Pendleton rose and said: "I object."

Objection being made, the bill had to lie over.

LOYAL PUBLICATION SOCIETY.

No. 65.—Part 2.

THE SUBMISSIONISTS AND THEIR RECORD.

What a Copperhead Mayor says of our Victories.

MAYOR'S OFFICE, NEW YORK, SEPT. 29, 1864.

To the Honorable the Common Council:

GENTLEMEN: Your resolution of the 26th instant, appointing a "committee of five from each Board, for the purpose of making the necessary arrangements to cause the various public buildings to be illuminated in honor of the recent victories on land and sea," is returned unapproved.

I might acquiesce in your response to an appeal of your fellow-citizens, who might desire to give expression to their feelings respecting these victories, but I must decline to comply with your request to issue a proclamation to the citizens generally, to join in such an illumination, for various reasons, which I will briefly state.

1. If I should issue such a proclamation, *there are many citizens who would be denounced as disloyal*, if through want of opportunity or inclination, or of means, they failed to comply with the recommendation.

2. By those in authority, *they are not claimed as Union victories*, but as the result of the Emancipation Proclamations, and latest war measure of President Lincoln, as announced in his "To whom it may concern" manifesto.

3. It is asserted that the new policy of the Administration will *give us a succession of victories.* If this is the case your honorable body will be called upon to illuminate every fortnight, and if the papers in the employ of the Administration, who daily parade "the defeat of the rebels," are to be believed, three times a week.

I yield to no man in my attachment to "the Union as it was and the Constitution as it is," but as the President demands of the Southern people to abandon the rights which the Constitution confers, I do not see how those who have always held that the Federal Government has nothing to do with the domestic institutions of the States, can be expected to rejoice over *victories which, whatever they may be, surely are not Union victories.*

If those victories were to unite the States, and were a sure harbinger of peace, I would be pleased, if I could issue such a proclamation as would induce the poorest citizen to part with his last mite for the purchase of a single tallow candle to celebrate the event.

4. It has been the immemorial custom of mankind, in all ages and climes, *to abstain from rejoicing over victories gained in civil wars*, and such has been the practice thus far during the present strife, which has distracted our once happy Union. The only effect of departing from this usage, sanctioned alike by humanity and sound policy, will be to acknowledge, by such exhibitions that these are victories over aliens and enemies, and that there is no hope of securing peace on the basis of the Federal Union. This hope, in common with a large portion of our fellow-citizens, I am not prepared to abandon.

You are aware that here is the essential difference between the two parties now contending for political mastery in the Northern States; one of these declares that no terms can be offered "except such as may be based upon an unconditional surrender" of the rights of the States, and the other maintains that "peace may be restored on the basis of the Federal Union."

Taking into consideration that a canvass is now in progress of the most exciting character, I am forced to regard *the proposed demonstration as one of a political nature*, and, according to the rule which I laid down for my guidance on entering upon the duties of Mayor, I cannot give it my official indorsement.

C. GODFREY GUNTHER, *Mayor.*

There's the document! It sets forth more tersely and justly than anything else we have seen, the real temper and spirit of the party which demands "immediate efforts for a *cessation of hostilities.*" The Mayor is afraid to rejoice over victories lest those who won't rejoice should be suspected of disloyalty. He is fearful, if we begin this business, we shall have to rejoice over fresh victories "three times a week!" And to cap the climax, these are *not* Union victories at all, but—something else. Will not Mayor Gunther bring his great intellectual powers to bear

on the question once more and tell us what they are? They certainly are not *rebel* victories. They can scarcely be claimed as *Democratic* victories. If they are not Union victories, pray what are they?

We are sorry we cannot comfort the Mayor or his party with hopes of their "cessation." Their demand for a "cessation of hostilities" has not yet been indorsed by the American people and until it is, we fear the Mayor's political reveries will continue to be disturbed by Union victories and public rejoicings.

Whatever else he may or may not be, Mayor Gunther, is a "Democrat" in the party acceptation of the word. His orthodoxy has never been disputed or doubted. He is and always has been in good and regular standing. The party elected him, not so much on account of his splendid talents or of his brilliant personal qualities of any sort, as because he was known to be a genuine, unmistakeable, unadulterated disciple of the modern Democracy. They have made him Mayor, and naturally enough he now feels bound to represent their principles and carry out their views.

When the Common Council, therefore, yielded so far to outside pressure as to urge a public illumination on account of our victories, Mayor Gunther promptly squelched this unseemly departure from party principles and gave these gentlemen to understand that he should tolerate no such proceedings. He believes in the Chicago platform,—and that standard of the faith does not allow rejoicings over victories in an unjust and unholy war.

The Mayor's exposition of this subject is so clear and compact a statement of the sentiments and purposes of his party, that it ought to be widely circulated, and universally read. The National Committee appointed at Chicago ought to issue it as a campaign document and spread it broadcast over the country. They have been a little remiss, it is true, in not publishing their platform in this shape:—but they can make up for this by issuing the two together. Meantime we will give the Mayor's message the benefit of an additional insertion in our columns.

What Mr. Pendleton thinks of Coercion.

Extract from Speech of January 18, 1861.

"Now, Sir, what force of arms can compel a State to do that which she has agreed to do? What force of arms can compel a State to refrain from doing that which her State Government,

supported by the sentiment of her people, is determined to persist in doing? It is provided in the Constitution that the citizens of every State shall have all the privileges and immunities of citizens of the several States. What force of this Federal Government can compel the observance of that clause, if a State is determined to pass and execute laws whereby citizens of other States shall not have within its limits, the same privileges as its own citizens?

"'Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts and judicial proceedings of every other State.' How will the Federal Government, by armies and arms, enforce the observance of that clause in the Constitution, if the judiciary and the executive authorities of a State, supported by the laws, refuse such faith and credit.?

"'No State, without the consent of Congress, shall lay any imposts or duties on imports.' Suppose a State should pass such a law, and the citizens were willing to execute the law, what army could prevent it?

"'No State shall, without the consent of Congress, enter into any agreement or compact with a foreign Power.' I wish to know from gentlemen what number of men it would require to annul such an agreement, once made. The General Government is invested with certain powers, necessary to be executed, in order to keep the machinery of the Government in motion. Can any number of troops, or the use of any armed force on the part of the States, compel the General Government to execute those powers, if the agents appointed for that purpose deliberately, persistently refuse to execute them? *Sir, the whole scheme of coercion is impracticable. It is contrary to the genius and spirtt of the Constitution.*"

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No. 66.

COERCION COMPLETED,

OR

TREASON TRIUMPHANT.

REMARKS,

BY JOHN C. HAMILTON,

SEPTEMBER, 1864.

NEW YORK:

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1864.

On the fifth of December, 1860, President Buchanan, acknowledging a correspondence which I sent to him between Madison and Hamilton—the subject, the right of a State to withdraw from the Union—wrote to me: "I have read the Hamilton and Madison Correspondence to several friends both in the Senate and the House, with, I think, a good effect upon some of them."

In the letter thus acknowledged, I proposed to communicate to him the opinions of Washington and Hamilton—Jefferson and Madison—asserting the right of the Coercion of refractory States. This overture was declined. On the 7th of December I informed the President of a communication from Charleston, which had come to my knowledge, seeking minute information as to the military defences in that harbor; and on the following day, not apprized of the President's false views, and therefore ignorant of his motives for declining my overture, I sent to him the opinions previously referred to. Subsequently, at the request of General Scott, I transmitted to him a copy of my last letter to the President. This noble patriot—anxious, as he observed, "for some practical scheme of compromise" which would meet the crisis, yet fully prepared, in the grievous emergency, to put forth the military arm of the nation—wrote to me on the 22d of December; "In a long interview, a week ago, with the President, I endeavored to bring him out on General Washington's and Mr. Jefferson's doctrines on the Coercion of States, but could not make him touch the subject or allude to your letter. Of course, I did not. He declined even to say that he would enforce (after secession) the revenue laws."

The effort had been made and had failed, and the nation was permitted to drift into a civil convulsion. Subsequently I was informed that my father was quoted for opinions hostile to Coercion. I gave so preposterous a statement little heed until recently, when I met the pamphlet hereafter referred to. I felt it was a duty to the public not to be silent, and therefore these remarks.

New York, September 24th, 1864.

JOHN C. HAMILTON.

COERCION COMPLETED

OR

TREASON TRIUMPHANT.

I am neither a partizan nor a politician. I voted for Buchanan to exclude Fremont—then apprehensive of the crisis which has since occurred—and I did *not vote* at the last Presidential election, influenced by the same apprehension.

Recognizing the Government of the United States as existing in the Constitution of the United States as a "Representative Democracy," for all its officers are directly or indirectly "the choice of the people," and the Constitution itself is "revocable and alterable by the people," I am a Democrat—and, as "the Constitution, so far from implying an abolition of the State Governments, makes them constituent parts of the national sovereignty, by allowing them a direct representation in the Senate, and leaves in their possession certain exclusive and very important portions of the sovereign power," is a "Federal Government," I am a Federalist.

In both these aspects, I am compelled to be and am an UNIONIST—for in addition to the value of the union in all other respects, I know that a "firm union is of the utmost moment to the peace and liberty of the States, as a barrier against domestic faction and insurrection." Believing in the preservation of this "Firm Union," as containing the life of our nation, I regard the doctrine of SECESSION as a doctrine of political SUICIDE. So I utterly reject it. Assured that COERCION by the laws of the nation, and when the necessity has arisen—by the arms of the nation, is indispensable to the preservation of its life, the motives which oblige me to reject the doctrine of secession, equally oblige me to assert and vindicate the right and the duty of COERCION.

The idea of secession—the power of secession, the right of secession—the duty of secession, are unknown in the history of

the American people, until two years before the close of the last century; even the word secession, used in a political sense, is believed until that time to have been unknown. To "secede," means "to withdraw from a fellowship." In no one of the constitutions of the several States of this Union, was the right "to withdraw" reserved. All of these constitutions look to the continuing existence of these several States in Union,—and the Articles of Confederation declaratory of their common opinion and exigent purpose, are defined by themselves to be "Articles of Confederation and PERPETUAL Union." Not only do not the constitutions of any of the States reserve a right "to withdraw" —a right of secession, but in the restrictions imposed on themselves as States, by themselves as States, when entering into this "confederation and perpetual Union," they erected barriers to such withdrawal, and to secure the perpetuating those common united interests, imposed common united duties, and established common united powers. It was not in the absence of a common sense of the value of a Union, that the Articles of Confederation were defective, it was in an *absence* of the *means* of rendering that Union a common blessing, by its mild operations through the medium of all pervading laws, thus provoking foreign aggressions and internal conflicts, without adequate powers to repel or subdue them. This was the disease of the confederation; and the present Constitution of the United States was offered to the people of the United States, and was accepted, as the remedy for this disease, by "the people of the United States." Setting forth in its preamble the great purposes in their view, they "ordained and established this constitution for the United States." Framed and proposed by the general convention of the people, of which Washington was the head—recommended by the Congress of the several States—adopted by the people of the United States in conventions, called by the State Legislatures, this adoption was not the act of the several States,—nor of the people of the several States—agreeing *with* each other, but it was the act of the people of the several States agreeing *to* the Constitution—and thus ordaining and establishing it. The words "ordain and establish" here used so prominently, were well understood by the framers of this constitution. They were words derived from the scriptures—used in a scrip-

tural sense, used most solemnly in all their significance, in their application to the highest of human acts—the creation of a government—to express an act of Supreme power by the people of the United States—"decreeing and settling firmly"—a complete and final act—a constitution of government for "themselves and their posterity." The Constitution sought two primary objects. For the insufficient and conflicting powers of war under the confederation, it substituted a plenary sovereign power of war, making the President of the United States, "Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States," thus empowering him to fulfill the obligations of his inaugural oath, "to preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution." To prevent a conflict with this plenary power by the State governments, the Constitution declares that "no State shall, without the consent of Congress, keep troops or ships of war in time of peace—enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power, or engage in war unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay."

The other primary object of the Constitution was to substitute within the domain of the United States, a government of law, instead of a government by arms. "The great and radical vice," it is stated in "The Federalist"—the great American commentary on the Constitution, "in the construction of the confederation, is in the principle of LEGISLATION for States or governments, in their CORPORATE or COLLECTIVE CAPACITIES, and as contradistinguised from the INDIVIDUALS of whom they consist—a principle in itself evidently incompatible with GOVERNMENT, a principle, in short, which, if it is to be executed at all, must substitute the violent and sanguinary agency of the sword to the mild influence of the magistracy."

Nor is the evidence wanting that such was deemed the true theory of the Articles of Confederation. Madison and Jefferson have been regarded as the especial guardians of American liberties as the founders of the school of strict constitutional constructions—as the friends, above all others, of STATE RIGHTS, and thus became the idols of Democracy. What were their opinions as to the right and the power of COERCING STATES?

Madison, then a member of Congress sitting at Philadelphia,

thus writes to Jefferson, on the 16th of April, 1781.—"Madison Papers, vol. 1, p. 86."

"The necessity of *arming* Congress with COERCIVE POWERS arises from the shameful *deficiency* of some of the States, which are most capable of yielding their apportioned supplies—and the military exactions to which others, already exhausted by the enemy and our own troops, are in consequence exposed. Without such powers, too, in the General Government, the whole Confederacy may be insulted, and the most salutary measures frustrated by the most inconsiderable State in the Union. As the Confederation now stands, and according to the nature of alliances much less intimate, there is an implied right of COERCION against the delinquent party."

"As long as there is a regular army on foot, a small detachment from it, acting under civil authority, would at any time render a voluntary contribution of supplies due from a State, an eligible alternative. But there is a still more efficacious mode. The situation of most of the States is such, that two or three vessels of *force* employed *against* their trade, will make it their interest to yield prompt obedience to all just requisitions on them."

What is this but an express assertion of the right of *coercion* of a State or States to enforce the "contribution of supplies" to the common treasury, by detachments from the regular army, or of a squadron from the navy?

Nor is the assertion of this right of coercion less explicit by Jefferson: "It has been so often said," he publicly writes, "as to be generally believed, that Congress have no power by the Confederation to *enforce* anything, for example—*contributions of money*. It was not necessary to give them power expressly, THEY HAVE IT BY THE LAW OF NATURE. When two parties make a *compact*, there *results* to each a *power of compelling* the other to execute it. COMPULSION was never so easy, as in our case, where a *single frigate* would soon levy on the commerce of any STATE, the deficiency of its *contributions*." Here again is an assertion of the right of coercion without any reserves whatever, and for the mere purpose of enforcing "contributions of supplies." This right of coercion, it must be remembered, was avowed by both these public men, *anterior* to

the adoption of the existing Constitution—and by both as resulting from a *compact* between the States. Nor can this result, as fairly deducible from the position of a government existing by *compact*, be denied. Ancient and modern history agree in showing, that in the case of one of several confederates combined in a league, the sword, in the event of a delinquency, is the only arbiter, and CIVIL WAR the necessary consequence. It was to prevent this resort and the inevitable consequence, that the present Constitution was established, creating a National Government, to be executed by laws passing "into immediate operation upon the citizens themselves." By this instrument it is provided, that, "this Constitution and the laws of the United States, which will be made in pursuance thereof, shall be the supreme law of the LAND; and it is further provided that, "the people in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of the State to the contrary, notwithstanding." In further pursuit of this object, it declares that the representatives of the States and of the people in Congress, "the members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to SUPPORT this Constitution." Thus it is, that any civil acts of any of the States in contravention of the Constitution were made inoperative. All, therefore, that it was possible to do, according to the structure of the Constitution of the United States, to secure its legal supremacy, was done—postponing to the great emergencies of "*domestic violence*," the employment of the military arm of the nation.

While these formal avowals of Madison and of Jefferson of the right of coercing States, have been carefully kept out of view by the partizans of the Rebel Confederates, the language of Hamilton, in the Convention of New York, held in 1788, has been quoted in denial of that right. His argument, truly stated and truly understood, *recognizes* the right as existing under the Confederation; *objects* to the Confederation, as making the resort to coercion a necessary means of compelling the success of its ordinary operations; and points to the then proposed, now existing Constitution—as providing the peaceful remedy. The quotation employed most unwarrantably omits the preceding and following sentences, which fully explain its import:

"Sir," Hamilton remarked, "if we have national objects to pursue, we must have national revenues. If you make requisitions and they are not complied with; what is to be done?" It has been well observed, that to coerce the States is one of the maddest projects that ever was devised. A failure of compliance will never be confined to a single State. This being the case, can we suppose it wise to hazard a civil war? Here is a nation at war with itself! A government that can exist only by the sword. Every such war must involve the innocent with the guilty. This single consideration should be sufficient to dispose every peaceable citizen against such a government. * * What is the cure for this great evil? Nothing, but to enable the national laws to operate on individuals, in the same manner as those of the States do."

The abuse of Hamilton's language, the purpose of which is clearly shown by the context, is resorted to in order to denounce the administration for employing the military power of the Government in resistance to a military attempt to subvert it. For it must always be remembered, that this war was not begun by the United States, that it is not a war merely of coercion, that the right or duty of the initiatory coercion of States is not at all the question; that, on the part of the Government, it is the exercise of a power necessarily incident to all government, the power of self-defence, and the exercise of an express constitutional power—a war against a war begun—a war against "TREASON," which the Constitution declares "consists in LEVYING WAR against the United States." Was ever treason marked by more overt acts; the attack on Fort Sumter; the occupation of the other forts; the seizure of the public property of the United States; the compelling the troops of the United States to surrender on parole; the firing on the militia of the United States called forth for the defence of the capital; the project to ASSASSINATE the President on his journey to the seat of Government; and the organized bodies of troops in Virginia to SEIZE HIS PERSON. All of these acts of treason are patent facts, with the exception of the two last; and as to one of these, I quote the declaration of General Scott: "Those who deny the intention to *assassinate* the President are little acquainted with the facts;" and as to the last, the plot to seize his person, I refer to

the authority of General Wool. They live to confirm these statements.

But to return to the chief topic of these remarks. I will now show by their positive, explicit declarations, that Washington and Hamilton both asserted the power under the present Constitution to COERCE one or more rebellious States, and approved the exertion of that power.

Treason most often raises its head in the moments of a nation's danger—moments when patriotism quickens the roused current of its blood, and raises its mighty arm. The doctrine of a subsisting *compact* between the States is seen to have been the ground upon which Madison and Jefferson asserted a power in the confederation to COERCE a State. The same doctrine of a subsisting COMPACT, not applicable to the existing Constitution of the United States, is the basis used by the same persons, Jefferson and Madison, to assert to a State or States a right to NULLIFY—that is, render inoperate, and to resist "laws of the United States," declared by the Constitution to be the "*supreme* law of the LAND"—a term as broad as the limits of the American Republic—comprehending all its States and all its territories, and even its adjacent ocean waters. France was waging a practical war against the United States, seizing the ships, and depredating on the commerce of the nation, as England has recently been depredating upon it through confederate corsairs. The leaders of the democratic party—then in the interest of France, as now in the interest of Great Britain, seeking to dissolve the Union—were then engaged in exciting sedition, as they now are engaged in exciting sedition, employing then as now, as its principal instruments, aliens, and recently naturalized aliens. The National Government found it necessary to pass laws to restrain sedition and to control these aliens—laws expressly approved and vindicated by Washington, when retired from office. To clamor against and to oppose these laws was the policy of Jefferson and of Madison, whom Washington, in the first draught of his "Farewell address" denounced to the world. This hostility to the Government gave birth to the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions; the former from the hand of Jefferson, the latter from that of Madison.

In the first of these Kentucky resolutions, Jefferson declares,

that the States were united by a *compact* under the title of a Constitution—that "to this compact each State *acceded*, as a *State*, and is an integral party, its co-States forming as to itself, the other party—and that, as in all other cases of compact among parties having no common Judge, each party has an equal right to *judge for itself*, as well of infractions, as of the *mode* and *measure* of redress." Then follows the declaration, that in the assumed cases—"NULLIFICATION of the act is the rightful remedy." (See Jefferson's Works, IV., 344—Letter of Jefferson, admitting himself to have been the author of these resolutions.) Madison followed; and on the same ground of a *compact* to which the States were parties, asserted their right to interfere.

On this very theory of a *compact* of States, as if it warranted one or more States to *nullify* a law of the United States—as "one party" to that compact, it warranted the "co-States" as "the other party," to *enforce* that law. The non-feasance or resistance of "the one party" justifies and compels coercion by "the other party." According, therefore, to their own theory—the States Rights theory—as applied to the Constitution of the United States, Jefferson and Madison are the advocates of coercion. But such is not the true theory of the Constitution. This doctrine of a *compact* of States is *diametrically* in opposition to the Constitution. It was the doctrine made use of to prevent its being adopted. Judge Wilson, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, repelled it in the Constitution of Pennsylvania, in 1788: "I cannot discover the least trace of a compact in that system. There can be no compact unless there are more parties than one: I know no bargains that could be made there," (in the General Convention.) I am unable to conceive who the parties could be. The State governments make a bargain with one another! *Far other* were the ideas of the Constitution, and *far other* are those conveyed in the system itself. This is *not* a government founded on *compact*. It is founded on the power of the people. They express in their name and in their authority—"We, the people, ordain and establish." From their ratification alone, it is to take its constitutional authority. These expressions declare in a practical manner, the principle of the Constitution. It is "ordained and established" by the people themselves."

This doctrine of a *compact* is the *false* and gratuitous assumption upon which this rebellion wholly relies to prove its rightfulness. This is the ground upon which it is justified by its advocates among us, while waging open and barbarous war.

People of America, I invite you, I conjure you to read the words of Washington, who never deceived you—as applied to these resolutions and to the authors of them—and as *now applicable* to the party opposing the administration. Washington thus writes to La Fayette, December 24, 1798: "The sum amounts to this—that a party exists in the United States, formed by a combination of causes, which oppose the Government in all its measures, and are determined, as their conduct evinces, by clogging its wheels, indirectly to *change the nature of it*, and to *subvert* the constitution." Of the alien members of their party, Washington wrote, declaring their express purpose to be, that, of "poisoning the minds of our people, and sowing dissensions among them, in order to alienate their affections from the Government of their choice, thereby endeavoring to dissolve the UNION." "It is somewhat equivocal still," Washington wrote to Charles Carroll, "whether that party, who have *been the* CURSE OF THE COUNTRY, and the source of the expenses we have to encounter, may not be able to continue their delusion. What a pity it is, the expense could not be taxed on them." "That the object of this party, was "to *facilitate* the design of SUBVERTING THEIR OWN GOVERNMENT, I have no more doubt than that I am now in the act of writing this letter." And then looking the danger full in the face, Washington points to COERCION. It is in a letter addressed by Washington, a Virginian, to Patrick Henry, formerly Governor of Virginia, the eloquent patriot—looking to coerce Virginia: "But at such a crisis as this, when everything dear and valuable to us is assailed, when a party hangs upon the wheels of Government as a dead weight, *opposing every measure that is calculated for defence and self-preservation*, abetting the nefarious views of another nation upon our rights, preferring, as long as they dare contend openly against the spirit and resentment of the people—the interest of France—(now the interest of England)—to the welfare of their own country—measures systematically and pertinaciously pursued, which must eventually DISSOLVE THE UNION OR PRODUCE COERCION."

Read these words of Washington, people of the United States, and ask yourselves whether, if written at the present time, they could more aptly, more truly have depicted the party now in opposition to the Government. Read these words, and then see whether Washington would not have advised COERCION. Read these words and compare them with the submissive, disorganizing, sympathizing platform of the recent Chicago Convention. Read them; and then doubt, if you can, whether Washington would not have again accepted the command of your armies, leading them on to victory as Grant, and Sherman, and Sheridan are now doing. A few words more will close this paper.

In a recent pamphlet entitled "A Great Statesman speaking to the People. Alexander Hamilton on Coercion and Civil War"—the passage previously *partially* quoted from his speech in the New York Convention, is strangely adduced in favor of *non*-coercion, in other words, in favor of permitting States to rise in rebellious war, thus "to overturn the Government." The purpose of that quotation has been shown, by quoting it in full, as an argument in favor of the existing Constitution. Was Alexander Hamilton, therefore, of the opinion that the National Government could not justly, constitutionally, and if it could, ought not to suppress a rebellion? A single historical fact is decisive—Hamilton, with Washington's assent—when Secretary of the Treasury—proceeded with an *army* into the far interior of Pennsylvania, which *suppressed a rebellion;* the object of which, it is stated in an intercepted despatch of the then French Minister (Fauchet), was to initiate a "civil war" in the United States. Nor is this the only evidence of Hamilton's opinion. Within a little more than a month after the last quoted letter of Washington, pointing to the coercion of Virginia, on the second of February, 1799, Hamilton wrote to Sedgwick. In this important letter he urges a report by Congress, "exhibiting with great luminousness and particularity, the reasons which support the constitutionality and expediency of the law," (to restrain sedition and control lawless aliens)—the tendency of the doctrines advanced by Virginia and Kentucky, to DESTROY THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES, and with calm dignity, united with pathos, the full evidence which they afford of a *regular con-*

spiracy to OVERTURN THE GOVERNMENT. A little pamphlet," he adds, "containing this report, should find its way into every house in Virginia. This should be done, and NOTHING TO COURT A SHOCK should be adopted. In the meantime," he observes—looking to the eventual necessity of coercing Virginia—"the measures for raising the military force should proceed with activity—whenever the experiment shall be made to *subdue* a REFRACTORY and POWERFUL STATE by militia, the event will shame the advocates of their sufficiency." Under his advice, the then slender means of Government were called into exertion. A small body of troops *was* stationed in Virginia; and the contemplated rebellion was abandoned. If a similar measure, urged at the beginning of the present crisis, had been adopted, and a small body of troops been detached to Richmond to protect the friends of the Union in the convention there, from being overawed by a mob, Virginia would have refused her concurrence, and this great rebellion might have been averted for a time.

The historical statements here given shew the direct, irreconciliable antagonism between the two great parties of this country—the States right, as they call it, or Democratic party—asserting on the supposition that "a State is clearly the ultimate judge of infractions of the Constitution;" that it has a right "to judge for itself of the mode and measure of redress," and, therefore, the party of DISUNION—and the NATIONAL OR UNION party, which asserts the power of the National Government over every individual of the United States, without regard to the particular locality or State in which he may reside, to compel obedience to this National Government, exercising the powers vested in it by the Constitution, to preserve that Union.

To say of the friends of the Union that they never have been the advocates of a policy detrimental to the Union, were not more untrue than to charge the members of the Democratic party, *without distinction*, with being the advocates of Disunion.

Happily for the permanent welfare of the Nation there are checks in the Constitution, and in the education of the popular mind under it, that can be safely and certainly appealed to against any temporary misconstructions of the powers of the Constitution. This can be done, and often done; and yet the Constitution WILL LIVE. Happily for the permanent welfare of

the Nation, among the Democratic party there are numerous and glorious exceptions of men, on many points having strong opinions as to a national policy, who deny utterly the theory of State secession,—who affirm boldly the doctrine of coercion,—who cling proudly to the unbroken integrity of the Union. But again, there are among their leaders those who declare that "the whole scheme of Coercion is *impracticable*,—that it is *contrary* to the genius and spirit of the Constitution." Give such men sway, and the Constitution CANNOT LIVE.

Now, how does the issue of this election stand before the people in reference to the respective candidates? The position of McClellan is anomalous. What it actually is may be ascertained from two sources. Immediately previous to the assembling of the Chicago Convention, several of its delegates from different States sojourned on their way at Saratoga Springs. At this time and place was present a correspondent of the British Ministerial paper, "The *London Post*." The Convention was organized at Chicago at noon of the *twenty-ninth of August*, 1864, by Auguste Belmont, now Chairman of "the National Democratic Committee,"—a few years previously, consul of Austria at New York. The day before the opening of the Chicago Convention—on the 28th of August—a letter of that date was written from Saratoga Springs by its correpondent to The *London Post*, whence it is extracted in the New York *Herald* of September 25th, speaking of McClellan as the probable nominee of the Convention. This language is used: "As for his principles, it is difficult to say what they are. Avowedly, McClellan is a Unionist. *Openly*, he professes to be willing to give the South every necessary guaranty, provided the Southern States consent to return into the Union. *Privately*, he assures those friends who discourage the prosecution of the war that he desires peace, and that he will advocate an armistice and a convention of the States, should he receive the nomination at Chicago. He urges, as a reason for not openly avowing these sentiments, that the people are not yet ready to endorse them, and considers it impolitic to take any step *too decidedly in advance* of the popular feeling. He feels assured, however, that the triumph of the Democratic party must end in peace, for he says, that, if even it wished to carry on the war, there would be *no*

army of any magnitude left at the disposal of the Government by the 4th of March next. What these opinions and professions are worth it is hard to say.

There are not a few who distrust McClellan, and who fail to place confidence in the assurances of a man, who was one of the first in the commencement of this revolution to set the example of the violation of personal liberty; as he did, by the arrest of the members of the Maryland Legislature; who has made all the reputation he has as a war man by the prosecution of the war, and who is still drawing pay from the republican Government as an officer of the army now engaged in carrying on a war, which he pretends to regard as ruinous to the country."

Was ever any passage more significant than this of the plot to deceive the people, and of the character of the chief instrument of the plotters? How could there be a more complete, entire solution of the *practice* of the Chicago Convention's resolutions and of McClellan's letter of acceptance? Every line—every word is replete with meaning. McClellan, with a double voice, for war and for peace. *Openly* for war—*privately* for an armistice and for a convention; but fully assured of peace, not because of the success of our arms and of the reduction of the rebels to terms—not because of the willingness of the rebels to make terms—he knew the contrary,—but because the Government of the United States would bo obliged to surrender itself to the rebels, he being at the head of the Government to make that surrender—because "there will be no army of any magnitude left at the disposal of the Government on the 4th of March"—the day of his hoped for inauguration!

One more fact, and it is a fact of great pertinence, also of historical analogy. It is the fact, that the clearest, fullest knowledge possessed of the opinions and views of the candidate of the Chicago Convention for the Presidency, is derived from the official Gazette of the British ministry—"The *London Post.*"

Is there no complicity? Questioned in this letter merely for his uncertainty, were England only assured of his being in favor of the dissolution of the Union, McClellan would be the favored, supported candidate of the British Government. And, knowing, as Great Britain must know, fearing as Great Britain must fear, the triumph of the Union over the rebellion, in all its tell-

ing consequences, who can doubt that McClellan *is* the favorite candidate of England? "Several of the LEADERS of the Democratic party," Lord Lyons, the British minister, writes to his Government, "sought interviews with me, both *before* and *after* the arrival of the intelligence of General McClellan's dismissal." "This intelligence *dashed* the rising hopes of the conservatives. The General, McClellan, had been regarded as the representative of conservative principles in the army. *Support of him* had been made *one of the articles* of the *conservative electoral programme*. . . . The irritation of the conservatives at New York was certainly very great; it seemed, however, to be not unmixed with *consternation* and *despondency*."

Seeking "*foreign intervention*," they appeared to hold that it would be essential to the success of any *proposal from abroad*, that it should be deferred until the *control* of the *Executive Government* should be *in the hands of the conservative party*. I listened with attention to the accounts given me *of the plans* and *hopes* of the conservative party. At the bottom, I thought I perceived a desire to put an end to the war, *even* at the *risk* of *losing* the Southern States altogether!"

Ye interpellaters of "foreign intervention," the record of your names is not lost. The time has not come yet, but the day is not far distant when all will be disclosed; when your "*consternation* and *despondency*" because of the dismissal of McClellan from the command of the army, will be traced to a purpose more deeply interesting to the great body of the American people than they are aware of.

The other source of information is from the lips of an astute, close observing, deeply interested member of the Chicago Convention—no less conspicuous a person than FERNANDO WOOD.

Fernando Wood has defined in public, in a recent speech on the 17th of September, the position of McClellan with singular clearness, accuracy, and precision. There are those who would regard his terms as terms of utter contempt. He then and there declared that, "if elected, I am satisfied, he (McClellan) will entertain the views, and execute the principles of the great party he will represent, ☞ *without regard to those he may himself possess.* ☜ He will then be our *agent*, the *creature* of our voice." If, then, McClellan is to be looked to as the agent—

the creature of the voice" of the Chicago Convention, of which Wood was a member—and who will doubt it—the enquiry arises, what is that voice? Nor is the answer difficult. The declaration above quoted, that "the whole scheme of coercion is *impracticable*," that "it is *contrary* to the genius and spirit of the Constitution," is a declaration made by George H. Pendleton in a speech in the House of Representatives on the 18th of January, 1861 (reported in *The Congressional Globe*—Appendix, p. 70,) after four States had seceded, and when three others were menacing secession. Why he thought coercion *contrary* to the genius of the Constitution, Mr. Pendleton does not leave to conjecture. In his studied speech, just referred to, he declares "this Union is a Confederation of States;" and on the first day of March of the present year, he declares more fully. "I hope that we may maintain the integrity of our system of government—the system of confederation—the system whose foundation is State rights. The Constitution is a *compact* of government made by sovereign States."

Thus has this nominee of the Chicago Convention placed himself on the very *heresy* proclaimed in 1798 and 99, which Washington and Hamilton denounced, as tending "to SUBVERT THE GOVERNMENT, to DESTROY THE CONSTITUTION." The declaration of Pendleton, made openly in 1861, has been followed by a series of relevant votes. Mr. Pendleton voted *against* the bill for the collection of the revenue in the seceded States—*against* the bill to provide the Government with additional revenue—*against* approving and confirming the proclamations and orders of the President, and the movements of the army and navy for subduing the rebellion. These votes were in the year 1861. Again, in 1862, he voted *against* the internal revenue bill, *against* the Treasury note act, *against* the imposition of taxes on the insurrectionary districts, and *against* all bills raising revenue for supporting the war. Again, in 1863, his votes were of the same character; and in the last session of Congress, in this present year, 1864, he voted *against* a test resolution of *loyalty* or *disloyalty*—that "it is the political, civil, moral, sacred duty of the people to meet the rebellion, fight it, crush it, and forever destroy it," and all his votes on practical measures were in complete accordance with that nega-

tive vote *—in complete accordance with his declaration that "armies, money, war cannot maintain this Union"—in complete accordance with his language, "If our differences are so great, that you cannot, or will not reconcile them, let the seceding States *go* in peace; let them *establish* their *government* and EMPIRE, and work out their destiny according to the wisdom which God has given them!!"

Of such declarations and of such votes, the unanimous nomination of Pendleton as Vice-President by the Chicago Convention, is the most emphatic approval possible. It is also a most explicit interpretation of their resolution, that "justice, humanity, liberty, and the public welfare demand that *immediate* efforts be made for a *cessation of hostilities*, with a view to an *ultimate* convention of all the States." Thus, in "a cessation of hostilities *immediate*, and in a convention in *view*, *ultimate*," and in the *gap* a dissolution of the Union, we have "the voice of the great party, McClellan, if elected, will represent" to be its "agent" "the creature."

Pendleton has defined the position of this party. The Chicago Convention approves the definition, and nominates its candidates; and McClellan, with this resolution before him, accepts the nomination.

Thus, before us stand in their proper guise the two *conjoint* candidates of the Chicago Convention. Pendleton—a gentleman grievously in error, dangerously in error, but to be respected at least for his unhesitating consistency—voting against every measure to carry coercion into effect, and avowedly willing to assent to a dissolution of the Union. McClellan, foiling in the field the efforts of the Government by success of arms to sustain the Union: and when too late dismissed from command, still living on the bounty of the nation as a soldier, though believing that no services of a soldier can be of any value, inasmuch as "on the 4th of March next, there will be no army left of any magnitude at the disposal of the Government." I have called these men "conjoint candidates," and rightly so, for under the perversion of the Constitution by previous party nominations, a vote given for the electors of the *one* is given for the electors of

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* *N. Y. Times*, Sept. 23, '64.

both; and a vote for McClellan as an advocate of UNION is a vote for Pendleton as an advocate of DISUNION.

And here an enquiry presents itself of no small unmeaning moment. Why has the Chicago Convention declared itself still in existence ready to be convened again? To ascertain the opinions of its candidates!! That was supposed. But we see that those opinions were all well known. Pendleton had avowed them openly—and there is evidence from another source than that quoted, that McClellan's were also previously known. For what, then, is the Convention still in being, if it is not lowering over the liberties of our country—if it is not, like "The Convention of France," of which we read—"They have their agents out all over, speaking in town houses, market places, highways and byways, agitating, urging to arm." Was this still existing Chicago Convention meant to be a body, under certain contingencies to USURP the Government—perhaps in the person of McClellan, should he consent to be the usurper? Have no whispers been heard—no significant hints been thrown out that such a purpose has been entertained? Whence the threats that our streets would yet swim with *blood?* Why the drillings of excited men still kept up in our villages at night? Why the organization of our National Guard, such as it is alleged to be? Wherefore the inflammatory menaces of Horatio Seymour? Why his urged re-nomination? Projects such as these, may be abandoned under the mighty force of public opinion encouraged by the great successes of our armies. But in the onward march of society, such movements are to be noted and well remembered, whether as precedents or as warnings.

When the husbandman on the far frontier is awakened in the dead of night by the voice of his faithful watch dog, or by the rushing in of his affrighted fold, he lights his lantern, and with peering eyes searches every corner of his disturbed homeyard, nor does he sleep; but closing his house bolts, with trusty firelock in hand, watches till morning opens to his view, rejoiced that his timely movements had alarmed the stealthy visitor of his broken slumbers. People of the United States, our homes, our house—our National House—the Constitution, in early days called "the *new roof*," is disturbed, is threatened. We are its housekeepers. The bolts we cannot close as yet, for the foe not

only is *without* but is *within* its doors. But we can light the darkness. We cannot sleep in a false security. All prepared, we can watch. We must watch. We must hold at bay the foe, until, at the next Presidental election, we shall have asserted by our votes the supremacy of the Constitution which Washington signed—no "*ultimate Convention in view*" to change it to its overturning—and that done, on that day, the sun will burn with a quickened ardor, and as the night comes on, the national skies will brighten and gleam with glory from every star in the vast approving firmament, and then with thankful prayers we can lie down to sleep.

Meantime watching, let us look at the menaced dangers before us. With the lights held up full in the face of the Chicago candidates, let us survey the consequences to follow their election with a concurring House of Representatives. That ere a twelvemonth from this time, a severance of the Union, and the recognition of the Confederate States by England and by France will ensue, I have not a particle of doubt. What next? A Monarchy of these Confederate States, with Jefferson Davis the Emperor—under the protection of England, the establishment of which is rendered easy by the actual existence of an overbearing aristocracy in the slaveholding class—Dukes, Marquises, Counts of the Empire—a Monarchy on our Southwestern frontier, at the head an Austrian Prince—now Emperor—under the protection of France—a Monarchy on the north, with a British Prince on his provincial throne, and civil discord raging, revelling among us here, "anarchy ere long shooting into a monarchy," probably, from its great necessities—*absolute.*

What other consequences would follow if (a very improbable supposition) the Union be not severed. With McClellan contemplating a bankrupt treasury—with Pendleton at the head of the Senate—after such his votes, and with a concurring House of Representatives refusing supplies to pay a debt chiefly incurred in the attempted suppression of the rebellion, the DEBT for that very reason would be REPUDIATED,—the CURRENCY of the whole country be rendered *worthless*, and while its capitalists are ruined, the laboring people would stand with empty hands cursing the causers of their sufferings, clamoring for food; the brave soldiers, meanwhile, of our glorious armies, disbanded without

their pay, moved by the common calamities, asserting their demands by violence, and wreaking their vengeance on the false men who had betrayed them with a false insulting assurance of "sympathy," while engaged in betraying the noble cause for which they had fought. Without supplies, not only would the army be disbanded, which McClellan looks to as the forerunner of peace, and Grant, and Sherman, and Sheridan, with their brother officers be turned off with disdain and insult, but our Navy, too, must be dismantled, and Farragut be taught that to ascend the main-top and stand there the mark of some felon traitor's aim, amid the boom and crash of rushing war, has not raised himself far, far above the level of all naval warriors of yore and present, but that he too has incurred the frowns of those who find a virtue only in successful treason and rebellion. Meanwhile our commerce all destroyed, our sea-coast teeming with pirates, our sea-ports in ashes, would propitiate the Rebel South chanting forth, "Britannia Rules the Waves."

Nor are these consequences, all or any one of them, the figments of a disordered imagination or the offspring of exaggerated statement. Look back at our history and read the evidence there; see how its lines run in wondrous parallel with the future of a dismembered nation.

As now, the first full knowledge of "plans and hopes" against the Government of the United States is gleaned from the official gazette of the British Ministry, The *London Post* of the 28th of August, 1864, so the first full knowledge of "the plans and hopes" of the party in conspiracy against the Government, denounced by Washington, was found in a letter addressed to Mazzei, a Florentine, published in the *Moniteur*, the official gazette of the French Government, on the 28th of January, 1797.

Was the idea of a monarchy never entertained in the breast of a Southern statesman? Edmund Pendleton, the ancestor of the proposed Vice-President, thus writes to Carter Braxton, on the 12th of May, 1776: "Of all others, I own, I prefer the TRUE ENGLISH CONSTITUTION, which consists of a proper combination of the principles of Honor, Virtue and Fear."* Nor was Hamilton unaware of the tendencies of the Southern mind. Recapi-

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* *Richmond Examiner*, August 8, 1800.

tulating the dangers of not adopting a vigorous constitution, he portrayed to the General Convention "Dismemberment, with the instance of Poland,—Foreign Influence,—Distractions setting afloat vicious humours,—Standing armies by dissensions,—Domestic factions;" and sums the evils, pointing to a "MONARCHY in the SOUTHERN STATES." *

Is the idea of a French goverment on our South-Western frontier new in the counsels of France? For what purpose was the expedition gathered at Boulogne in 1803, if not to reconquer Louisiana in all its vast extent and to hold New Orleans in the clutch of its first Napoleon and of his successors? As to the dangers of a vigorous government in Canada, the opinions of Washington, and Hamilton, and Winfield Scott, are pregnant. As to a repudiation of the debt, let the whole, long, vast difficulty of providing for the debt of the Revolution—Southern men urging its being *sponged*—be well considered. The history of that difficulty may easily be read. Nor is it silent as to the worthlessness of the currency and the impoverishment of the people, prompting stay laws and plunging headlong into insurrection. And who is not familiar with the story of the army at Newburg incited to "*redress* themselves" by one of the ablest after leaders of the Democratic party, and only restrained from excesses by their soldiers' affection to, and confidence in Washington. Can it not be imagined that Grant, and Sherman, and Sheridan, and their fellow officers, may be the objects of political persecution, when it is remembered, that by the very men who asserted that the Constitution was a *compact*, and Secession a right, Anthony Wayne was sought to be deprived of his rank, or that Farragut could be treated with contumely, when we know that Truxton was insulted in the President's house by a President for having captured a French frigate. Wayne had fought, often fought—fought most successfully to establish the Union, and was a supporter of Washington while maintaining it; and Truxton was a naval conqueror in its good behalf, while France was seeking to dissolve it with the aid of her American partizans.

These are but a few of the consequences to follow the success

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* Hamilton's Works, II., 413.

of the approvers of McClellan and of Pendleton. People of America—you have read too little of the history of your country, or you would see that the hour of the election of these men would be the hour of signing the DEATH WARRANT of the UNION. And now cursorily consider the consequences of the success of the great UNION PARTY. First—the restored and permanently established Unity of this great Republic, and in this restoration the great prominent fact in the face of the whole world, that the United States compose a Republican Nation equal to and above all possible exigencies. 2d. The vindication of the cause of Freedom in its largest sense, and the practical assertion, beyond all casuistry, of the great principles of the Declaration of Independence—that "all men are born free and equal." 3d. A provision for the redemption of the whole public debt, by an adequate sinking fund, within less than half a century—with taxation so light as not to be felt, and yet with ample revenue —the price of every useful commodity brought within the compass of the most moderate means—while labor, with new fields opened and opening, will increase largely all its proper gains, till all this great "*Land* with one supreme law" pervading—one LAND of one UNITED PEOPLE—one Nation under one National Government—will more than ever be a miracle among the nations of the world. 4th. Our glorious armies rewarded in every form of national gratitude with its growing power of reward, fields of glory with fields that never refuse a golden harvest. 5th. England, glad to escape the punishments due to her great offences by full reparation for the wrongs and losses inflicted with her ready connivance. 6th. The Northern British possessions, themselves seeking the boon, admitted into the Union—another make weight against the danger of Southern secession. 7th. The brave great men, who have led our armies to victory, sitting in the councils of a future Washington—vieing with each other by a well measured policy, in the glorious rivalry of healing the wounds of this great Civil War, and of binding together by stronger ties those who have been misled with those who have never faltered.

These good results are not only possible. They will be accomplished—and why accomplished? I judge of others by myself. I must vote for President Lincoln, or I must be false to

all the convictions of my reason—false to all the earnest promptings of my heart—false, ungrateful to the memory of the illustrious men who founded our National Government—false in gratitude to those who have perilled their lives in this gigantic struggle. I cannot vote for George B. McClellan, for "his record" proves in him no strength of character—no force of will—no steadiness of purpose. From his very nature he must be "the agent and creature of his party"—as is openly avowed. The imbecility of Buchanan surrendered this government to traitor counsels—without purpose as he may be—reluctant as he may be—the imbecility of McClellan will surrender it to traitor hands—for traitor hands and traitor counsels behind the scenes have moved the puppets who would raise him to high office. I must vote for President Lincoln—because whatever may have been his errors—they have been the errors of a most kind, confiding nature; of a confidence often much abused—while his public principles and his public virtues, ever true to those principles, have been the stay and the shield of the American people in the midst of almost overwhelming dangers—principles which, in the exercise of the great powers conferred upon him by the Constitution, have met every contingency—have triumphed in every emergency. For such a man, so simple and direct—so free from vanity and ostentation—so courageous and so hearty—so faithful and untiring in his fidelity—so steady to the Union and alive to its perils—were his faults more and greater, his virtues are so great and many—so far overbalance all that paid partizanship or party prejudice have urged against him—that, as the issue now is, it is a privilege of patriotism to vote.

I will vote for President Lincoln for other reasons. Not to vote for him would be a proof of national unsteadiness fatal to our form of government—*a most dangerous precedent*—while to vote for his competitor would be to encourage, by his success, the example of elevation to office as the reward of stubborn incapacity, courting a most mistaken, misplaced sympathy—of great, frequent, inexcusable military failures being the high road to political preferment—*a most fatal precedent.* If my sympathies were to govern my vote, they would be with the man, who, while President of the United States, has been

treated, and this more than once, with *indignity* by the officer, now his rival candidate, upon whom he had conferred the chief command of the army! Of this the proofs are ready and instant. If my sympathies were to govern my vote, they would be with the man, who has been made the subject of the scoffs and of the gibes of the lowest creatures of the populace, while offering their noisy adulations to his feeble rival. If my sympathies were to govern my vote, they would be with the man whose fulfillment of duty has not only been opposed by all the energies of vigorous rebel war, but by the arts of specious demagogues, prating of and paltering with the Constitution and the laws, and recognizing as their "*friends*" a mass of rioters resisting the draft, recent from burning the hospitals of aged decrepitude and the dwellings of peaceful people, and on their return from this kind greeting—their hands yet reeking with the blood of murdered citizens—*cheering* for McClellan! If my sympathies were to govern my vote, they would be for the man, whom southern traitors sought to *assassinate* on his appointed way to the Capitol of the nation, and whose person they were plotting to *seize* to prevent his entering upon the high office to which the American people had chosen him. But sympathies out of the case, I must vote for Abraham Lincoln, because the question before us all is this—COERCION COMPLETED OR TREASON TRIUMPHANT.

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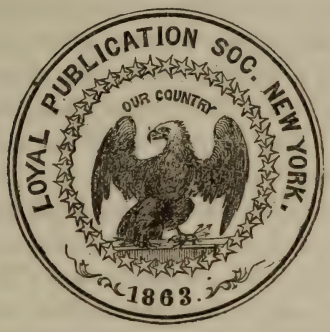
NEW YORK, 

863 BROADWAY.

No. 67.

LINCOLN OR McCLELLAN.

APPEAL TO THE GERMANS IN AMERICA.

By FRANCIS LIEBER

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN BY T. C.*

COUNTRYMEN AND FELLOW-CITIZENS:

The presidential election is rapidly approaching, and it is time for every citizen to reflect and decide conscientiously for whom he shall give his ballot. At an election of such importance, when everything dear to us, as citizens, is staked on the issue, it is unworthy—it is cowardly—to throw away

* This appeal was written several weeks before the letter of Alexander H. Stephens to some friends in Georgia, and the report of Judge Advocate Holt, on the conspiracy in this country, for the subversion of its government in favor of the rebels, were published. These two documents, the first speaking of "the ultimate and absolute sovereignty of the states," the other showing many prominent men of the Chicago Convention loaded with crimes of the deepest dye—these documents would have furnished the writer of the appeal with many sad illustrations.—*Translator.*

the right of voting. No patriot will choose political impotency at this crisis. The entire political existence of this country, of which we became citizens by the choice of our mature years, and not by the accident of birth, rests upon the free ballot; and he who has the right, has also the duty to vote. If sensible and honest voters stay away from the polls, they may be sure that those whose votes have been bought, and those who have no right to vote at all, will be ready there to appear in their stead.

The great majority of those who come from Germany to America are Democrats in the true sense, and when they find in this country a large party, which for years has been called the Democratic party, many allow themselves to be deceived by the mere name. The assemblage which gathered at Chicago, and nominated General McClellan for the Presidency, also calls itself the Democratic party—and of what sort of people was this mixed-up convention composed? In the first place, a great proportion consisted of old "Know-nothings." They openly proclaimed themselves such. Can you, Germans, vote on the same side with these men, whose only principle has been to shut in your faces the gates of this wide continent, to which their own fathers came from Europe, or else, as you are here already, to take from you the right of citizenship? Will you vote with those who, like their friends, the rebels, would load you with infamy, and who speak of you as the offscouring of the earth? The Know-nothings plot in secret. They have their lodges, and form a secret society. Is that, in a free country, democratic? Freedom, above all, rests on publicity.

Another portion of the Chicago convention consisted of those who set State-Rights, as they call it, above everything else; who openly say that Americans have not a country! and that the sovereignty of the single state stands high above everything else—is absolute; that each state has the right to tear itself away, and be a separate dominion; that there is therefore no right anywhere to compel such a state to remain in the Union. They utter untruths, and they know it! What would these same people have done if Ohio

or Massachusetts had suddenly broken away and declared itself a monarchy? What do the rulers in Richmond at this very instant say of those men in North Carolina, who desire to withdraw their own state from the so-called confederacy? They call them rebels. How comes it that, up to this very day, there are men sitting in the congress at Richmond, as delegates from Missouri and Kentucky? Have these states seceded? Why have the rebels all along claimed Maryland as belonging to them? The delegates from Kentucky and Missouri sit in their congress; Maryland troops fight in their ranks, because Kentucky, Missouri, and Maryland are, or were, slaveholding states. With these enemies of the Union, therefore, slavery is the principle of cohesion of a new country, and state-sovereignty is not the basis of the right of secession. Why did these gentlemen all support General Jackson, when the old hero told South Carolina she should be compelled, by force of arms, to stay in the Union? And is the doctrine of state-sovereignty democratic? I feel almost ashamed to ask such a question of a German. The Democracy has always, and everywhere, been for the unity of the country; it will have but one country, worthy of a great nation. All Pumpernickel sovereignties, all the "Algerine states," as in Germany they are now called, have always been objects of loathing and execration to the Democracy.

Unquestionably each state in the United States has its rights, and ought to have them. But so, too, each man has his rights, and the rights of the individual which belong to every person in a free country are far more valuable, and are more important, taken on the whole, than the rights of states are. But the individual man is not for this reason a sovereign. Do you know that the word "sovereignty" does not once occur in that great instrument, the Constitution of the United States? The word "sovereignty" was smuggled into our political dictionary when this Constitution had already been adopted. Who then is sovereign in America if the states are not? Nobody! No man, no corporation, no congress, no president, no officer, no body of men, is sovereign in a free country.

The United States are sovereign in respect to all other sovereign nations. We are sovereign when we treat with France and England, or when we engage in war; but within the country itself no one is sovereign.

This is no new theory, nor is it any theory at all. It is a fact. Two hundred years ago, when the famous Bill of Rights was under consideration in the English Parliament, the greatest lawyer in England declared that the word "sovereign" was not known to English law. He said this because the dynasty which had just then been expelled had constantly talked of the king's sovereign power.

But can it be necessary to argue with Germans against a hankering after petty state domination and provincial pomposity. State sovereignty, indeed! Have we not had enough of that sort of thing in the land from which we came? If a German wants to have a stew of states, he never need come for it to America. Has he not got enough of sovereign states, big, little, and minute, at home?

What are the ideas which most animate the German in Germany? They are the unity of Germany and civil freedom. And shall he here give his vote for those who would see the country torn asunder in fragments while the cause of human slavery should triumph?

German working men! why did you leave home, family, the friends of your youth, and seek this distant America? It was because you had heard that in the United States you would find a country wherein you and your children would enjoy all the rights of the free citizen; where skill and industry would surely find their reward, and where your children would never find themselves debarred from any merited attainment by the privileges of others. If then you would not have, in place of this Union, a land where the working man should be delivered over to a grinding tyranny far worse than any endured in the oppressed countries of Europe, do not lend your aid to the party which would give up the Union to the dominion of the Southern landholders.

For do you know what this slave-owning, would-be oligarchy pretends to aim at? Perhaps you suppose they struggle only

to retain possession of their negro slaves. The Southern slaveholders are fighting for that which was for so long a time the prerogative of the owners of the soil, the privilege of using the working man, whether white or black, as the instrument of their power, their pleasure, and their arrogance. The working man is to bear all the burdens of the state, but he is to have no rights in it. It is for him to obey, and for the rich man alone to rule. Hear what the secession leaders have said :

"No state can endure in which the laboring class has political rights. Those alone who own the soil and the capital must govern and be the masters of those who labor."

And they say this, remember it well :

"Capital has an inherent right to own labor."

If you would have masters set up over you, on this principle, vote for McClellan. Would you retain your equal rights as the citizens of a free country, vote for Lincoln, who has been an honest working man like yourselves.

Another part of the Chicago Convention consisted of those who seem to believe that all can be made right if people will only keep on shouting "the Constitution, the Constitution," as loud as they can.

We think we understand the Constitution quite as well as these gentlemen, and respect it more. For it should be noticed that the so-called Democratic party has of late years always set the Constitution aside whenever it seemed to be for their advantage. Was Nullification constitutional ? Was it constitutional when Mr. Douglas, shortly before the last Presidential election, promised the South to advocate a law subjecting to heavy punishment the mere discussion of the slavery question ? Was it constitutional, when, for twenty years, and probably longer, the letterbags in the South were opened to see whether they contained abolition documents ? Was it constitutional to deny the right of petition ? Is Secession constitutional ? Is it consistent with the Constitution to say with those Chicago people that it is the President's right and

duty to release any State that may desire to leave the Union? Is it constitutional to speak of secession as "one of the reserved rights of the State"? Is it constitutional to declare that our whole political State-structure exists only to benefit a single class of men—a class known by the complexion of the skin? Even the ancient heathen had a higher view of the State and of the objects of civil government. Is it constitutional to represent one whole government as a mere Confederation or League—that poorest of all governments for a modern and free people? Was it in the spirit of the Constitution when Mr. Calhoun and all his followers proclaimed that the Senate should always be equally divided between slave states and free states, thus making for the first time in our history slavery an immutable institution? Was the precious Ostend proclamation conceived in a constitutional spirit?

We too honor the Constitution, but the Constitution is not a deity. We love our country, the nation, freedom; and these things are superior even to the Constitution; and it should never be forgotten that by this Southern Rebellion a state of things is brought upon us for which the Constitution never was, and never could be calculated. Shall we fold our hands, as did Mr. Buchanan, and declare that nothing can be done on our part to save the country because the Constitution does not prescribe what we are to do in such a case? Such was the opinion which his Attorney-General of the United States gave to Mr. Buchanan. God forbid! We are one nation; we mean to remain one people, and our country must not be suffered to perish. The life of the patient must be saved whether the case is mentioned in the recipe book or not. The Constitution did not make the people, for the people made the Constitution. But has the Constitution been violated at all? We have not space for an examination of the question. But, my countrymen, admitting that some things may have occurred which could not be justified by existing laws, I am, as I think I may safely say, as well acquainted with the history of the past as any of these Chicago gentlemen, and I can advisedly affirm that never yet has

there been any civil war, nor even any ordinary war in which the government has tolerated the thousandth part of that liberty which the enemies of the Government and the friends of those enemies enjoy among us—infinitely more, than the latter would allow us in a reversed case.

It is the so-called Democratic party which has brought this civil war upon us, and now they say that they only can end it. Why so ? Does a man in America acquire some mysterious power or wisdom as soon as he calls himself a Democrat ? They want to make up a peace, to give still greater guarantees to the South—everything to the rebels ; in short, they belong to those in the North who have always been the obsequious servants of the South, and who seem to think themselves honored by fulfilling the behests of an arrogant slaveholder. Is that Democracy ?

My friends, let us vote for Lincoln. Many of you doubtless say that he has done some things which you do not like, or that sometimes he has not acted with sufficient promptitude. But the simple question before the people now is, shall Lincoln or McClellan be the next President ? No other man can be elected ; and now is there a German who can hesitate, or one who can be so indifferent as not to vote for either. The one candidate is *national*, the other is not. The one is for freedom and for the removal of that which is the disgrace of this century—he is opposed to slavery, which has brought upon us the demon of civil war. The other would preserve slavery. The one is out-spoken and candid ; is the other so ? The one is for all the citizens of this great country, whether they were born here or not ; the other owes his nomination in a great degree to the Know-Nothings. The one is truly a Democrat—he is a man of the people ; the other is no real Democrat—at least those who have set him up before the people are anything but democratic in feeling. The one, though surrounded by unparalleled difficulties, has at least so guided the ship of state that we are now in sight of the desired haven ; the other, when he was at the head of one of the grandest armies that had been seen in a century,

did little more than hesitate, when he might, as the enemy now admits, have put an end to the war.

It is easy to understand why some very rich and some very poor Germans, who want to get into office, exert themselves for McClellan. But of every German who has no such views, who simply gives his vote for the honor, the unity, and the freedom of his adopted country, and who does not allow himself to be deluded by the mere name of "Democrat," we may naturally expect that when he has calmly reflected on the vast importance of the occasion, and the character of the candidates, he will vote for Lincoln.

Every citizen ought to exert himself to the utmost in this remarkable election, when a great nation is called upon at the very crisis of a gigantic civil war, to elect a ruler by the popular and untrammelled ballot. It is not sufficient to carry the election of Mr. Lincoln by a bare overplus of numbers. A sweeping national majority is required to prove to Europe, to the South, and to its friends here in the midst of us, that this people is resolved to maintain this country in its integrity, a great and unimpaired commonwealth. The result of this election should be like a great national harvest, garnering its full sheaves from every portion of the land.

Loyal Leagues, Clubs, or individuals may obtain any of our publications at the cost price, by application to the Executive Committee, or by calling at the Rooms of the Society. 863 Broadway, where all information may be obtained relating to the Society.

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The Cowards' Convention.

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863 BROADWAY, NEW YORK.

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The object of the Society is expressed in the following Resolution, formally adopted by unanimous vote of the Society, at its first Anniversary Meeting, February 13, 1864.

Resolved and declared, That the object of the Loyal Publication Society is, and shall be, to publish and distribute tracts, papers and journals, of unquestionable loyalty, throughout the United States, in the cities and the country, in the army and navy, and in hospitals, thus to diffuse knowledge and stimulate a broad national patriotism, and to aid in the suppression of the Rebellion by the extinction of its causes, and in the preservation of the integrity of the Nation, by counteracting the efforts of the advocates of a disgraceful and disintegrating Peace.

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LOYAL PUBLICATION SOCIETY,

NEW YORK,

863 BROADWAY.

No. 68.

THE COWARDS' CONVENTION—No. 1.

To the Editor of the New York Times :

> "An open foe may prove a curse,
> But a pretended friend is worse."—GAY.

In this most portentous crisis of our political history, the first thing necessary for all loyal men is to know the full extent of our danger. It is no use mincing or dodging the matter. We have to do with enemies who, if successful, will complete the work of their fellow-traitors at the South. The secessionists tore the country in two; the framers of the Chicago platform would scatter it in fragments.

When thus speaking of the so-called Democratic party, I have no wish to say much against or about their nominal standard-bearer. He was a good, though slow business man; is a good driller, good engineer, and altogether a very fair *defensive* commander. And there is certainly this much propriety in his nomination, that if his party succeeds, we shall speedily have occasion to try our commander-in-chief's capacity in that species of warfare for which he is best adapted.

Nor is it intimated that the War Democrats, whom party organization and a misplaced fidelity to names will dragoon into the support of a peace platform, have any intention or desire of destroying the nation and dividing the country indefinitely. They will vote in ignorance of the real issues, as hundreds of thousands voted for Pierce in '52, as thousands voted for Seymour in '62. Though certainly not blameless, since there is an ignorance so blind and wilful that it is almost as wicked and quiet as harmful as wickedness itself, they may well be acquitted of voluntarily compassing the national destruction.

But neither the nominal leader nor the deluded War Democrats will have any hand in shaping the policy of the party. Its real managers are the framers of that precious confession of faith, the Chicago platform. Horatio Seymour, the Prince of Jesuits; Fernando Wood, a man capable of any enormity; Vallandigham, a Southerner by birth and a traitor by profession, as deadly an enemy of the Union as Jefferson Davis himself—these are the men who rule the Opposition, who direct it now, and will direct it if, for our sins, it is permitted to become the government.

The necessary results of their success are generally understood, but it is evident the loyal and patriotic public does not appreciate the extent of the danger. Thus we hear it constantly said, "If the Chicago candidate is elected, the restoration of the Union at once becomes impossible. We are humiliated by the recognition of a Southern confederacy; our democratic principles will be violated, and the contiguous existence of two rival nations will bring about a chronic state of war and all the inconveniences to which Continental Europe is subject," &c., &c. All which is true enough so far as it goes; but it goes a very little way into the matter. After enumerating these obvious results which the popular mind so strongly and so justly deprecates, we are only on the top layer of our Pandora's box. *If we could demonstrate with mathematical certainty that a Southern Confederacy might be acknowledged on terms neither dishonorable nor destructive to ourselves, and that our democratic form of*

government might undergo various innovations with impunity, we should not have gone the first step toward proving that such terms could be procured and such innovations would be made by a "peace-at-any-price" President. On the contrary, the impossibility of the latter proposition would only become clearer by the proof of the former.

Let us, for the sake of argument, admit—

1. That a peace, acknowledging the independence of a Southern Confederacy, may be made without any disgrace to us.
2. That modifications in our democratic theory and practice of government may be made, without ruin, or even with benefit, to the country.
3. That two rival nations may co-exist on the territory of the old Union.

There is nothing in these admissions to interfere with the following conclusions:

1. That the peace made by the so-called Democratic party would be a most dishonorable one.
2. That the modifications of Democratic principles made or permitted by them would be highly injurious and destructive.
3. That the North could not exist as an independent nation under the rule and on the principles of the Peace Democrats.

(The first and third of these propositions are intimately connected, but as the third must come last, since all national evils are summed up in destruction, and the question of reconstruction or separation is the most pressing, and has, therefore, a right to the first place, I arrange them as above, though the division is somewhat awkward.)

First, then, we will admit, for the sake of argument, that a peace may be made recognizing a Southern Confederacy (note the indefinite articles), on terms not disgraceful to us.

(Observe that nothing is said about the safety of such a proceeding. Honor, and honor alone, is the subject of our story.)

Such an assumption may be made. It has been made by a whole class of persons—the English writers favorable to the North, who, disagreeing with the Pro-Slavery Britons on all other points, agreed, for some time at least, with them in this, that the war would be one "for boundary." However much a man like Professor Cairnes, for instance, may have mistaken the spirit or the wants of the American people, we cannot suspect him of wishing our disgrace.

But what sort of peace must this be in order not to be disgraceful? Clearly one of which we, rather than the Confederates, should fix the conditions, they making great sacrifice to obtain the acknowledgment of their "independence." It would naturally proceed, as far as possible, on the *uti possidetis* principle. It would give us all the Border States except East Virginia, whatever view be taken of their condition—whether, as we say, they are States which have remained faithful to the Union, or, as the Confederates and philo-Confederate Europeans say, they are "conquered provinces." We could not expect to keep New Orleans, but we should be obliged to retain one fortified position on the Mississippi, that our navigation of that river might not be at the mercy of paper agreement with repudiators. If we could suppose that phenomenon, a well-informed and impartial European, to act as umpire, the most he could ask of us would be to "rectify the frontier" by ceding Tennessee in exchange for Eastern Virginia. It is hardly necessary to add that we must have nothing to do with paying any of the Confederate expenses, directly or indirectly, or altering any of our institutions to suit them, or even acknowledge the right of secession, the Confederate independence being admitted merely as an accomplished fact, without regard to its merits.

In short, the supposed honorable peace must be such a one as would be honorable to us, had the North and the Gulf States originally been two distinct sovereignties, fighting for

the border territory and the navigation of the Mississippi. Now, what chances are there that such terms of separation, or any like them, would be obtained by the Chicago policy of "immediate armistice and ultimate convention"?

None, whatever.

The claims of the Confederates are well known. They demand *every foot of territory* south of Mason and Dixon's line, including the national capital, the surrender of which involves the surrender of our national existence. (About this there will be somewhat to say hereafter; for the present, we are only speaking of national humiliation.) The sole doubtful point is whether they do or do not include Kansas in this claim. Some time ago there were grounds for suspecting that they had relinquished their pretensions to Maryland and Delaware; but Davis has just disposed of that ambiguity in his answer to Col. Jaques. *He asks of us a territorial cession far more humiliating than that which the whole force of Germany has recently extorted from Denmark:* and this is *the only* condition on which *he* will agree to the "immediate armistice." And recollect that "Jefferson Davis says," is a much more comprehensive formula than "Abraham Lincoln says." The latter is not the people of the United States, though as the executive of their Government, and the representative of their majority, his words have great weight; but Davis *is the State*, in Secession, as much as Louis Napoleon is in France, despite his hypocritical pretence of being unable to interfere with the individual "sovereignties."

But this is not all. Far from it. The prominent rebel organs have repeatedly announced as *essential* conditions of peace, that we should acknowledge the right of secession, return to Slavery all the negroes whom the progress of the war has set free, or pay their value, repudiate our own debt, to punish the loyal men who hold it, and—last humiliation of a conquered people—do what they would never do for themselves, pay theirs!

Will it be said, "It is easy to claim anything, but would the North accede to these preposterous demands?" I an-

swer, not only is it probable, from their uniform subserviency to their Southern masters, that the Peace Democrats would do it, *but it is certain that they must, if they mean to carry out their own principles consistently.* The right of secession they already acknowledge, and the rest follows, from their professed doctrines, by easy inference.

If, as the O'Conors, Brookses, and other Peace Democrats, are never weary of telling us, the negro is an inferior animal, without civil rights, then the disposition of a few hundred thousand blacks is a matter of no more consequence than the disposal of the same number of cattle, and becomes an insignificent detail in face of the great question of peace. If the war is "unconstitutional," as Horatio Seymour pronounces it to be, all the measures employed in carrying it on must be tainted with the same unconstitutionality ; and, of these, the war-loans are not the least potent or prominent. If it is "unholy," as that Apostle of the New Gospel of Peace, F. Wood, declares—if we were impious and unchristian in taking up the gauntlet which the conspirators threw down to us at Sumter—then we, as repentant Christians, under the guidance of that eminent disciple, Saint Fernando, should make what restitution we can to our aggrieved and invaded secesh brethren.

Such is the immediate prospect of degradation presented to us by the sages and patriots of Chicago, a degradation so deep and damnable, that it would make us a scorn and a hissing throughout the world, and any man with a soul above a flea's would be ashamed to look his own wife and children in the face.

Let me conclude this part of our subject with a little anecdote, after the manner of our worthy Executive.

Mlle. Luther, a young and pretty Parisian actress, accepted the protection of a well-known restaurateur. A lady named Doche, of more experience in the profession, expostulated with her on the lowness of her choice—"My dear, you astonish me ! An eating-house proprietor at your time of life ? One keeps that sort of thing for the last."

So I say about submission to the enemy. *One should keep*

that sort of thing for the last. When we are in the very ultimate ditch, with Washington besieged, Philadelphia taken, and Boston blockaded, with Gov. Seymour's friends pillaging and murdering in New York worse than they did last year, and no troops at hand to shoot them down, with gold at 2,000, and every boy of fifteen conscripted, *then* it will be time to talk of throwing away our arms and begging for peace. Submission on the part of those who cannot help themselves, if not honorable, is at least excusable. But what words can depict the infamy and degradation of those who surrender everything while they have the best of the fight, and run away from the battle when victory is hovering in their grasp ?

THE COWARDS' CONVENTION—No. 2.

To the Editor of the New York Times :

Having shown that even were an honorable separation possible, it could not be obtained on the principles of the Chicago Convention, I proceed to the second proposition.

Let it be admitted, for the sake of argument, that innovations might be made in our Democratic theory and practice without injury.

Such a hypothesis may be framed without doing violence to our intelligence or even to probability. We (by *we* I mean all of us who are not demagogues and place-hunters, and do not get a living by lies and flattery) know that nothing of man's institution is perfect, that Democracy is no exception to this rule, and our Democracy no exception in this respect to other Democracies. Those of us who have looked deeper into the matter know that any government, as it goes on, has a tendency to intensify its own faults, and that the predominant element of it is constantly absorbing all checks. Thus, as what we may call the centripetal element is constantly gaining ground in an autocracy, and accumulating more and more power about the one source of it, so

what we may call the centrifugal element, is as constantly gaining ground in a Democracy. This has been exemplified in our own history; for though the Federal Constitution has remained unaltered, thanks to the guards with which its wise framers surrounded it, the constitutions of nearly all the older states have been largely modified in a democratic sense.* In view of all which a change theoretically anomalous, might be practically beneficial.

Our assumption, then, is not unreasonable in its very nature. It is not like those impossible figments of the brain put forth by the leading spirits at Chicago, so dreamy and baseless that the very rebels for whose benefit they were devised, cannot help laughing at them—proposing, for instance, that we should give up five and a half states, of which we now hold possession, for the *chance* of getting them back *some time or other* by a convention—a piece of absurdity in comparison with which the fable of the dog and the shadow becomes a solid reality.

Among our hypothetical changes might be a prolongation of the Presidential term to eight or ten years; a return in all the states to a permanent judiciary; a limitation of universal suffrage in the great cities where its results have been so unsatisfactory; and generally, without multiplying examples, we may admit that a number of alterations, theoretically anti-democratic, might be made without overthrowing the government or ruining the country.

Note always, that these changes are not recommended. Their practicability is merely assumed for the sake of argument. And after this assumption, it is still true that the innovations brought about by the success of the Chicago platform, would be utterly subversive.

For, in the first place, yielding to the rebels would involve a self-condemnation of democratic government by confessing its impotence for self-protection; and in confessing this, we really give up everything If such government were in all

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* This took place at the South less than at the North, owing to the continued preponderance of an oligarchic element in the former.

other respects perfect, without this element it would be worthless. It would resemble the horse who had but one fault—that he was dead. Once allow that a Government based on the voice of the majority may be resisted by a minority, and the whole theory of democracy is as practically disproved as the divine right of Kings was in England when William of Orange walked in and kicked out James II. and his court of French pensioners, the Woods and Vallandighams of that day. Its existence is at once rendered precarious, and put at the mercy of any minority bold and cunning enough to conspire against it. This is what the foreign enemies of our Union were continually predicting—that it was not able to resist internal pressure; and the Chicago leaders are intent on verifying their most sombre predictions. After this confession of weakness, our Government might not perish to-morrow or next month, but it would assuredly collapse as soon as another great strain was put upon it; and we shall see hereafter to what sort of strains it would speedily be subjected.

The utterly subversive character of this confession will become still clearer, if we consider the class in whose favor it is made.

If there is any principle which more than all others may be called fundamental in the theory and practice of our Constitution, it is that of political equality—equal rights and no class privileges. And as it is the chief distinction, so is it the chief virtue of our Government. Nobody doubts that a man of wealth and refinement, who is willing to live selfishly—that is for himself and his class—may live more comfortably in several European countries. He can get more for his money, and find more agreeable companions. Our institutions were of and for the people, expressly designed to promote the welfare and happiness of the greatest number. Consequently and naturally the people have always been jealous of anything that looked like a tendency toward the establishment of class prerogative. At one time they had a great fear of moneyed corporations, and though some of its phases at the time were extravagant, the subsequent encroachments of railroad and other companies on public and private rights

have proved that this fear was well founded. Hence too the "Native" movement, however provoked or even justified by the misconduct of some of our foreign citizens, could never take root in the country. In the case of the negro, one unfortunate exception was made to the rule of equal rights—an exception that has proved the rule with a vengeance!

But now this corner-stone of our Constitution is to be rejected, and at whose bidding? That of a sectional oligarchic class, amounting, according to the very largest estimate that has been made of them, to a million of persons—something less than one thirtieth of the whole population, and fewer, comparatively, than the aristocratic class of England.

And this is the upshot of so many years' teaching and practice of the once great Democratic party! A party which, spasmodically faithful to its name, every now and then rode its hobby at the most erratic pace; which hunted down banks and tariffs because it suspected in them the germ of a possible aristocracy; which, in pursuit of the largest liberty, assigned, both by executive appointment and popular votes, the most notorious violators of law to be its special administrators and guardians; which decried learning and good manners as unrepublican, and claimed to be the special servant, agent and friend of the working classes. The moment it finds itself face to face with an oligarchy of any courage and skill, it can suggest nothing except to surrender "body and boots."

The French Emperor and his flatterers boast that he has reconciled the strong points of an autocratic and a democratic government. On this subject the world is not quite agreed; many think the task too difficult even for a Napoleon. But, so much easier is evil than good, it is quite possible to combine some of the worst features of an oligarchy and ochlocracy; and this is what the Chicago schemers are endeavoring to give us. I want none of their patent mixture. To borrow the indignant words of Mr. John Jay, "it is hard to say whether the sham aristocracy of the Southern slave masters, or the sham Democracy of their Northern serfs, is the more despicable."

THE COWARDS' CONVENTION—No. 3.

THE CHICAGO PLATFORM—TWO GOVERNMENTS, AND THE RESULT—CHAOS COME AGAIN—GEN. McCLELLAN—HIS PLATFORM AND HIMSELF—PEACE AND UNION.

To the Editor of the New York Times:

Having proved that the Chicago platform involves utter disgrace to the country, and a total abandonment of the fundamental principles of democracy, we shall now show how it will lead, and that not remotely, to a destruction of our national existence and an unlimited subdivision of the country.

Let us suppose, for the sake of argument, that the North and South might, under certain circumstances, co-exist as independent nations on the territory of the Union.

Of course they would not co-exist comfortably. There would be wars and a state of disturbance approaching to chronic. All we suppose is, that they might exist, as the nations of Continental Europe, though they live uncomfortable and expensively enough together, still live.

But to make this state of things even hypothetically possible, the North must be supposed to start fair with the South.

How the South would start we may pretty accurately foresee. It would be a strong military oligarchy, composed of three classes—a ruling aristocracy, white plebeians and black slaves. *Nominally*, it would be founded on a principle of mutual dissolution, the "State Sovereignty" theory; but it is obvious that this fiction was merely used as a means of getting certain States out of the Union, and that having served its purpose, it is now practically disregarded, as Davis' invasion of Kentucky and the recent language of his organs about North Carolina must clearly show. To resist the encroachments of such a power, the North would have

to be *firmly united* under a real, live national government (not a league or a confederacy dissoluble at pleasure); also, she must come out of the war *unhumiliated* and unweakened by any cession of border territory. She could not afford to begin her separate existence as a conquered country.

Now, how can the Chicago policy satisfy either of these conditions?

In the first place, the "immediate armistice" demanded by it will only be granted by Davis, on condition of our surrendering all the territory south of Mason and Dixon's line, including the capital. The first essential preliminary therefore to the cessation of hostilities, is *our national destruction*, for there is no case in history of a nation surviving the alienation of its capital. When the seat of government becomes permanently attached to another country, the nation is annihilated. Let us, however, in order to give ourselves every chance, suppose either that we shall inaugurate the exceptions to this hitherto universal rule, or that Jefferson Davis shall be graciously pleased to leave us "My Maryland." Alas! this goes but a little way to save us, for the next moment we stumble on something which prevents us from ever having an efficient government—the doctrine of "State Sovereignty."

Doubtless the supporters of this disorganizing invention would like to use it as their master at Richmond has done, merely as a stepping-stone to power, which they might afterward cast aside. But they would find it impossible to lay the spirit of ruin they had evoked. The circumstances are not the same. We have no aristocratic and scarcely any plebeian class, no universal interest like Slavery to bind the States; their "sovereignty" would be for us a fearful reality, and that reality— anarchy.

The principle has been established that one or more states may lawfully and peaceably secede from the general government. As soon as the West is dissatisfied with a high tariff, or New-England with a new one; as soon as Pennsylvania wants a Fugitive Slave Law, or Ohio objects to one—quick, raise the standard of secession! The central government

could only expect to maintain its integrity so long as it commanded a majority in every state.

Nay, how can we even hope that this disintegrating process would be confined to the separation of the states from one another? We shall have to descend to much smaller fractions of government before we reach the ultimate atoms. Every one of the larger states contains a variety of conflicting interests. So far from a state possessing any peculiar indivisibility, as the disunionists claim, it is much easier to divide a state than the Union. That states *can* be divided is proved by the fact that they *have* been. Maine was made out of Massachusetts, Vermont out of New York and New Hampshire, and recently West Virginia out of Virginia.

In estimating the destructive forces at work, we must not omit the outside influence of the Southern oligarchy, and the two great powers of Western Europe. The former would have no objections to acquiring the nearest portions of our territory as subject provinces; the latter, remembering our ancient strength, would never rest till we were broken into the smallest pieces. The Europeans have as yet only ventured to work indirectly by intrigue; they would then be emboldened to renew the Mexican experiment.

With all these agencies undermining our government, nothing short of a perpetual miracle could avert its destruction. The country would be *comminuted.* New England has homogeneousness enough to hold together, but all the territory west of the Hudson would be sundered into more fragments than there are states. The Southern pro-slavery portions of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, and Indiana, would separate from the Northern anti-slavery portions. The city of New York would break off from the state, the western counties from the eastern. Some of these fragments would probably be swallowed up by the Southern oligarchy or empire; the others, if they did not become European dependencies, would go on squabbling among themselves, with no better position in the world than the South American Republics or the petty German states.

The prospect is too terrible and melancholy to contemplate

without a shudder, even in imagination; yet we must look at it, for the danger is here, imminent, right over our heads A Republican Senate may delay it for two years, but from the time that an armistice is under way, from the time that it is *officially proposed* by us our ruin is certain; it may be delayed, but cannot be averted.

One would gladly disbelieve that men can be found so infatuated as to labor day and night for the very purpose of bringing about this catastrophe; but the fact is as undeniable as it is lamentable. They have been condemned too often out of their own mouths; and disagreeable as the investigation may be, the causes of their folly are, at least, not difficult to find.

In the first place, the copperhead is the mean white of the North. The Southern oligarch has established the same superiority over him as over his own plebeian neighbors. The copperhead is the slaveholder's servant, and in seeking to tear the country to pieces, he is only following his master's bidding. Secondly, he is inspired by an ever-craving lust for office and its emoluments, deprived of which, he rages like a beast deprived of its young. Certain politicians of the old Democratic party had come to consider the government of the country as their own property, which they, like the Aldermanic "Ring" of New York, could farm out for their sole personal advantage, and in which no outsider had any right to interfere.

Hence their blind fury against the Republicans, whom they regard as having robbed them of their own particular stealings. "We will never let a single Republican hold office again!" exclaimed a triumphant Western Copperhead, two years ago, when the elections seemed to promise a restoration of his party to power. That was his idea of sending his opponents to Tartarus! For vengeance these men will sacrifice anything. Earth and hell are alike ransacked; no ally is to be despised or unsought; Jefferson Davis, Louis Napoleon, the very English aristocracy whom they used to abuse—all these they beg, and beseech, and implore, and entreat and supplicate to come and help them ruin the country, so that

only they may be revenged on those infamous Black Republicans, who have excluded them from the fat places which were their gods !

But General McClellan, it may be said, is not an old politician, or a "Peace-at-any-price" man. He explicity declares that Union is the only possible basis of peace.

What then ?

If we could take the General's letter by itself alone, "pure and simple," as the diplomatists say, then, without much coaxing, we might state the case thus : "The difference between Lincoln and McClellan is that the former wishes the Union restored without slavery, and the latter wishes it restored with slavery. Lincoln tried McClellan's plan for a year and a half, and then was obliged to give it up and adopt the more radical course as a military necessity. McClellan's election would, therefore, *put back* the war, and is so far to be deprecated ; still, it does not necessarily involve absolute ruin."

But, alas ! we can no more take the letter without the platform as an exposition of the party, than we can take Hebrews without John and James, or *vice versa*, as an exposition of the New Testament. The one complements the other, and it is too plain, on comparing them, that the letter was framed to catch one class of voters and the platform to catch another class, with directly conflicting views. And the comparison brings back to mind those twenty years of compromise and dishonesty, when every candidate was bound to be "available," and every declaration of principles to be Janus-faced ; when the Presidents were miserable ciphers, the tools of their own cabinets ; when politics were regarded as a mere knaves' scramble for office, and most persons considered government a mere superfluity—not a very ornamental one either—and the whole concern was driving to destruction in the merriest and pleasantest way imaginable.

But in those days there was something to be said for "going in on the general issue," as Seymour calls it. Though the practice was gradually eating away all political honesty and truth, its fatal effects were not yet clearly perceptible,

and meanwhile the immediate questions before the people were not of a vital character. If a cabinet did split about a fiscal agent or an ad-valorem duty, nothing very terrible could come of it.

Such is not the case now. The issue between the two branches of the so-called Democratic party is as grave and as clearly drawn as that between death and life. "Immediate cessation of hostilities;" "Union as an indispensable condition of peace." It is no more possible to be in favor of *both* these than it is to serve God and Mammon; and an administration composed of war and peace men, *supposing them all to be in earnest*, would resemble a coach with three horses at each end.

Suppose McClellan elected. He must, according to all precedent, construct a Cabinet from both wings of his party. Then the President and half his Secretaries refuse to make peace except on the basis of Union. As Davis has spurned that condition in advance, they must go on with the war, in a slow, creepy, McClellanish sort of way, to be sure, but still go on with it somehow. But the other half of the Cabinet is, at least, equally earnest for an immediate cessation of hostilities. Will they not, therefore, do all in their power to block, and trammel, and hinder the war—to bring to a stand-still what was already retarded in its progress? *And is it not this exactly what "our adversaries" want?*

No, the alternative between the two candidates, Lincoln and McClellan, and the two parties, the Republican and the so-called Democratic, is *Peace and Union through the War*, or *Permanent separation, Dishonor, and Destruction.* Which will the American people choose?

Loyal Leagues, Clubs, or individuals may obtain any of our publications at the cost price, by application to the Executive Committee, or by calling at the Rooms of the Society. 863 Broadway, where all information may be obtained relating to the Society.

LOYAL PUBLICATION SOCIETY,

NEW YORK,

863 BROADWAY.

No. 69.

F. M. Edge

WHOM DO ENGLISH TORIES WISH ELECTED TO THE PRESIDENCY?

THE following extracts from late English papers will show which candidate for the Presidency is favored by those Englishmen who have labored so zealously for the destruction of our country:

THE TIMES. (*Sept.* 26.)

"McClellan is the 'regular nominee,' and unless the disappointed section is strong enough to reassemble the convention, and obtain from it a reversal of the election, the party must go into the field against the Republicans."

THE MORNING POST. (*Sept.* 27.)

"It is curious that, with scarcely an exception, the several organs of the English press inferred that the nomination of General McClellan might be accepted as the inauguration of a peace policy."

THE MORNING HERALD. (*Sept.* 28.)

"A great victory in the South would at once give the upper hand to the peace party in the North."

SATURDAY REVIEW. (*Oct.* 1.)

"For the honorary sinecure of the Vice-Presidency, they ventured to select one of their own number, Mr. Pendleton, a highly respectable Peace Democrat from Ohio. Mr. Horatio Seymour and his friends had no reason to reckon on General McClellan's concurrence in their views, but they were probably assured by his personal supporters that he would adopt the resolutions of the convention."

UNITED SERVICE GAZETTE. (*Oct.* 1.)

"If Lee delivers his battle and wins, Mr. Lincoln loses his election; General McClellan will take his place, and peace will be the result."

THE PRESS. (*Oct.* 1.)

"What Mr. D'Israeli said on the question at Aylesbury the other day, is no doubt true enough; but though the issues of the war are vast and profound, and the people of the North are unwilling to sacrifice themselves for the attainment of those issues, the war must languish, and finally die out for want of popular support. Sooner or later this must happen, and if the Democrats are active and energetic, the grand result may be brought about by the approaching election for the next President of the *Federal* States."

JOHN BULL. (*Oct.* 1.)

"Now it seems to us possible that McClellan may still secure, or attempt to secure, the votes of the Peace Democrats, by coming out hereafter with some proposal of tendering an immediate armistice and a general convention of all

the states, to re-settle the Constitution under which they are in future to live. As we read his letter, it is quite possible for him, while coming forward as a candidate under the old Constitution, to say that it shall, at all hazards, be maintained by him until properly abrogated by some such general convention of states as that which first adopted it. As a general at the head of the nominal army of the United States, he might, if elected, consider himself a second Washington. * * * * This would fully acknowledge State Rights," &c., &c.

THE INDEX. (Confederate agent in London.) *Oct.* 1.

"Well will it be for the Confederate States, but, above all, for the United States, if the Northern peace party become dominant."

THE BRITISH APPEAL FOR PEACE—MORE IMPERTINENCE.

Governor Seymour is made the recipient of a memorial, which has appeared in print, from some three hundred Englishmen and Irishmen, pronouncing our war against the Southern states a wrong, a failure, and a ruin to our republican institutions, and asking its immediate discontinuance. This memorial is headed, and was circulated by Henry de Houghton, Baronet. That is appropriate enough, for it speaks for British class interests. It is committed to Horatio Seymour. That, too, is appropriate enough, for it speaks to American faction and sedition. But though the authorship and the trusteeship are apt, the memorial itself is not so. It is a piece of superlative impertinence.

The American people understand their own concerns. They want no foreign teaching. They can also manage their own concerns. They want no foreign advice. Their assur-

ance is that this is a war for self-preservation. Their determination is that it shall be fought through until every hair's breadth of the republic is secure. That assurance and that determination are as much beyond the influence of the Old World as the sun in the heavens.

The English people—or, at least the dominant classes of the English people—have chosen to take sides against our government, and for the rebellion. In the beginning of the war, this was regarded with great regret by Americans, for they had no other than good feeling toward England. Honest and earnest efforts were made to change the English spirit. They failed. Our people realized the failure, accepted it, and resigned themselves to it. Since that time, they have been wholly indifferent to British sentiment. So far as respects the positive complicity of the British government and people with the actual prosecution of the war against us, on the high seas, they have deferred the reckoning till they can give it their special attention. So far as respects the misrepresentation and contumely ceaselessly emitted against us by the presses most patronised in England, we care not. It is impotent. These gentry may befool themselves as they like, and rave as they please, within their own little limits. Our only demand is that they shall take it out by themselves. Let them keep their distance. Our people want none of their memorials. We mean our loyal people—these millions who are governing, and who will continue to govern this nation. In their name, we say to these intermeddlers: Back to your place.

Loyal Leagues, Clubs, or individuals, may obtain any of our publications at the cost price, by application to the Executive Committee, or by calling at the rooms of the Society, No. 863 Broadway, where all information may be obtained relating to the society.

LOYAL PUBLICATION SOCIETY,
863 BROADWAY.
No. 70.

LETTERS FROM EUROPE

TOUCHING THE

AMERICAN CONTEST,

AND

ACKNOWLEDGING THE RECEIPT, FROM CITIZENS OF NEW YORK, OF PRESENTATION SETS

OF THE

"REBELLION RECORD,"

AND

"LOYAL PUBLICATION SOCIETY" PUBLICATIONS.

New York:
PUBLISHED BY THE LOYAL PUBLICATION SOCIETY.
1864.

EXPLANATORY.

A NUMBER of liberal-minded citizens of New York, having suggested the propriety of placing in the hands of influential friends of the Union cause in Europe, and in some of the public libraries there, an authentic collection of the essential documents and facts connected with our national struggle—and also some of the best statements of the causes and aspects of the rebellion, which have been issued in separate pamphlets, a fund was subscribed for that purpose by about sixty gentlemen—and sets of the "REBELLION RECORD," in morocco, half russia, or cloth, were purchased and forwarded to fifty-five persons and libraries in Great Britain and the continent. The Loyal Publication Society's pamphlets, similarly bound, were sent at the same time.

Various causes appear to have delayed the responses to the letters accompanying the books; and in some eight or ten instances no response have been received to this date (October 25). The books for Count Gasparin were erroneously sent to Paris instead of Geneva. All the packages were forwarded through Austin, Baldwin & Co.'s European Express, and expenses paid to their destination.

NEW YORK, *Oct.* 25, 1864.

PRELIMINARY.

From the New York Evening Post, March 11, 1864.

A PRACTICAL AND USEFUL COMPLIMENT.

"At the Union League Club, last evening, some fifty gentlemen assembled to see the books they had caused to be prepared to be sent to Europe. The books are handsomely and appropriately bound by Matthews, and each set is accompanied by a letter, substantially as follows:

NEW YORK, *March*, 1864.

To.....

SIR: The undersigned, citizens of New York, have united in purchasing a number of sets of a work, entitled the "Rebellion Record," to be transmitted to influential gentlemen, and a few of the public libraries in Europe; believing that the comprehensive collection of documentary materials for history which this work contains, will be useful in conveying just views and accurate information in regard to all aspects of the great struggle in which our nation is engaged.

Will you do us the favor to present these volumes to the Managers of.....for their acceptance?

WM. H. ASPINWALL,
HIRAM BARNEY,
MARTIN BATES, JR., & CO.,
JAS. W. BEEKMAN,
JAMES BROWN,
WILLIAM T. BLODGETT,
BENTLEY & BURTON,
CAYLUS, DE RUYTER & CO.,
HENRY CHAUNCEY,
S. B. CHITTENDEN,
H. B. CLAFLIN,
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GEO. GRISWOLD,
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SHEPHERD GANDY,
GIRARD, BARBY & CO.,
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SETH V. HUNT,
WILSON G. HUNT,
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JOHN JAY,
KETCHUM, SON & CO.,
JAMES LENOX,
LEGRAND LOCKWOOD,
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LEVI P. MORTON,
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JOHN PAINE,
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THOMAS N. DALE,
CHARLES R. DEGEN,

F. H. DELANO,
WILLIAM E. DODGE,
WILLIAM E. DODGE, Jr.,
JAMES M. DRAKE & CO.,
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HOWARD POTTER,
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ROBT. B. ROOSEVELT,
GEO. S. RAINSFORD,
SCHUCHARDT & GEBHARD,
ISAAC T. SMITH,
JOHN STEWARD,
ROBERT L. STUART,
RUTHERFORD STUYVESANT,
OTIS D. SWAN,
E. W. STOUGHTON,
GEO. T. STRONG,
SHERMAN & WIBIRT,
H. H. SWIFT,
ALEX. VAN RENSSELAER,
GEO. C. WARD,
WM. H. WEBB,
EDWARD WESTON,
A. R. WETMORE,
SAMUEL WETMORE,
JOHN D. WOLFE.

"Complete sets of the Record are purchased by the above gentlemen for the following persons, and each set is thus inscribed:

The Libraries of—
HER MAJESTY, QUEEN VICTORIA,
H. M., THE EMPEROR OF RUSSIA,
H. M., THE KING OF ITALY,
H. M., THE EMPEROR OF BRAZIL.

RICHARD COBDEN, Esq., M. P.,
JOHN BRIGHT, Esq., M. P.,
JOHN STUART MILL, Esq.,
HON. EDWARD ELLICE, M. P.
PROF. GOLDWIN SMITH, Oxford,
PROF. THOROLD ROGERS, "
PROF. J. F. CAIRNES, Dublin,
REV. NEWMAN HALL,
RT. HON. MILNER GIBSON,
THE EARL OF CARLISLE,
THE DUKE OF ARGYLL,
W. E. FORSTER, Esq., M. P.,
HON. AND REV. BAPTIST NOEL,
REV. DR. MASSIE,
GEO. ELLIOTT, Esq., London,
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M. EDOUARD LABOULAYE, Paris,
M. AUGUST COCHIN, Paris,
M. HENRI MARTIN, Paris,
THE PRINCE NAPOLEON, Paris,
THE PRINCE DE JOINVILLE, "
BARON ROEME, Berlin,
PROFESSOR P. A. HANSEN, Gotha,
HIS EXCELLENCY J. J. ROCHUSSEN, The Hague,
H. R. H. LE DUC D'AUMALE,
ADRIEN NAVILLE, Esq., Geneva,
THE CITY LIBRARY, Hamburg,
THE CITY LIBRARY, Frankf't, o. m.
THE ROYAL LIBRARY, Berlin,
THE ROYAL LIBRARY, Stuttgart,
THE ROYAL LIBRARY, Dresden.

THE FREE LIBRARY, Manchester,
THE FREE LIBRARY, Liverpool,
THE MECHANICS' LIBRARY, Glasgow,
THE MECHANICS' LIBRARY, Edinburgh,
THE REFORM CLUB, London,
THE WHITTINGTON CLUB, London,
THE EMANCIPATION SOCIETY, London,
UNION AND EMANCIPATION SOCIETY, Manchester.
THE ST. JAMES' CLUB, London,

Editors of THE DAILY NEWS, London,
" THE STAR, London,
" THE EXAMINER, Manchester,
" THE POST, Liverpool,
" THE MERCURY, Leeds,
" CALEDONIAN MERCURY, Edinburgh.

"The Loyal Publication Society's documents, forty-two in number, bound in one volume, are to be sent at the same time to the above persons and libraries.

"A warm interest was manifested in this compliment to our influential friends abroad, and the manner of its execution seemed to give general satisfaction, and to create a desire that the list of recipients of the books should be considerably extended. The importance of such a work of reference, of authentic character, within reach of all intelligent readers in Europe, is so obvious, that our best citizens promptly recognize it, and have cheerfully responded to the suggestion."—*N. Y. Eve. Post, March* 11, 1864.

The *Albany Evening Journal*, in noticing this friendly literary gift, says: "This is an era in American literature, and the first time in the history of any literature, that a work of one nation has been sent to another for its political edification and instruction. It deserves to be placed on record."

LETTERS FROM EUROPE,

IN RESPONSE TO CITIZENS OF NEW YORK WHO HAD PRESENTED BOOKS, ETC., ON THE AMERICAN CONTEST.

FROM W. E. FORSTER, ESQ., M. P.

REFORM CLUB, PALL MALL,
LONDON, *June* 10, 1864.

SIR: I have received a note from Mr. Putnam, of New York, informing me that several gentlemen—influential citizens of New York—have been so good as to present me with copies of the volumes of the Rebellion Record up to a recent date, together with a copy of the pamphlets issued by the New York Loyal Publication Society, and requesting me to acknowledge the receipt to yourself.

Will you be good enough to inform these gentlemen that I have received the volumes in safety, and to return them my most sincere thanks for a present so valuable, and to which in fulfilling my parliamentary duties I shall often find it most useful to refer.

Most earnestly hoping that the time is quickly approaching when no more numbers of a Rebellion Record will have to appear in your country, when peace and freedom will prevail throughout the Union,

I am, sir, yours, very respectfully,
W. E. FORSTER.

W. T. BLODGETT, Esq.

FROM RIGHT HON. MILNER GIBSON, M. P.

LONDON, *May* 21, 1864.

SIR: I beg to acknowledge the receipt of Mr. Putnam's letter informing me that a set of volumes entitled the Rebellion Record, together with a copy of the pamphlets issued by the Loyal Publication Society of New York, have been offered for my acceptance by sundry citizens of New York, whose names were enclosed in a circular.

May I beg you to convey to those gentlemen my high sense of their kindness and to thank them for the works in question.

Yours very faithfully,
THOS. MILNER GIBSON.

P. S.—The works have duly arrived.

FERDINAND FREILIGRATH, THE GERMAN POET.

LONDON, 2 ROYAL EX. BUILDINGS,
May 27, 1864.

DEAR SIR: According to Mr. G. P. Putnam's desire, I beg to indicate to you the receipt of a set of the "Rebellion Record" (6 volumes), together with a copy of the pamphlets issued by the Loyal Publication Society of your city—the whole transmitted to me by Mr. Putnam as a gift of several citizens of New York, you among the number.

I want not to tell you, dear sir, how highly I prize the honor thus conferred on me, and how proud I am to accept it. Let me offer to you—to you and to your friends—my deeply-felt thanks for your kindness.

The "Rebellion Record," I find by a first rapid glance, is an invaluable collection of materials for the future historian of your present gigantic national struggle. I promise myself much instruction from its perusal, and hope that the impression which it is sure to make upon my mind with its mass of detailed information of all-absorbing interest, will enable me ere long to send you something in return which, however small and insignificant in comparison with your noble gift yet will show you the sympathy I feel with your cause—with the cause of the Union—with the cause of liberty and humanity!

That that cause may soon be completely victorious, and that the "Rebellion Record," notwithstanding all its literary merit, may not live to see many more volumes added to its present number, is my earnest and heartfelt wish.

Believe me, dear sir,
Yours ever truly and gratefully,
F. FREILIGRATH.

W. T. BLODGETT, Esq.,
Loyal Publication Society, New York.

HON. AND REV. BAPTIST NOEL,

36 *Westbourne Terrace, Hyde Park, W.*

LONDON, *May* 17.

GENTLEMEN: Accept my thanks for a copy of the "Rebellion Record," which I value as a token of your esteem.

May God grant you speedy and complete victory, and may your nation—freed from the yoke of the slaveholders and saved from the

dismemberment they have plotted—be among the foremost of the nations in religion, in morals, in knowledge, and in every kind of prosperity.

Believe me, your obedient servant,

BAPTIST W. NOEL.

Messrs. ASPINWALL, BARNEY, and others.

PROF. J. F. CAIRNES, UNIVERSITY OF DUBLIN.

94 LOWER MOUNT STREET,
DUBLIN, *May* 21, 1864.

SIR: I have received your letter of 26th ulto., in which you apprise me of having forwarded, on behalf of the gentlemen mentioned in the circular you enclose, a set of "The Rebellion Record," together with a volume of the pamphlets issued by the Loyal Publication Society, for my acceptance.

Allow me in reply to express the profound and grateful sense I entertain of the high honor conferred on me by this handsome and highly-esteemed gift.

The volumes have reached me in perfect safety, and shall be preserved as a proud memorial of the generous recognition accorded by those citizens of New York to my humble efforts to set forth the causes of a struggle in which, as I firmly believe, are involved some of the dearest and most vital interests of the human race.

I am, sir, with sincere respect,

Your faithful servant,

J. F. CAIRNES.

GEO. P. PUTNAM, Esq.

REV. DR. MASSIE, AUTHOR OF A WORK ON THE AMERICAN CONFLICT.

20 LONSDALE TERRACE,
LONDON, *May* 18, 1864.

DEAR SIR: The copy of "Rebellion Record," six volumes, and one volume of the publications by the "Loyal Publication Society," presented by citizens of New York to myself, have been received by me. The value I put upon the work is great. I had carefully scanned almost every page of the first five volumes, which I purchased in New York at the close of a visit to America. It would be well for

many of my countrymen if they would study, as I have done, the phases of your conflict as exhibited in that publication; and would save not a few men from subsequent shame for their prejudiced and erroneous judgment, expressed sometimes with great flippancy, in speech and writing, concerning the United States and their government.

I trust the day is not distant when the facts of legislation and the action of the several states will demonstrate the salutary progress of true universal liberty among citizens of every color in the Union—when the curse of slavery has been removed, and the ripened fruit of that curse, the rebellion, has been cast into perdition! America need fear no antagonist within or beyond the boundary of her territory.

My prayer every day is, that the yoke and rod of the oppressor may be broken, and the victims of tyranny may be set free. Let America exhibit equal justice to ALL. And yet, I apprehend, equal justice would entail fearful retribution to those who have traded in slaves and the souls of men. But God has said, "Vengeance is mine."

Will you convey my grateful thanks for the gift which I now acknowledge, and believe me, faithfully yours,

JAMES W. MASSIE.

RICHARD COBDEN, ESQ., M. P.

LONDON, *June* 3, 1864.

SIR: I have duly received a set of a work entitled the "Rebellion Record," together with a volume of pamphlets, forwarded to me by a body of gentlemen in New York city. Let me beg you and those with whom you are associated to accept my grateful acknowledgments for this act of courtesy. The volumes, however, are acceptable on higher than mere personal grounds. They contain an armory of facts which cannot fail to be serviceable to those who, like myself, are humbly but earnestly endeavoring to disseminate sound views upon the nature of your struggle in defence of civilization and freedom. It was a happy thought of your patriotic body which prompted them to place their weapons of moral warfare in the hands of your friends throughout Europe, to sustain their faith in your good cause, and enable them to convince, or at least confute, their and your opponents in the field of controversy. Again begging you and your colleagues to accept my sincere thanks,

I remain, very truly yours,

RIC'D COBDEN.

W. T. BLODGETT, Esq.

JOHN BRIGHT, ESQ., M. P.

[Mr. Bright's letter acknowledging the books sent by the New York subscribers, has been mislaid. The following, written early in 1863, is interesting, as showing this noble man's consistent and wavering faith in the Union cause throughout all its trials and dangers.]

LONDON, *Feb'y* 27, 1863.

MY DEAR SIR: I have received your handsome and most acceptable present of the four volumes of the "*Record of the Rebellion.*"

I have often wished for the work, and had intended to have bought it. The copy you have sent me I shall value highly, as I do the kind feeling toward me which prompted you to send it to me.

Your work is original in its character. It must be far more complete and accurate than any other history that has ever been written, and a hundred years hence it will be regarded as the most remarkable and one of the most valuable of the works produced on your Continent.

I hope in its conclusion it will have to tell of the entire uprooting of Slavery, and of the perfect restoration of a grand and purified Union.

You will have observed, that in England a great change in opinion is taking place, or an opinion hitherto silent is being expressed. In every town great meetings are held to discuss the "American question," and invariably resolutions are almost unanimously agreed to in favor of the North and Union, and the Abolition of Slavery.

I hope we may soon have tidings of the progress of your government in recovering the revolted States, and see some prospect of the great contest coming to a close. The divisions in the North create uneasiness here as being calculated to weaken the President, and to give fresh hopes to the South. I hope with you they appear less formidable than to us who look upon them from a distance.

Thanking you most sincerely for your handsome and valuable gift, and for the kind words you have inscribed in the first volume,

I am, with great respect, yours most truly,

JOHN BRIGHT.

G. P. PUTNAM, Esq.

REFORM CLUB, PALL MALL,
LONDON, *June* 7, 1864.

SIR: I am directed to beg you, and the gentlemen associated with you, under the title of the *Loyal Publication Society of New York*, to accept the best thanks of the Library Committee of this club for your very obliging donation to the club, of the *six volumes* of the *Rebellion Record*, and the volume of *Miscellaneous Tracts* accompanying the same. So important a publication will be sure to be regarded with interest, and the members of the club generally cannot but highly appreciate the honor you have done them, by enriching their library with a valuable contribution to contemporary history.

I have the honor to be, sir,
Your must obedient servant,
HENRY CAMPKIN, F. S. A.
Librarian, Reform Club.

W. T. BLODGETT, Esq.

REFORM CLUB, PALL MALL,
LONDON, *June* 7, 1864.

DEAR SIR: I cannot allow my official acknowledgment of the safe arrival of your handsome present to leave England without accompanying it by a less formal note from myself, to assure you how deeply I have sympathized, from the very first, with you and your fellow-citizens in the tremendous struggle which has been forced upon you by the attempted disruption of the Union, on the part of the Slave-holding States.

It would be idle to pretend that in a club comprising 1,400 members, held together by the simple fact, that they all espouse, more or less energetically, the principle of Liberalism in Home politics, every one of its members holds the same opinion in regard to American affairs.

But of this you may rest assured, that many of the most eminent of these members are not committed to the suicidal view which the pro-slavery advocates endeavor to uphold.

I regret the terrible ordeal through which it seems to be the lot of the Union to pass, ere it achieves the great end to which its patriotic efforts are directed, but I have so unwavering a faith in the ultimate triumph of the principles of justice, that gloomy as the outbreak

sometimes appears to my insular vision, I cannot but feel confident that in the end the enormous sacrifices which your nation is making will be crowned with that full and complete success which every patriotic heart among you is praying and striving for.

Neither would I have you believe that we are nose-led by some of your anti-northern newspapers. Those newspapers have special features in them which render them readable, quite apart from their views on foreign politics, and you may rest assured, that every Englishman who turns to a newspaper for his home views and politics is not therefore an endorser of all the opinions enunciated in the more speculative portion of its columns, to wit, its leading articles. Above all, let me beg of you to rest content, that the great heart of England could not and would not so belie itself as to extend a sympathizing hand to those whose efforts towards the destruction of the American Union are guided by a desire to uphold a system, in her determination to abolish which, in her own possessions, England gave such costly proofs of her sincerity and earnestness. Cordially wishing speedy success to your noble work,

I am, dear sir, ever faithfully yours,

HENRY CAMPKIN.

W. T. BLODGETT, Esq.

J. STUART MILL, AUTHOR OF "POLITICAL ECONOMY," &c.

BLACKHEATH PARK, KENT,
July 2, 1864.

SIR: On returning from abroad I have had the pleasure of finding the copy of the "Rebellion Record," and of the pamphlets of the Loyal Publication Society, which the distinguished body of citizens of New York mentioned in your letter of April 26, have done me the honor to send me.

I beg to return my sincere thanks for the present in every sense so valuable; and in doing so I take the opportunity of renewing the expression of my warm admiration for the energy and constancy displayed by the people of the Free States in their present gigantic struggle, to the success of which I look forward as full of the most important consequences to humanity, stretching into the remotest future.

I am, sir, with great respect,

Yours very truly,

J. S. MILL.

WHITTINGTON CLUB.

37 Arundel st., Strand,
London, *May* 28, 1864.

Dear Sir: I duly received a set of the "Rebellion Record" and a copy of the Pamphlets issued by the Loyal Publication Society of New York, through the express of Messrs. Austin, Baldwin & Co., and as requested, presented the same in the name of citizens of New York to the managing committee of the Whittington Club for their acceptance.

The committee have been pleased to accept the valuable present, and direct me to request you will be kind enough to return their best thanks to the several gentlemen belonging to your distinguished city, who have honored the club with so flattering an attention. They also desire me to express a hope that the struggle in which the country is at present engaged may eventuate in the consolidation of the empire and the good alike of the North and the South.

With assurance of the highest consideration, I have the honor to be, sir, your obedient servant,

W. G. D. Gruyther,
Sec.

MECHANICS' INSTITUTION, GLASGOW.

Mechanics' Institution,
38 Bath St., Glasgow, *May* 18, 1864.

Sir: I am duly in receipt of your favor of 26th April last, advising despatch of the "Rebellion Record," and a copy of the Pamphlets of the Loyal Publication Society addressed to this Institution. The box enclosing these came to hand on the 16th inst.; and I am instructed by the Directors of this Institution to acknowledge receipt of the very handsome volumes, and to request you to the donors their best thanks.

I beg also to direct attention to the enclosed newspaper report of a public meeting of our Institution held last night, at which the books were exhibited, and a unanimous vote of thanks awarded to the donors.

I am, sir, yours truly,
J. McDougal,
Sec'y.

[EXTRACT.]

"Mr. David More read a letter, dated the 26th of April, lately received by their librarian from New York. It stated that several citizens of that city had united in purchasing a number of sets of a work by Frank Moore, entitled the 'Rebellion Record,' to be 'transmitted to influential gentlemen and a few of the public libraries in Europe, believing that the comprehensive collection of documentary materials for history which the work contained, would be useful in conveying just views and accurate information in regard to all aspects of the great struggle in which the American nation was engaged.' On behalf of those gentlemen, the writer had been requested to ask the librarian of the institution to present to the managers of the Mechanics' Library a complete set of the above-mentioned volumes. The books are very neatly got up, and are embellished with many fine portraits. A vote of thanks was heartily given to the donors of the volumes."

FREE PUBLIC LIBRARY, MUSEUM AND GALLERY OF ART OF THE TOWN OF LIVERPOOL.

TOWN HALL, LIVERPOOL, *May*, 1864.

The Mayor and Corporation beg to convey to "A number of citizens of New York" their best acknowledgments for the undermentioned contribution, viz.:

Six volumes of a work entitled "The Rebellion Record," and one volume from the Loyal Publication Society.

CHARLES MORLEY,
Mayor.

EMANCIPATION SOCIETY.

65 FLEET STREET,
LONDON, *May* 18, 1864.

DEAR SIR: On behalf of the Committee of the Emancipation Society, I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of a complete set of the volumes of the "Rebellion Record," and also a bound copy of the pamphlets of the Loyal Publication Society.

I beg to return you our several thanks for the handsome and acceptable present, and at the same time to assure you of our deep sympathy with the cause which every loyal American has at heart, and

our earnest hope that the restoration of the Union and the downfall of slavery may be speedily effected.

I remain, dear sir, your faithful servant,

F. W. Chasson,

Secretary.

UNION AND EMANCIPATION SOCIETY OF MANCHESTER.

[Printed.]—"The North is for freedom, the South for slavery. The North is for freedom of discussion, the South represses freedom of discussion with the tar brush and pine faggot."

51 Piccadilly,

Manchester, *May* 27, 1864.

Dear Sir: The Executive of this Society express their cordial acceptation of the present made to them of the Record of the Rebellion and the Loyal League Publications, and assure you that they appreciate the recognition of their labors as a further incitement to continued action in the cause of national amity and good will.

On behalf of the Executive,

I am yours respectfully,

John H. Estcourt,

Chairman.

HARRIET MARTINEAU,

Ambleside, Westmoreland, *July* 11, 1864.

Gentlemen: I beg to offer you my best acknowledgments for the copy of the "Rebellion Record," which I have received from you. I have valued that work exceedingly from its first appearance, and I shall now deposit the copy I had before in some public library, where it will be read by the largest number of our working class.

It is with that class that the keenest and most enlightened interest is felt in the progress of your great conflict—except that, if we regard the first rate men of all descriptions as a class, their interest is the deepest and most enlightened—I mean, of course, on behalf of the North, all the *enlightenment* being on that side.

Believe me, I will do my best to put your gift to a good use; and perhaps, it is not ill-bestowed on one who is always trying to make the case of your great second revolution understood in this country.

I am, gentlemen, yours respectfully,

Harriet Martineau.

REV. NEWMAN HALL.

28 New Tinchler Road,
London, N. W., *July* 25, 1864.

Dear Sir: I beg, through you, to return my hearty thanks to those gentlemen who have sent me the "Rebellion Record." I shall always prize it very highly for its intrinsic value, and for the honor thus conferred on me.

From the very first I could find no term for the action of "the South" than the one used in the title of the work. The parallel sometimes drawn between the Rebellion of the South and the secession of the American colonies from Great Britain, fails in every particular. The American colonies were a mere dependency—were not fully represented—were treated unjustly, and they petitioned before they drew the sword.

But the Southern States were an integral part of the nation—were represented more powerfully than the rest in proportion to population—had enjoyed through many years a preponderance of influence in the state—had no injustice to complain of—did not first seek constitutional methods of obtaining their wishes—but did avail themselves of the last of the advantages of the Constitution, in order, under cover of the law, to prepare traitorously to overthrow that law. And, what is chief of all—the American colonies revolted solely for Freedom—the South rebel solely that they may perpetuate and extend slavery, under the false cry of National Independence and Freedom.

The very handsome set of volumes sent me, are therefore truly designated the *Rebellion Record.* This is the character of the war on the part of the South, whatever the result may be. Wickedness sometimes seems to triumph for a while, even as Pharaoh long held out against Moses and God, only that his destruction might be more signal at last. I pray—not the Southerners may be destroyed, but that they may be saved through the destruction of their *wickedness.*

I hope still to see America *one* and free. But should this not be, God grant that slavery and war may both cease to sadden and desolate your great and glorious country.

Constant absence from home must be my apology for allowing this handsome present to remain so long unacknowledged.

Believe me to be, dear sir, with sincere and respectful thanks, to the donors, very faithfully yours,

Newman Hall.

PROF. THOROLD ROGERS, UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

OXFORD, *May* 19, 1864.

MY DEAR SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge a letter from Mr. Putnam, of New York, and a case containing six volumes of the "Rebellion Record," together with a collection of pamphlets issued by the Loyal Publication Society of New York.

I am profoundly sensible of the great distinction which is conferred on me by the present of these valuable authorities for the history of the great war in which the people of America are engaged, and I ask you to convey my grateful thanks to the gentlemen who have bestowed this honor on me.

Among the many characteristics of your great nation, none is, I think, so admirable, and none is certainly so singular, as your habit of generously appreciating enlightened public opinion in other countries, and of according the kindest acknowledgments to those who seek to judge you justly, and to interpret fairly the functions which you fulfil in the work of human progress. And with those who are aware of how large has been the contribution of the United States to the general good of mankind, and how the growth of a true liberty is helped by the prosperity of your institutions, any danger or difficulty which threatens you is a cause for the keenest anxiety, any success for the warmest congratulation.

We are bound, indeed, apart from the general duties which we owe you, to recognize in your quarrel that the issue involved is the triumph of public conscience and public duty over a conspiracy unequalled in the history of the world for shamelessness and perfidy. To maintain that which you are striving to support, is not only to fight your own battle, the battle for the integrity of your people, but to combat for the largest and truest interests of the human race. And I, for one, cannot for a moment doubt that, despite the delays you have endured and the vast sacrifices you have made, your ultimate success will be equal to the goodness of your cause and the resolution of your national will.

Accept again, my dear sir, the assurance of my great indebtedness to you, and believe me to be

Your obliged and faithful servant,

JAMES E. THOROLD ROGERS.

PROF. GOLDWIN SMITH, UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

OXFORD, *May* 21, 1864.

SIR: I beg leave to acknowledge the receipt of the six volumes of "Record of the Rebellion," together with the volume of United States Loyal Publications, and to return my best thanks to the donors for their handsome and most acceptable gift. There are few to whom it would be more interesting than to me, for I believe I may say with truth that no American has watched the vicissitudes of this war with more heartfelt solicitude than I have.

I have not yet had time to study the collection of documents, but I can perceive at a glance that they are of a very valuable kind, and impartially selected; such as will furnish good material for the future historian.

And assuredly, future historians can have no greater theme than the revolt of the slaveowners, and the unparalleled struggle to which it has led. The restoration of the Union is an object, the importance of which no one can fail to recognize who has considered how disastrous an effect the fate of the American commonwealth would have on the councils of the world. The redemption of the African race from the hopeless slavery into which the authors of the rebellion are striving to hurry them, is also an object dear to every heart in which the spirit of Christianity, or even common humanity, resides. But far above these objects in importance is the future of the American continent, which hangs on the issue of this war, and which, as victory may incline to loyalty or to rebellion, will become the heritage of freedom and of social justice, or of tyranny darker and fouler than the darkest and foulest tyrannies of the Old World.

This contest touches the dearest interests and moves the inmost hearts of men not on your continent alone. Everywhere it is felt to be, as in truth it is, a contest between the great parties which divide mankind—the party of justice and of the future, and of the party of privilege and of the past. You have friends of the rebel slaveowners among you in the North; so have we, and the same are enemies not only of the American Republic, but of the hopes of man.

The present crisis is one full of terrible anxiety, but the result, I trust, is not doubtful. It is for good and not for evil that Providence has made the world. I earnestly pray that decisive victory may soon attend your arms, and that the return of peace may bring with it, as assuredly it will, an increase of national greatness, in the noblest sense

of the term, to reward you for the efforts which you have made and the blood which you have poured out in the common cause of man.

I have the honor to be, sir,

Very faithfully yours,

GOLDWIN SMITH.

[TRANSLATIONS.]

HENRI MARTIN, PARIS.

PARIS, *May* 20, 1864.

To the Members of the Loyal Publication Society:

I have received the valuable collection of papers relating to the present war ("Rebellion Record"), in six volumes, besides the volume of pamphlets published by the Loyal Publication Society, which you have done me the honor to send me.

I beg you to please receive the expression of my gratitude for the gift, equally valuable, with reference, either to politics or history. As one of your newspapers very justly remarks, it is one of the most novel and striking events in literary history—this appeal of a nation to ordinary citizens of other nations, outside of official diplomatic relations, to induce them to inform themselves concerning the great country, which thus addresses them, and, to furnish them with the means of doing so. You have correctly supposed, that the fortunes of the United States, and the extreme crisis through which they are passing, concerns civilization itself and makes its influence felt on all. A crisis, from which, I am one of those who firmly believe, you will come victorious, and delivered from the curse of slavery, which you have inherited from the past. Its gloomy shadow will cease to darken the glory and compromise the genuineness of your free democratic institution.

Every one who can aid your country and ours in better understanding each other—every one who forcibly recalls to France and to America the ties which originally united them, and which ought never to cease to unite them—deserves well of mankind. The greatest misfortune for the civilization and liberty of the world would be that these ties should ever part or be broken. Our duty towards you consists in the maintenance of them.

Pray, receive, gentlemen, together with my thanks, the expression of my high consideration and lively sympathy.

H. MARTIN.

EDWARD LABOULAYE.

PARIS, *June* 14, 1864.

SIR: I have received the magnificent volumes of the "Rebellion Record" which some honorable citizens of New York have been pleased to send me. I do not know how to thank them for the especial honor which they have done me on this occasion. If I have been fortunate enough to defend the cause of the North, I have been a thousand times recompensed by the good wishes of your compatriots, and I can say that at the bottom of my heart I am one of you—a true American.

It only remains for me to express the desire that the "Rebellion Record" will terminate soon by the triumph of a cause which is that of justice, of liberty, and of humanity.

Be kind enough, sir, to be my interpreter to those gentlemen whose names I shall always keep in remembrance; and permit me to call myself, with a perfect sympathy,

Your very devoted servant,

EDW. LABOULAYE.

AUGUSTIN COCHIN, AUTHOR OF "RESULTS OF EMANCIPATION."

25 RUE ST. GUILLAUME,
PARIS, *May* 22, 1864.

SIR: I am very proud at having been included among those friends of the United States, to whom your patriotic association sent the papers, collected under the name of the "Rebellion Record." I do not deserve this honor by the splendor of any services I have rendered your cause. I do deem myself worthy of it by the strength and constancy of my loyal sympathy with it. It was an excellent idea to collect these papers, and so prepare materials for the true history of your bloody and gigantic struggle. In Europe, we derive the impressions, by which public opinion is formed, only from English newspapers and Southern correspondence. It is important to your cause to put your friends in possession of facts, answers, the sequence of events, the text of legislative enactments, all of them then will be able to make use of them for the establishment of the truth and the vindication of right.

At this very moment, we are waiting for news of the battle of the 9th and 10th of May, with the most painful anxiety. May the Sovereign Disposer regard the expiation which he has exacted from your country, as sufficient, and vouchsafe victory to those who are defending with

the integrity of their country, the freedom of those of human form like their own.

Please receive, sir, and present to your association, my sincere thanks, and assure them of my feelings of respect.

AUGUSTIN COCHIN.

I received precisely the volumes mentioned in the letter that accompanied them.

FROM ADRIEN NAVILLE, ESQ.

GENEVA, *May* 17, 1864.

SIR: I have the honor of acknowledging the receipt of the package you were kind enough to address to me, on behalf of Mr. James Lenox, containing six volumes of the American "Rebellion Record," with the Appendix, and a copy of the publications of the Loyal Publication Society of New York. I received also the letter dated April 14, in which you inform me of this enclosure.

I am very much gratified by this interesting communication, and wrote directly to Mr. J. Lenox, to thank him for it.

I earnestly hope, that the blessing of God will crown your efforts, and that soon peace will be restored to your beautiful country, while at the same time it is delivered from the curse of slavery. We follow with the greatest interest every event of this gigantic struggle, which ought to end in the triumph of the right.

Receive, sir, my most cordial salutations,

J. ADRIEN NAVILLE.

LIBRARY OF THE FREE CITY OF FRANKFORT.

We received on the 14th of May, 1864, by mail, postage paid, Vols. I. to VI., Parts 39, 40, 41. New York, 1862-1864: Lex-s, elegantly bound in fine half russia, in six volumes, Parts 39, 40, 41, in pamphlet form.

"Presented by citizens of New York to the City Library, Frankfort."

Besides, "Companion to the Rebellion Record," being a supplementary volume. New York, 1864: Lex-s, Parts I. to VI., in six pamphlets.

Finally, "United States Loyal Publications," 1863–4, Nos. 1 to 42 (New York, 1863–4), large octavo.

"Presented to the City Library, Frankfort," (by Mr. James Lenox), similarly bound in fine half russia.

At the same time, that the management of the City Library, most respectfully hereto subscribing, deeply touched by the delicate attention, that even went so far as to defray the expenses of transmission, expresses its most profound gratitude to all the donors in the most cordial manner for this magnificent gift, it avails itself of this opportunity of assuring them of its highest esteem.

DR. HAULISEN.

FRANKFORT ON THE MAIN, *May* 19, 1864.

THE PRINCE NAPOLEON TO THE HON. EDW. EVERETT.

PARIS, *May* 19, 1864.

MY DEAR MR. EVERETT: I have received from New York a box of books, containing a volume, entitled, "Pamphlets of the Loyal Society," and six volumes, entitled, "The Rebellion Record, a Diary of American Events."

This package not being accompanied by any letter,* I do not know by whom the books have been presented to me; but "The Rebellion Record" contains an introduction by you. I thought that you might know to whom I am indebted for this mark of respect, and I am about to beg you to be kind enough to communicate my thanks to those of your fellow-citizens who have had the politeness to send me the books.

The occurrence is fortunate, my dear Mr. Everett, for me, as it affords me an opportunity of expressing the kind remembrance I retain of you, and of assuring you of my feelings of affection.

NAPOLEON (JEROME).

EDITOR OF THE MORNING STAR, LONDON.

DORSET STREET,
LONDON, *June* 21, 1864.

DEAR SIR: I have now, on behalf of the Editor, to acknowledge the due receipt of copies of the "Rebellion Record," presented to

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A letter was sent at the same time as to others designated.

him by gentlemen at New York, and at the same time to assure you how very highly he appreciates this mark of the donors' kind consideration and regard.

I am, dear sir, yours faithfully,

A. H. DYMOND, *Secretary.*

THE LEEDS MERCURY.

LEEDS MERCURY OFFICE,
June 17, 1864

SIR: We beg to offer, through you, our thanks to those citizens of New York who have united to present the "Leeds Mercury," among others, with the valuable collection of documents comprised in the seven volumes of the "Rebellion Record." We shall, we doubt not, often find them of great utility.

Trusting that right may prevail in the present war, we are, sir,

Yours, faithfully,

EDWARD BAINES & SON.

THE KING OF ITALY.

FROM HON. GEO. P. MARSH, AMERICAN MINISTER, TURIN.

DEAR SIR: The volumes referred to in your letter of April 26, 1864, were received by me on the 18th August, and were sent next day to the Minister of Foreign Affairs with the circular of the donors, and a request that his Majesty's government would determine in what library they should be deposited.

You will perceive by the Minister's reply to my note, a copy of which I enclose herewith, that this valuable gift has been thankfully received and placed in the Royal library.

I am, sir, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

GEO. P. MARSH.

GEORGE P. PUTNAM, Esq.,
New York.

P. S.—Since writing the above I have received a second communication from the Minister of Foreign Affairs, a copy of which together with its enclosure I send herewith.

MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, TURIN.

TURIN, *August* 22, 1864.

SIR: With your note of the 19th inst., you have done me the honor to send me, in the name of a society of the citizens of New York, the volumes published up to this time, under its auspices, in relation to the most remarkable events of the war in the United States of America.

I thank you for the volumes, and hasten to inform you, that they have been sent to the Royal Library, in which this work certainly deserves a place.

I should be glad, sir, if you would have the goodness to apprise the Patriotic Society, which was kind enough to send them, that we return it our warmest thanks.

I avail myself of the opportunity to renew the assurance of my high consideration.

(Signed)

M. CERRUTI.

To Monsieur MARSH,
Envoy Extraor. and Min. Plen. of the U. S. of America.

MINISTER OF THE HOUSEHOLD, TURIN.

TURIN, *August* 31, 1864.

MOST ILLUSTRIOUS SIR: I assumed the important office of presenting to his Majesty the gracious gift, which a society of citizens of New York were kind enough to make to his private library, of the first six volumes, with the accompanying documents, of the work in publication by them, in relation to the most memorable events of the war now going on in their country. His Majesty accepting with pleasure this valuable and most interesting tribute of respect and grateful for the feelings which prompted so noble a testimonial of homage and sympathy, deems it proper to direct me to pray you, most illustrious sir, to please convey the expression of his lively gratitude to the above-named association.

The work will be deposited in the Royal Library, in which are already found many other series of the same kind, and in conformity with the express requirements of the law, special instructions will be given, that the collection be at the disposal of those higher officers of state, who desire to read them.

I avail myself of the opportunity to present you, sir, the assurance of my highest consideration.

The Minister of the Royal Household.

(Signed) CIGNO.

To the most illustrious Signor,

THE MINISTER OF THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS, *Turin.*

TURIN, *September* 6, 1864.

SIR: As I was sure would be the case, his Majesty, the King, has received with peculiar satisfaction the magnificent work on the war in the United States, which you have done me the honor to send me, on behalf of an association of citizens of New York.

I have, in fact, just received from the Minister of the Royal Household a letter expressing, in the most flattering terms the value which his Majesty places upon this interesting publication, and I hasten to send you a copy of it.

I beg you, sir, to have the kindness to make the society abovementioned acquainted with its contents, and I avail myself with pleasure of this opportunity to renew the assurance of my high consideration.

(Signed) For the Minister, M. CERRUTI.

To Monsieur MARSH,

E. E. & M. P. of the United States.

THE EMPEROR OF RUSSIA.

HON. C. M. CLAY, AMERICAN MINISTER.

ST. PETERSBURGH, RA., *Sept.* 21, 1864.

DEAR SIR: I have the pleasure to inform you that his Imperial Majesty has received the volumes of the "Rebellion Record," and ordered Prince Gortchacoff to return his thanks through me to the donors.

I am, your obt. servt.,

C. M. CLAY.

QUEEN VICTORIA.

The American Minister, Hon. Chas. Francis Adams, to whom the books for the Queen were sent, has not yet acknowledged their receipt. He was requested to present them either to the Queen's private library, or to any public library, as he might decide to be most fitting and expedient.

LETTER FROM J. H. ESTCOURT, ESQ., CHAIRMAN OF THE UNION AND EMANCIPATION SOCIETY, MANCHESTER, ENGLAND.

41 Dorset street,
Hume, Manchester, *July* 1, 1864.

My Dear Sir: The objects of your Loyal Publication Society are in the highest degree commendable, and will do immense service to the citizens of both countries. The crisis of this year is of solemn importance, and we on this side feel intensely the dangers arising therefrom.

From the first day that rebellion became a fact, to now, I have never doubted the issue. It must be and will be conquered. The sacrifice is vast, must be as extensive as the free people of the United States; and the keenness of mental suffering, anxiety and suspense endured by them are only known to themselves.

Physically, the Union power must subdue all its foes, but in the doing of that the multiplicity of dangers that come out of that subjugation is indeed alarming. Were your people less intelligent, less virtuous, less morally strong, the reaction would be a despotism, and Union, but with the mental force, the virtue, power, and the moral heroism, I see nothing to fear for the future. These forces must perceive clearly and distinctly all the dangers of the past connected with the damning slavery of the chivalry, and so seeing must rise up to that grand eminence of moral dignity that shall sleep not, nor weary, until the last shred of that garment of blood and oppression is cast into the sea, and thus the base of a new era will be laid in practical freedom and unity of principle. I am not disappointed at the result of the amendment of the constitution proposition, with the copperhead party so strong in the representative house. I could not calculate on a two-third majority, and now it will go to the country as a distinct platform for their acceptance, and to carry which a strong house will be elected.

There must be a positive prohibition in the constitution as well as a theoretical principle of all men's equality, and my prayer is that the American people will not let the politics of the country be calm until it is a certainty that the national government, by virtue of its supreme laws, must carry freedom *per se* into all its territory. Then shall the Atlantic ring out to the Pacific, and all the mountains and valleys catch the strain, God hath made of one blood all the nations of men to dwell together in peace. Sir, your country will then be the grandest moral power in the world; the greatest nation of free

labor among the nations of the earth; and your prosperity be multiplied a thousand fold!

Yours, very faithfully,

JOHN HALL ESTCOURT.

WILLIAM T. BLODGETT, Esq.

COUNT A. DE GASPARIN.

LAUSANNE (VAUD), *October* 20, 1864.

It is to-day only that I received your letter, and, that I know to whom to address my thanks for the magnificent present that was sent to me, unaccompanied though by any letter whatever. I have written several times to America since, in order to inform you thereof, but without obtaining any answer. I deem it proper, however, to give you these explanations, fearing that my silence might be wrongly interpreted.

Will you therefore, dear sir, tell the "Loyal Publication Society" how much the thought has touched me which placed my name on your list.

They were not mistaken in believing that your noble cause had not a more devoted friend than I am. I pray to God that he may bless you above all in your approaching election. It seems to me that not to re-elect Mr. Lincoln would be risking everything at the eve of a conclusive success. I have written a letter to give expression to this thought; it might, perhaps, be published with you, and produce some good.

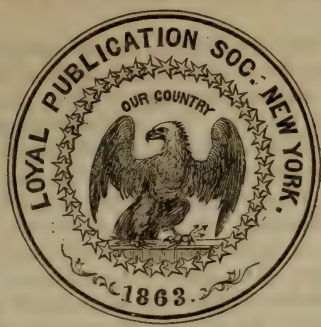
Please to accept the assurance of highest consideration of your devoted

A. DE GASPARIN.

TO WILLIAM T. BLODGETT, Esq.

LOYAL PUBLICATION SOCIETY,

New-York, 863 Broadway.



No. 71.

Lincoln of McClellan?

OPROEP AAN DIE HOLLANDERS IN AMERIKA.

Van FRANCIS LIEBER.

LANDSLIEDEN EN MEDEBURGERS!

Die Presidentenverkiezing der Vereenigde Staten nadert met rassche schreden, en het is hoog tyd, dat zich ieder burger besluite, voor wie hy stemmen wil, en zeker beraadslagen voor wie hy stemmen zal. Het is onwaardig en lafhartig, terugteblyven en by eene zoo gewigtige keus, waarin alles op het spel staat, dat regt van stemmen wegtewerpen; het is onpatriotisch, met de politische aangelegenheid to spelen. Die gansche politieke bestand dezes lands, welker burger wy door de wil onzer mannelyke jaren, en niet door toeval van geboorte geworden zyn, berust op the vrye keus, en wie dat regt heeft te stemmen, heeft ook die pligt te stemmen. Als de bezonnen en duchtige burger van de verkiezingsplaats wegblyft, zoo kan hy zeker daarop rekenen, dat de bloode burger en hy, die in't geheel geen regt van stemmen heeft, op dezelve verschynen zal.

De meeste Hollanders, die naar Amerika komen, zyn Demokraten in waren zin des woords, en daar zich eene groote party sinds jaren, de Demokratische genoemd heeft, laten zich vele Hollanders verleiden. De menigte, welke te Chicago General Major McClellan voor het presidentschap benoemt hadden, noemt zich ook de Demokratische party. Wat voor lieden zyn deze bonte menigte! Vooreerst bestond een groot deel uit oude *Weetnieten*. Zy bekende zich open als zulke. Wilt gy Hollanders met deze lieden stemmen, wier eenigste prinzip is, die deur dezes wyden continents, na dat hun Ouders van Europa ingetrokken zyn, U voor de neus toetesluiten, of, daar U nu eenmal hier zyt. U dat burgerregt to berooven. Wil U lieden met die stemmen, die, als hunne vrienden, de Rebellen, U met schanddaden overhopen, en van U spreken, als of U lieden het opveegsel der aarde waart. Die weetnieten werken ingeheim. Zy hebben loges en zyn eene geheime gezelschap. Is dat demokratisch in een vry land? Vryheid bestaat voor allen uit openlykheid.

Een ander deel der Chicagoer verzameling waren lieden, die de zoogenaamde statenregte boven alles zetten, die open uit zeggen, dat de

Amerikaner geen Vaderland heeft, en de eenige staat over het land staat; dat ieder staat dat regt hat, zich losterukken en een eigen ryk te vormen; dat wy daarna geen regt hebben, een zulke staat te dwingen, in de Union to blyven. Zy hebben onregt, en weten zelf dat zy onregt hebben. Wat zouden deze lieden gedaan hebben, als Ohio of Massachusetts zich van ons losgemaakt en zich tot een Vorstendom verklaart hadden? Wat zeggen op dit oogenblik die regenten in Richmond van de Mannen in Noord Caroline, die eene afscheiding hunnes staats van de zoogenaamde Confederation wenschen? Zy noemen ze Rebellen. Hoe komt dat op dezen dag lieden van Missouri en Kentucky in het Congres in Richmond zitten? Zyn hunne staten eens afgevallen? Zy zitten daar, omdat Missouri en Kentucky slaven hebben of hadden. Slavery is alzoo voor deze vyanden der Union, dat prinzip der vereeniging des lands, maar staatssouvereinitäät is niet dat prinzip des regts, aftevallen. Waarom gingen al deze heeren voor General Jackson, als de oude held Zuid Caroline bedreigde, het met wapengeweld in de Union te houden? En is die leer van de staatssouvereinitaat demokratisch? Ik schaam myzelf Hollanders deze vraag voor te leggen. Die Demokratie is immer en in alle landen voor de eenheid des vaderlands geweest, voor dat gansche land, een groote natie waardig. Alle pumpernickel ryken, al de kleine roofstaaten, zoo als man ze in Holland noemt, zyn immer de Demokratie een gruwel en afschuw geweest.

Onbedingt had ieder staat in Amerika zyn regt, en moest het hebben, maar zoo had ook ieder afzonderlyk zyne regten. Ja die menschenregten, die in een vry land eenieder voor zich behoud, zyn veel wigtiger en maken een grootere som uit als de statenregte, maar de eenige is daar geen souverein. Weet Ulieden, dat dat woord souvereinitaat ook niet eenmal in de groote Omvatting der vereenigde staten voorkomt. Dat woord souvereinitaat worde eerst later ingesmokkelt. We is souverein in Amerika, als het niet de staat is? Niemand. Geen mensch, ligchaam, congres of beamter is souverein in een vry land. Die vereenigde staten zyn souverein, ieder andere souvereinen staat tegenover. Wy zyn souverein, als wy met England of Frankryk verhandelen, ook als wy oorlog voeren, maar in 't land zelf is geen mensch souverein. Dit is geen nieuwe theorie, maar bovenal eene theorie. Het is een daadzaak. Als voor 200 jaren die beroemde *Bill of Rights* in het Engelsche parlement voorgebragt werd, verklaarde de grootste regtskundige in England, dat, dat Engelsche regt den uitdruk souverein niet kende. Niemand is souverein in Engeland. Hy deed het, omdat die verdreven dynastie voortwarend van de souvereinen koningsgeweld sprak.

Maar is het noodig met Hollanders over deze nietigheden te spreken; staatssouvereinitaat voorwaar, hebben wy die niet genoeg in't oude vaderland. Als een Hollander een Ragout van staten wenscht, zoo behoeft hy waarlyk niet naar Amerika te komen. Had hy geen souvereine staaten en staatjes genoeg in Europa?

Wat zyn de grootste gedachten die de Hollander in Holland bezielen? Het is eenheid en burgervryheid; en hier zal hy een stem voor lieden geven, die de verstooring des lands en de slavery bevorderen.

Hollandsche Werkman! Waarom hebt gy U geboorteland, famie, vrienden en vaderland verlaten om naar Amerika te gaan? Om dat

Ulieden gehoord had, dat die vereenigde staaten een land is, waarin gy en uwe kinderen alle regten eens vryen burgers bezitten zullen, waar geschiktheid en vlyt hun loon vindt, en waar uwe kinderen geen privilegie van anderen in den weg staat, dat hoogste doel to bereiken. En wil Ulieden, dat die Union geen land der grootste onderdrukking voor de werkman wordt, veel erger als de bedrukte landen in Europa, zoo sluit U niet aan die onheilvolle partei, welke die landbezitters des Zuidens de heerschap over de Union in de handen geven will.

Weet Ulieden ook wat deze slavenhouder aristokratie wil? Gy gelooft misschien zy stryden voor het bezit huner slaven. De slavenhouder des Zuiden stryd voor dat oude previlegie der landbezitters, de werkman het zy wit of zwart, tot werktuig zyner magt, zyns genots en zyner beschikking te maken. De daglooner zal die gansche last des staats dragen, maar geen regt in de zelve hebben. Het zal gehooren, de ryke zal alleen heerschen. Hoort wat die aanvoerders der secession zeggen:

Geen staat kan bestaan als de daglooner politische regten heeft. Die kapitaal en landbezitters zullen alleen regeeren en de heeren der arbeidkrachten zyn, en prent U dat in. Dat kapitaal had een inwonend regt, arbeid (dat is den daglooner) als eigendom te bezitten.

Wilt Ulieden dat zulk een heerschap over U gesteld word zoo stemt voor McClellan. Wilt gy gelykberegtigde burgers eens vryen lands blyven zoo stemt voor Lincoln, die was, als U een eerlyke werkman.

Een ander deel der conventie te Chicago bestaat uit die, die meenen, dat alles afgemaakt is, als men uit volle keelen roept: Constitution! Constitution! Wy kennen die constitutie zoo goed als die Heeren, en achten ze meer als het schynt, omdat het wel te bemerken is, dat die zoogenaamde demokratische party in de laatste jaren immer die Constitution aan de zyde gezet hebben als het in hun voordeel scheen te zyn. Was die Nullificatie constitutioneel? Was het constitutioneel als Douglas kort voor de laatste presidentenverkiezing het Zuiden versprak voor een gezet te stemmen, waarna iedere discusion der slavery met zware straffen belegt zulde worden. Was het constitutioneel, dat twintig jaar lang en misschien meer, de brievezakken in Zuiden opengemaakt werden, om te zien, of er geen abolutionszaken daarin waren. Was het constitutioneel, als men dat regt der petition verweigerde? Is secession constitutioneel? Is de constitution gemaakt dat die Chicago lieden behoopen, de president had dat regt en de pligt, een staat te ontlaten, als het zich vordert. Is het constitutioneel, te denken, dat secession tot de reservirden regten des staats gehoord. Is het constitutioneel, te proklameren, dat ons gansche staatsgebouwe alleen voor een klasse van mensche bestaat, een klasse die door die hoofdkleur bestemd is. Die oude heidenen hadden een hoogeren aanzigt van staaten en de pligten der regering. Is het constitutioneel, onze gansche regering als een bloote confederatie of league te schilderen, die armzaligste van alle regeringen?

Wy houden die constitution in hooge eere, maar zy is geen God. Dat land, die natie, die vryheid, die wy beminnen, staan alle ver boven constitution, en wat niet vergeten moet worden, die rebellion des Zuidens had een toestand voorgebragt, voor welke die constitution nooit berekent was en konde worden. Zullen wy dan die handen in de schoot leggen, zoo als president Buchanan gedaan had en verklaarde.

Ik kan niets doen, dat land te redden, omdat die constitutie niet aangeeft hoe ik het doen zal. Zoo luidde dat berigt zynes Generaals volmagt der vereenigde staaten. God beware, wy zyn een natie, wy willen een volk zyn en dat land moest behouden worden, even als het leven eener zieken moet gered worden, of dat receptboek goed past of niet. Die constitutie had niet dat volk herschapen, dat volk had die constitutie gemaakt. Maar is dan die constitutie beschadigd geworden? Die duidelyke beantwoording, myne landslieden, zouden eene lange discussion vorderen, die hier geen plaats kunnen vinden. Stel U voor, dat eenige dingen voorgevallen zyn, die niet juist met de bestaande gezets geregtvaardigd kunnen worden, zoo neemt hier de uitspraak van een man, die moed genoeg heeft te zeggen, dat de geschiedenis de vergangen- en toekomenheid wel even zoo goed kent, als een Chicago heer. Ik zeg het wel bedachtzaam, dat nooit een burgeroorlog voorgekomen had, ja ook niet een gewoone oorlog, maar in de regering het duizendste deel van vryheid voroorloofd had, die de vyanden der regering en vrienden der vyanden by ons genieten, en die wy genieten zullen als onze tegenovergestelde de teugels der regering in handen hadden.

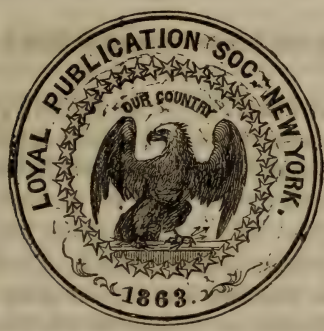
Het is die zoogenaamde demokratische party, die deze burgeroorlog voorgebragt had, en nu zegen zy, zy alleen kunnen hem eindigen. Waarom? Woont een geheim geweld of kennissen in een man, zoo gauw hy zich Demokraat in Amerika noemt? Zy willen vreden sluiten, de rebellen alles opgeven; zy willen de rebellen warmer als ooit by de hand nemen, en U alle mogelyke verhoogde waarborgen geven, kort gezegd, zy behooren tot die lieden in Noorden, die ongelukkigerwys immer die knechten des Zuidens gespeeld hebben, die gelooven dat het eene eer is de bevelen eens lage slavenbezitters te vervullen. Is dat demokratisch?

Vrienden, laat ons voor Lincoln stemmen. Vele van Ulieden gelooven zonder twyfel, dat hy wat gedaan heeft, dat U mishaagt, dat hy somtyd niet snel genoeg gehandeld heeft; maar die eenvoudige vrage des volks is of McClellan of Lincoln onze president zyn zal. Ulieden moest tuschen deze twee kiezen. Geen andere kan benoemd worden, en welke Hollander zal twyfelen, of welke kan zich de stemmen verstooten. Deze is nationaal, gene is het niet. Deze is voor de vryheid en voor de afschaffing des schandvlek dezes jaarhunderds. Hy is tegen die slavery. Is open en oprigtig. Is het geene? Deze is voor alle burgers van ons groote land, of zy hier geboren zyn of niet. Geene is grootendeels door weetneiten benoemd. Deze was een demokraat, een man des volks, gene is geen, omdat de menigte, die hy benoemd had als vroeger als demokratisch gezind. Deze had in ongehoorde zwarigheden dat schip zoo gestuurd, dat wy digt by de haven zyn, geene aan het hoofd van een groot leger van dezen tyd, daar hy zonder bedenken, zoo als de vyand nu staat, lang een einde aan de oorlog kon gemaakt hebben.

Het laat zich begrypen waarom eenige zeer ryke en arme Hollander die aanstellingen wenschen, McClellan voorstaan; maar van die, die niet die aard verwagt en oprigtig voor de eer, eenheid en vryheid des vaderlands stemmen wil, en die zich niet door de naam Demokraat verschrikken laat, moet men verwachten, dat hy voor Lincoln stemt als hy goed die groote loop der dingen en de karakter van deze beide mannen overlegt.

LOYAL PUBLICATION SOCIETY,

New-York, 863 Broadway.



No. 72.

Für die Freiheit Aller!

Für die Einheit des Vaterlandes!

Reden von Friedrich Schütz und Weil von Gernsbach.

Gehalten in der deutschen Massen-Versammlung in Philadelphia.

(Aus der „Freien Presse.")

Unserem Versprechen gemäß wollen wir heute versuchen einen möglichst vollständigen Bericht über die in der vorgestrigen deutschen Massenversammlung gehaltenen und mit so großem Beifall aufgenommenen vortrefflichen Reden der Herren Dr. Schütz und Weil von Gernsbach zu geben. Freilich kann durch einen trockenen Auszug die Präcision, die logische Klarheit des Gedankenganges und die vom Herzen kommende und zum Herzen sprechende Begeisterung des ersten Redners, der scharfe prickelnde Humor des Herrn Weil nur sehr unvollkommen wiedergegeben werden und die, welche es versäumten, die ausgezeichneten Redner selbst zu hören, werden in nachstehendem Auszuge nur einen schwachen Ersatz finden, allein wir mußten uns darauf beschränken, da wir in Ermangelung von genügendem Raum die Reden nicht Wort für Wort wiedergeben können.

Rede des Dr. Fr. Schütz.

Mitbürger! Ich danke Ihnen für das freundliche Willkommen. Ich erscheine vor Ihnen als ein Unbekannter, als ein gemeiner Soldat der großen Freiheitsarmee. Ich bin ein vorgeschobener Plänkler; was ich mit meinem Kleingewehrfeuer nicht erkämpfen kann, das wird nach mir der be-

währte General Schurz mit seinem schweren Geschütz fertig bringen. (Beifall.)

Meine Freunde. Was veranlaßte uns die Heimath zu verlassen? Geschah es nicht, weil wir überzeugt waren, daß jenseits des Oceans ein Staat sei, in dem wir Freiheit, Gleichheit und Gerechtigkeit finden würden, in dem wir Menschen sein könnten im edelsten Sinne des Wortes? Weil wir hofften, daß wir dort nicht mit der Arbeit unserer Hände und unseres Geistes eine prassende Aristokratie würden füttern müssen? Denn als die Väter dieser Republik erklärten, alle Menschen seien frei und gleich geboren, da gedachten sie einen Tempel der Freiheit zu errichten für alle Welt.

Aber während ein Schiff die Freiheit suchenden Pilgrime nach den nördlichen Gestaden brachte, landete ein anderes Schiff im südlichen Theile die Mitglieder einer unglücklichen Race, bestimmt zur ewigen Dienstbarkeit und brachte den Fluch der Barbarei in dieses Land. Eine Menschenklasse die behauptet: Wir haben das Recht zu herrschen und von dem Ertrag der Arbeit Anderer zu leben, nahm Besitz von dem Tempel der Freiheit, um aus ihm den Marktplatz ihres Eigennutzes, den Tummelplatz ihrer brutalen Herrschsucht zu machen.

Wenn die Gründer der Republik gewußt hätten, daß die von ihnen verfaßte Constitution dazu gemißbraucht werden sollte, die Sklaverei zu schützen, sie hätten die Constitution zerrissen. (Beifall.)

Wir haben jetzt drei und ein halb Jahre einen blutigen Krieg geführt und müssen uns darauf gefaßt machen, daß er noch länger dauert. Wir müssen Krieg führen bis der letzte Sklave frei und der letzte Rebelle unterworfen ist und mit General Grant entschlossen sein, to fight it out on this line. (Großer langanhaltender Beifall.)

Nicht allein unsere Armeen, sondern auch wir gehen einer großen Schlacht entgegen. Wohl oft blickt der im Feld stehende Soldat zurück und fragt sich besorgt, werden auch unsere Freunde im Rücken ihre Pflicht thun, ihre Schlacht schlagen und das Land am Wahltage retten? Sollten wir feige zurückbleiben, nicht an der Wahlurne erscheinen, oder ein verbrecherisches Votum hineinwerfen, welches den so theuer erkauften Sieg unserer Brüder im Heere dem geschlagenen Feinde schmachvoll Preis geben würde, wie es die Herren von Chicago, die Bundesgenossen der Rebellen, beabsichtigen? Nein! Nein! (Beifall.)

Alle bisherigen Kämpfe waren nicht so wichtig als der noch bevorstehende Kampf am 8. November. Mag Sherman Atlanta und den ganzen Süden nehmen,—Alles wird wieder verloren gehen, wenn wir am 8. November unterliegen.

Wir kämpfen zum ersten Mal für die große Sache der Heiligkeit des Volkswillens. Dafür haben wir einzustehen. Unsere Republik machte sich

fast von selbst. Als sich die Kolonien von England trennten, so mußten sie sich als Republiken organisiren, jetzt aber wird es sich bewähren, ob die Republik bestehen kann, ob wir im Stande sind, den Schlußstein der Freiheit einzusetzen. (Beifall.)

Früher gab es nur Republiken im kleinen Maßstabe. Die Ver. Staaten sind die erste Republik, deren Territorium ein Continent ist. Wir haben jetzt zu beweisen, daß auch ein so großes Gebiet, bewohnt von Millionen, fähig ist als Republik zu bestehen. An uns ist es zu beweisen, daß ein großes Volk mit den verschiedenartigsten Interessen seine Souveränität behaupten kann. Alle Regierungen von Gottes Gnaden griffen hinauf nach dem Himmel, um ihre Autorität mit einem Mantel der Heiligkeit zu umkleiden; wir müssen tief hinunter greifen, tief in die untern Schichten des Volkes, um zu beweisen, daß unsere Regierung feststeht. (Beifall.)

Der Redner erzählte, daß er im Jahre 1833, als ein neunzehnjähriger Jüngling, angeklagt ein Republikaner zu sein, vor dem berüchtigten Richter Georgi gestanden, und daß ihm dieser, als er auf das Bestehen der großen freien Republik der Vereinigten Staaten hingewiesen, vorausgesagt habe, daß in Amerika die Sklavenhalter eine Insurrektion beginnen würden, daß dann die große Republik in kleine Monarchien zerfallen und in Amerika eine Despotie herrschen werde, so scheußlich, wie sie die Welt noch nie gesehen, die Despotie des Pöbels unter der Leitung der verruchtesten Aristokratie.

Der erste Theil dieser vor dreißig Jahren ausgesprochenen Prophezeihung ist in Erfüllung gegangen, aber der zweite Theil wird nicht in Erfüllung gehen, wenn nur das Volk sich treu bleibt.

Wir kämpfen hier für die Freiheit der ganzen Welt. Geht unsere Republik zu Grunde, so ist die Freiheit der Welt verloren für Jahrhunderte. Alle Despoten, alle Aristokraten hoffen auf den Sturz unserer Republik. Nicht umsonst steht Belmont, der Agent Rothschilds, an der Spitze der demokratischen Partei in New-York. Nicht umsonst zeigt die „London Times" mit Hohnlächeln auf Amerika, um zu beweisen, daß sie Recht gehabt, als sie vorher gesagt, daß die von Bright und Cobden gepriesene amerikanische Union elend zu Grunde gehen müsse. Nicht umsonst sprechen, schreiben und intriguiren alle Diener Louis Napoleons für den Süden und McClellan, den von den Bundesgenossen des Südens aufgestellten Präsidentschafts-Candidaten. Die Vernichtung der Union würde für Menschenalter die Vernichtung der Volksherrschaft in der ganzen Welt sein. Das fühlen und wissen auch die Arbeiter aller Länder. Ueberall blickt das Volk hoffnungsvoll auf die freien Bürger des Nordens.—Brüder aus der alten Heimath, thut Euere Pflicht am 8. November.

Der Unionspartei liegt es ob, die Union und Republik zu erhalten. Die Demokratie steht uns nicht bei, denn sie warf von Anfang an die

Schuld für den Beginn des Bürgerkriegs nicht auf den Süden, sondern auf die republikanische Partei. Ihr sind die Südlichen immer noch die „verirrten Brüder," aber es gibt keinen Fluch und keinen Schimpf, den sie nicht gegen die Republikaner schleudert. Nur als kleiner Mißgriff wird es von ihnen bezeichnet, daß der „so schwer in seinen Rechten gekränkte Süden" die Waffen ergriff.

Der Redner weist auf ein in hiesiger Stadt verbreitetes demokratisches Plakat hin, welches auf der einen Seite schwarz gedruckt Lincoln's Erwählung als gleichbedeutend mit Negergleichheit, erhöhten Steuern, Krieg und Ruin—auf der anderen Seite roth gedruckt McClellan's Wahl als einen Protest gegen Krieg und die Gleichberechtigung der Neger bezeichnet Warum—fragt er—ist die eine Seite schwarz gedruckt? Um die Republikaner als „schwarze Republikaner" zu brandmarken. Wir aber nehmen diesen Beinamen an und rühmen uns dessen, denn zum ersten Male kämpft eine Race für die Freiheit der anderen. Dies ist ein edles, ein gerechtes Unternehmen.—Warum ist die demokratische Seite roth gedruckt? Ist es etwa Schamröthe, daß in deutscher Sprache so etwas gedruckt werden konnte, oder bedeutet die rothe Farbe das Blut der von den Demokraten im Juli vorigen Jahres ermordeten Neger?

Es ist bekannt, daß die deutschen Demokraten an jenen Greuelthaten in New-York keinen Theil nahmen und sie verabscheuten; aber warum trennen sie sich nicht von einer Partei, die in solcher Weise an den Haß, den Egoismus und die Dummheit appellirt?

In den Freiheitskämpfen aller Völker haben die Deutschen mitgefochten, so in Paris, in Belgien, in der Schweiz. Warum steht hier der Deutsche auf der Seite der Unterdrückung? (Großer Beifall). Einer der Hauptgründe, weswegen der Deutsche in Amerika noch nicht die gebührende Anerkennung und Achtung findet, daß es noch deutsche Demokraten giebt. (Anhaltender Beifall.)

Die Demokratie ist seit langer Zeit nichts mehr, als eine Partei des Interesses, das sie mit dem Sklavenhalter verbindet, und eine Dienerin der Sklavenhalteraristokratie selbst.

Viele Demokraten waren darum keine Abolitionisten, weil sie glaubten, diese Agitation gefährde die ihnen theure Union. Aber als die Frage entstand: Wer sollte herrschen, die Freiheit oder die Sklaverei, da mußten sich alle rechtlich Denkenden von der demokratischen Partei lossagen. (Großer Beifall.)

Wir haben die Union zu retten. Denken Sie sich das Band zwischen Norden und Süden gelöst, so würde der getrennte Norden nicht für sich als Freistaat bestehen können, sondern unrettbar einer Anarchie gleich der in Mexico anheim fallen.

Zwar sagen auch die Demokraten, daß sie die Wiederherstellung der alten Union wollen, aber die Leiter dieser Partei beabsichtigen etwas ganz Anderes. Sie wollen vorerst den Süden anerkennen und denken, daß sich später die Mittelstaaten der südlichen Conföderation anschließen werden, so daß nur das verruchte abolitionistische Neuengland ausgeschlossen bleiben soll. Die Unterwerfung des freien Nordens unter das Joch der Sklavenhalteraristokratie, — das ist, was die Partei, die sich frevelhaft die demokratische nennt, von dem getäuschten Volke beschließen lassen will. Ihr freien Männer, Ihr redlichen Arbeiter sollt Euch durch Euer Votum für die Unterwerfung unter den Süden aussprechen, dessen Führer offen erklären: „Die arbeitende Klasse hat kein Recht auf politische Freiheit, sie darf nicht mitregieren, sie hat nur zu gehorchen und sich abzumühen, damit wir, die bevorzugte Klasse, wir, die Adligen und Reichen, allein herrschen und in Wollust schwelgen können!“ —

Nun, freie Bürger des Nordens, wollt Ihr diese von der demokratischen Partei für Euch bestimmte Herrschaft der Sklavenhalter, so stimmt für den Candidaten der Chicago-Versammlung, für den alle Despoten und Aristokraten Europa's ihre Stimmen erheben, — stimmt für McClellan, dessen Namen die Rebellensoldaten mit Hurrahrufen begrüßen! Wählt McClellan und Ihr werdet die Knechte der südlichen Aristokraten!

Ihr wollt die alte Union wieder herstellen! Wohl, dann nehmt 200,000 Männer, die unter dem Sternenbanner für Eure Freiheit gefochten, und überantwortet sie dem Süden wieder als Sklaven. (Beifall.) Stellt die alte Union wieder her, die dem Manne, der den edlen, freisinnigen Sumner im Sitzungssaale der Vertreter der Nation niederschlug, einen Ehrenstock schenkte. Werdet wieder die Sklavenfänger für die südlichen Masters.

Die alte Union, die wir wollen, ist nicht jene, die ihre Flibustierschaaren aussendete, um neues Gebiet für die Sklaverei zu erobern. Unsere alte Union ist die, welche in dem Herzen eines Washington, eines Jefferson lebte, als sie dagegen protestirten, daß selbst nur das Wort Sklaverei in der Constitution erwähnt werde. (Großer Beifall.)

Die künftige Menschheit würde uns fluchen, wenn wir am 8. November für Wiederherstellung der Sklaverei stimmen würden. Besser, die Fluthen des Oceans erhöben sich und begrüben dieses Land, ehe wir durch unsere Abstimmung ein solches Unglück über dasselbe brächten. (Langdauernder stürmischer Hurrahruf.)

Der Kampf ist ein Kampf auf Leben und Tod, entweder wir erringen die ganze volle Freiheit, oder wir müssen für immer unsern Nacken unter das Joch der Sklavenhalter beugen.

Wir kämpfen für die Wiedergeburt der Nation, wir streiten für die Grundprincipien der Republik, für Freiheit, Gleichheit und Gerechtigkeit.

Durch die Einstellung des Krieges erklären wir thatsächlich, daß die Rebellen Recht hatten und der Norden Unrecht, und hierdurch pflanzen wir zugleich das Samenkorn für eine unaufhörlich wiederkehrende Rebellion. Die Nachwelt würde uns anklagen, daß wir verrätherisch gegen die Menschheit und unser eigenes Interesse gehandelt haben.

Nur zwei Dinge sind bei der von den Demokraten beabsichtigten Beendigung des Krieges möglich. Entweder Unterwerfung unter die Rebellen, oder Trennung der Union. Aber wie ist es möglich, daß die Demokraten uns den Frieden wieder geben können, während sie in ihrer Platform einen Waffenstillstand proponiren. Durch einen solchen Frieden erklären wir uns als Feiglinge und Eure ausländischen Feinde werden Euch sagen: Nur der südliche Ritter hat Muth und Ausdauer und ist bereit zu siegen oder zu sterben, der Norden dagegen will lieber Knecht sein, als Gut und Blut für seine Rechte opfern. Wenn am 8. November durch den Sieg der demokratischen Partei das Aufhören des Krieges proklamirt wird, dann kommen die Anstrengungen Englands und Frankreichs. Sie werden sprechen: Wir haben längst gesagt, daß es so kommen muß. Gehen wir zu Jeff. Davis.

Vielleicht sagt er: Mein eigenes Reich ist groß genug, und so möge Euch Euer Reich ebenfalls genügen, und so hat denn jeder etwas, womit er zufrieden sein kann. Oder er nimmt den demüthig bittenden Norden in Gnaden auf und spricht: Ihr wollt die ganze Union; — gut! Unterwerft Euch der Montgomery Constitution, und erkennt die Herrschaft des Südens an.

Hierbei fällt mir eine Anekdote ein, welche der Historiker Dahlmann erzählte, als er in der Paulskirche beweisen wollte, wie wenig das Volk zuweilen an seinen eigenen Interessen Antheil nimmt. Als der König von Westphalen, Jerome, vertrieben worden und der alte Churfürst von Hessen, der gewiß kein großes Licht war, wieder Besitz von seinem Lande nahm, äußerte ein Bauer: „Nun haben wir zwar unsern alten Esel wieder, aber es ist doch wenigstens unser eigener Esel.“ Wenn uns nun die Demokraten durchaus überreden wollen, die Diener der Aristokraten zu werden, nun gut, so könnten wir das besser haben, wenn wir uns in unsere alte Heimath zurückbegeben und, wie jener Bauer sagte, wieder mit unseren alten Eseln vorlieb nehmen würden.

Aber ernstlich gesprochen, wir würden der „rothen Reaktion“ Thür und Thor öffnen. Wir würden die Herrschaft des schrecklichsten Pöbels, wie der von New-York ist, haben, wir würden Scenen vergangener Jahrhunderte wieder erleben, wir würden uns an der Vergangenheit und an der Zukunft versündigen.

Man will Lincoln beschuldigen, daß er nichts gethan, wodurch er die

Wiederernennung als Präsident verdiente. Ist die Abschaffung der Sklaverei, die Emancipation der Farbigen, die Confiscation des südlichen Rebellen-Eigenthums Nichts? Ist die Anerkennung der Republiken Liberia und Hayti keine Berücksichtigung werth? Wenn die Emancipations-Proklamation, wodurch Millionen von Unterjochten ihre Menschenrechte wiedergegeben sind, keine Propaganda ist, dann weiß ich nicht was Propaganda ist. Manche allzu hitzige Köpfe haben unserer Regierung vorgeworfen, daß sie nicht schnell genug vorangegangen sei, daß der Krieg nichts zu Stande gebracht habe. Haben sie vergessen, was Sherman, Farragut, Sheridan erkämpft haben, was Grant allein schon zu Stande gebracht hat, und welcher schweren Aufgabe er sich jetzt unterzogen? Der Aufgabe, durch den Krieg den Feind zu zermalmen ohne sich der Gefahr auszusetzen, eine Niederlage möglich zu machen, welche die feindliche Partei im Norden ausbeuten würde.

Man hat Lincoln vorgeworfen, daß er keine Universitäten besucht habe, daß er ein Fenzriegelspalter sei. Gerade durch die Wiederwahl desselben zum höchsten Amte in den Ver. Staaten bestätigt das Volk, daß das "poor white trash" durch den freien Willen des Volkes bestimmt ist, die Aristokratie des Landes zu unterwerfen. Lincoln, der Rail-splitter, und Johnson, der Schneider, werden von dem Volke an die Spitze der siegreichen Union gestellt werden, um der Welt zu zeigen, daß das große Reich der Freiheit, Gleichheit und Gerechtigkeit gegründet ist, daß in demselben die Arbeit den Menschen adelt. Zwei Männer, Arbeiter in ihrer Jugend, werden siegreich das Banner der wahren Demokratie auf den Trümmern der Sklavenhalter-Zwingburg aufpflanzen!

Angenommen, wir hätten statt eines schlichten aber redlichen Mannes, der mit Besonnenheit und Festigkeit fortschreitet und das Staatsschiff zwar langsam aber mit Sicherheit durch den Sturm lenkt, ein Genie, wie Cäsar, Cromwell, Napoleon. Glaubt Ihr, daß wir dabei besser fahren würden? Vergesset nicht, daß aus allen diesen Genies Diktatoren wurden, welche eben durch die Macht ihres Alles beherrschenden Geistes auch dem Volke die Herrschaft nahmen, das sich ihm in seiner Vergötterung blindlings unterwarf und durch diese Vergötterung seine Freiheit einbüßte.

An uns ist es, der Welt zu zeigen, daß ein Volk sich retten kann, ohne seine Freiheit einzubüßen.

Wir müssen den Coloß vernichten, an dessen Spitze die schwarze Fahne der Sklaverei flattert, und einen Coloß von Rhodus erbauen, einen Leuchtthurm der Freiheit, die große wiederhergestellte Union, welche allen Unterdrückten der Erde ein Leitstern durch die Stürme der Verfolgung, ein Rettungssignal sein soll.

Ebenso wie Napoleon in Egypten seine Krieger anfeuerte, indem er auf die Pyramiden deutend, ausrief: „Vierzig Jahrhunderte blicken auf Euch

herab," so ruft die Welt Euch zu! Vierzig Jahrhunderte der Civilisation blicken auf Euch und so schaffet am 8. November, daß die ganze Arbeit der Vergangenheit nicht vergebens gewesen ist. (Lang anhaltender stürmischer Beifall.)

Rede des Herrn Weil von Gernsbach.

Meine Herren!

Ich erscheine hier vor Ihnen als eine ziemlich unbekannte Person, und es gebührt mir, zuerst Ihnen zu sagen, wer ich bin. Ich bin ein Badenser Flüchtling vom Jahre '49, ein schlichter Bürgersmann, der zu schlichten Bürgersleuten in ungeschmückten Worten reden will. (Applaus.) Ich will Ihnen auch die Wahrheit sagen (d. h. das bleibt unter uns): Ich bin früher Demokrat gewesen.—Das dürfen Sie aber nicht weiter sagen! (Gelächter.)—Ich habe noch im Jahre 1856, weil ich zum Nachdenken nicht aufgelegt war und aus Hang zur Bequemlichkeit mich von Nachbarn und Bekannten überreden lassen, das demokratische Ticket zu stimmen.—Ich weiß, es war'ne Dummheit, es reut mich auch, und thut mir leid, daß man mir nachsagen muß: „Du bist ja früher mit dieser Partei gegangen!—und das ist auch die Wahrheit.—Als aber im Jahre 1861 der Krieg ausbrach, da machte ich mich davon, denn ich erkannte, daß es für einen anständigen Menschen keine Entschuldigung sei, bei einer solchen Partei zu bleiben (stürmischer Applaus) und das hat mich noch nicht gereut bis auf die jetzige Stunde und wird's auch nimmer.

Meine Herren, Sie sitzen hier nicht als bloße Zuschauer oder Zuhörer; Sie sitzen hier zu Gericht als Geschworenen, um zu hören und zu urtheilen, was am 11. Oktober und 8. November geschehen muß. Ob wir für Jefferson Davis oder für Abraham Lincoln sind, ob für die Anerkennung der Rebellion oder die Aufrechthaltung der Union, ob wir die bewaffneten Verräther im Süden und die heimtückischen Verräther im Norden unterstützen wollen, oder die Sache der Menschheit über die ganze Welt.

Vor Euch liegt die Entscheidung über Leben und Tod, nicht blos die Entscheidung über Euer Schicksal, sondern über das Eurer Mitmenschen, Eurer Nachkommen, Eurer Zukunft, Eures guten Rufes, Eurer ganzen physischen und moralischen Existenz.

Wäre ich ein Aufwiegler, ein Demagoge, ein Brandstifter, ein gewissen- und charakterloser Mensch, was gewiß eine schlimme Sache ist, und würde ich glauben, daß ich eine aus solchen Subjekten zusammengesetzte Gesellschaft vor mir habe, so würde ich sagen: „Die verfluchten Black Republicans haben den Krieg angefangen." Und wahrlich, noch nie hat eine Partei

es gewagt, dem Volke einen solchen Bären aufzubinden, wie dieser. (Gelächter und Applaus). Und was noch schlimmer ist, die rohen Massen glauben es. (Gelächter.)

Brauche ich es Ihnen oder irgend einem intelligenten Menschen zu sagen, wer den Krieg begonnen hat. Weiß es nicht ein Jeder, der sich nur die kleine Mühe des Nachdenkens geben will — aber dazu ist jene Klasse zu faul oder zu bösartig — daß der Krieg schon vor dreißig Jahren begonnen habe. Daß der Süden den Norden dazu gezwungen, daß der Norden Alles gethan, um den Süden in Ruhe und Versöhnung zu erhalten, daß der Norden selbst die heiligste Menschenpflicht verletzte, um nur den Süden nicht zu reizen. Wer hat den Senator Sumner in den Hallen des Capitols zum Krüppel geschlagen. Wer hat Lovejoy in Illinois, einen Zeitungsherausgeber, erschlagen, weil er es wagte, sein freies Wort für die Menschenrechte auszusprechen. Und diese Bande spricht jetzt von Verletzung der Rede- und Preßfreiheit. (Donnernder Applaus.) Wer hat im Jahre 1836 das Gag Law eingeführt, wodurch dem Volke ein Maulkorb vorgehängt werden sollte. Wurde nicht das Petitionsrecht auf Antrag des Südens verboten? — (Applaus). Wäre ich (was das Schlimmste ist, was einen Menschen befallen kann) ein Simpel, ein Dummkopf, ein Mensch ohne Erziehung und Intelligenz, und würde ich glauben, daß ich in Gesellschaft von eben solchen Subjecten wäre, so würde ich sagen: Abe Lincoln ist ein Tyrann, ein Menschenfresser (Gelächter), ein Caligula, ein Nero u. s. w. All solch dummes Zeug würde ich Euch vorschwätzen. (Gelächter). Ich würde räsonniren, daß der Krieg nicht schnell genug zu Ende geführt wird. (Gelächter). Ich würde Euch sagen, daß wir Alles besaßen, um einen solch riesenhaften Krieg zu führen, als derselbe ausbrach, d. h. ich würde dabei vergessen, daß wir damals Alles Nothwendige dazu hatten, blos keine Soldaten, keine Waffen, keine Ammunition und Geld, (stürmischer Applaus und Gelächter), denn das hatte uns schon der Süden alles vorher weggestohlen. (Gelächter und Applaus).

Die sogenannten Demokraten werfen uns vor: „Wir fechten für den Nigger!“ Eine schöne Sorte Demokraten das. Sie verdienen den Namen Demokraten gerade so, als wenn die Räuber in den Abruzzen sich Römer und die Piraten vom Piräus sich Athener nennen wollten. (Gelächter und Applaus). — Sie sagen: für den Nigger fechten wir. — Gerade das Gegentheil thun wir, wir fechten gegen ihn. (Gelächter). Sie renommiren ja damit, der Neger werde so gut behandelt im Süden: sein Master geht so patriarchalisch mit ihm um, so liebreich, er giebt ihm einen Arzt und Medizin, wenn er krank wird; er sendet ihn in alle Weltgegenden als Vertreter der Civilisation und Nächstenliebe, und wenn auch diese Versendung auf dem Versteigerungsblock geschieht. Den Vater sendet er dorthin, die

Mutter dahin, die Kinder anderswohin — Alles, um die Civilisation zu verbreiten und um statistische Studien zu machen. — (Anhaltendes Gelächter.) Und nun sage mir einer, daß wir für den Nigger fechten. — Gerade das Gegentheil thun wir. Wir wollen ihm dieses Glück und diese Wohlthaten entreißen; wir wollen ihn zum freien Menschen machen und wenn ihn gleich der Teufel holt! (Lang anhaltender Jubel und stürmischer Enthusiasmus).

Wäre ich ein dummer Mensch und glaubte, Ihr wäret auch so (Gelächter), so würde ich ferner sagen: „Wollt Ihr wohlfeile Butter? so stimmt für McClellan. — Wollt Ihr billiges Schweinefleisch? so stimmt für McClellan. — Wollt Ihr, daß Euch die Tauben gebraten in's Maul fliegen? so stimmt für McClellan. — Wollt Ihr, daß um Mitternacht die Mittagssonne auf Eure Schädel brennen soll? so stimmt für McClellan." (Stürmischer Beifall und Gelächter.)

Solch' dummes Zeug zu schwatzen ist gewiß schlimm, aber das Schlimmste ist, daß es Menschen gibt, die wirklich so abgeschmacktes Zeug glauben. (Stürmisches Gelächter und Applaus.) Und das sind die Prediger und die Gläubigen, die sich heutzutage als Demokraten tituliren. (Applaus.)

Was ist eine Partei, und was verstehen wir unter diesem Namen? Unter dieser Partei verstehe ich nicht einen Gegner, mit dem ich mich auf eine vernünftige Besprechung und Darlegung der Thatsachen einlassen kann, sondern den Landesfeind, der weder auf Vorstellungen, noch auf Vernunft hört. Ihm ziehe ich noch den offenen Feind, den Süden, vor, der offen mit bewaffneter Hand seinen Irrglauben verficht. Aber den, der mit dem Dolch, versteckt, uns im Rücken anzufallen versucht, verachte ich als einen Feigling und Heuchler aus der tiefsten Tiefe meines Herzens. (Donnernder Beifall.) Um eine Parallele zwischen der wirklichen und der jetzigen sogenannten Demokratie zu ziehen, greife ich in die Geschichte zurück und lange mir ein paar Thatsachen daraus hervor. Am 14. Juli 1789 erstürmte das demokratische Volk von Paris die Bastille und machte dieses scheußliche Gefängniß der Erde gleich, und am andern Morgen stand auf den Ruinen ein Pfahl mit der Inschrift: "Ici l'on dance!" (Hier wird getanzt!) Und alles dies geschah, ohne daß Jemand an seinem Eigenthum verletzt und gekränkt wurde, und kurz darauf erklärte die französische Republik, daß alle Franzosen gleich seien vor dem Rechte. (Applaus.)

Dagegen am 14. Juli 1863, welch' Schauspiel bot uns die Demokratie von New-York dar! Sie brannte Waisenhäuser nieder, stahl und raubte, und schlug wehr- und schutzlose Menschen auf der Straße todt. (Stürmischer Beifall.) Das war die Demokratie von damals und das ist die Demokratie von heute. (Applaus.) Und mit einer solchen Bande sollen wir Hand in Hand gehen; für deren Ticket soll ein Deutscher stim-

men, der Deutsche, der in seinem Heimathlande die Hand des Unterdrückers gefühlt, der sich das denkende Volk nennt, dessen ganze Erziehung, dessen Geist und Streben sich nach Freiheit und Bewahrung der Menschenwürde sehnt? (Bravo.) Nehmt die ganze deutsche Nation, wie sie von Nord bis Süd in verschiedenen Landesgebieten auftritt, und fragt Euch, kann sie sich einer solchen Partei anschließen?

Ich beginne mit dem Holsteiner, der soeben bemüht ist, den Dänendruck von sich zu wälzen.

Ich sehe den Mecklenburger vor mir, wie er dem anderthalb Zoll dicken Prügelstock entlaufen. Wird er sich dazu hergeben, um seinen Mitmenschen auszupeitschen? (Bravo.) Nein, gewiß, das wird er nicht. (Applaus.)

Ich sehe den Preußen mit seiner „Intelligenz" (Gelächter); wird er seine Intelligenz so weit vergessen und mit dieser Partei gehen? Nein.

Dort kommt der Hesse, der gehassenfluchte (Gelächter), dessen ganze Geschichte von Unterdrückung und Tyrannei erzählt. Wird er für Sklaverei und Verdummung sein? Nein. (Bravo.)

Hier kommt der fröhliche Württemberger, der gemüthliche Schwabe. Vielleicht ist er bei Marbach daheim. „Ma woißt nau schau!" (Applaus und Gelächter.) Denkt Ihr, daß der so entmenscht ist, um mit dieser Partei zu gehen, die eine Raçe entmenschen will. Nein, das thut er nicht. Dazu hat er ein zu gutes Gemüth. (Stürmischer Applaus.)

Hier seh ich den Badenser, ein aufgeweckter, munterer Bursch, der nicht auf den Kopf gefallen ist. Vielleicht ist er von Mannheim, Heidelberg, Sinzheim oder Rastatt; vielleicht ein Schulkamerad von unserem Mitbürger Sigel. (Stürmischer Applaus.) Vielleicht ist er von Bruchsal, wo mehr Wein als Wasser ist. (Gelächter.) Vielleicht ist er von Constanz, wo einstmals Fickler den „Seeboten" schrieb. (Schallendes Gelächter und Hurrah.) Alleweil schreibt Fickler was Anderes. (Gelächter.) Meint Ihr, daß er mit dieser Demokratie geht? Fällt ihm gar nicht ein.

Sie Alle werden keinen schmachvollen Frieden mit Aristokraten machen und sich nicht mit dem rohesten Pöbel, der sich mit Blut und Verbrechen besudelt im Straßenkothe wälzt, in eine Categorie stellen. (Stürmischer Applaus.)

Sie werden am 8. November das Ticket der Wahrheit und der Menschenwürde stimmen. Sie werden den Fluch der Sklaverei aufheben, damit die Emigration sich überall ausbreiten und mit der Civilisation Hand in Hand gehen kann. Ein Jeder wird dann in späteren Zeiten, wenn die Enkel sich auf seinen Knieen schaukeln, ihnen erzählen können von dem großen Kampfe für Freiheit, Menschenwürde und Rechte und wird dann mit stolzem Gefühle sagen können: „Ich bin auch dabei gewesen und habe meine Schuldigkeit als Mensch gethan!" (Donnernder Beifall, Hurrahrufen und anhaltender Jubel.)

RELIEF FOR EAST TENNESSEE.

MEETING AT COOPER INSTITUTE,

Thursday Evening, March 10, 1864.

ADDRESS

OF

HON. N. G. TAYLOR,

(Late Representative from East Tennessee.)

REPORTED BY A. WASHINGTON, STENOGRAPHER.

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1864.

PRELIMINARY CORRESPONDENCE.

New York, Saturday, Feb. 20, 1864.

The Hon. N. G. Taylor, former Representative from East Tennessee:

Dear Sir,—The undersigned having been made aware of the important mission with which you are charged, under the approbation of the Governor of Tennessee, namely, the relief of the suffering Union men of that State, are desirous that you should make a statement of your mission and of the condition of that loyal but unfortunate population to the people of this city, to the end that they may be enabled to participate in the wide movement which is now making to alleviate their sufferings.

They, therefore, earnestly desire that you will name a day when it will be convenient for you to address a public meeting to be held in New York for this purpose.

Respectfully, your obedient servants,

W. E. Dodge,
Jonathan Sturges,
Wm. T. Blodgett,
Peter Cooper,
George Opdyke,
Charles Butler,
Wm. K. Strong,
Adrian Iselin,
Robt. B. Roosevelt,
Hiram Walbridge,
George Griswold,
John C. Green,
Morris Ketchum,
S. B. Chittenden,
John Austin Stevens, Jr.

New York, Monday, March 7, 1864.

Gentlemen,—I have the honor to own receipt of your kindly letter of Feb. 20, inviting me to name an evening upon which I may address the people of the city of New York upon the unhappy condition and suffering of the Union men of East Tennessee, and solicit from your often taxed but always generous liberality, some aid and relief to my unfortunate neighbors and friends in that section.

I have just returned from a tour through the Eastern States, where I have been received with the utmost kindness, and where my efforts have met with success.

I will have the honor of addressing the citizens of New York on Thursday evening next, 10th inst., if agreeable to you.

Thanking you in the name of my countrymen for your kindness,

I have the honor to remain your obedient servant,

N. G. Taylor.

Messrs. W. E. Dodge, Jonathan Sturges, William T. Blodgett, Peter Cooper, George Opdyke, and others.

New York, March 9th, 1864.

Major-Genl. A. E. Burnside:

General,—On the evening of Thursday, 10th inst., Hon. N. G. Taylor, former Representative from East Tennessee, will address the citizens of New York with an appeal for relief for that loyal but unfortunate section. Many of our best citizens participate in this movement and are interested in its success. Your recent command in that section, and your defence of its soil from the rebel, invasion have indissolubly connected your name with that of East Tennessee; and it seems therefore particularly appropriate that you should accede to the request which I have the honor to make in the name of the gentlemen who have requested Mr. Taylor to deliver an address, namely, to preside over the meeting; and with your permission, I will so announce.

Truly and respectfully,
Your friend and servant,
John Austin Stevens, Jr.

Pursuant to the foregoing correspondence, a meeting of the citizens of New York was called at the Cooper Institute, on Thursday evening.

Gen. W. K. Strong, in a few introductory remarks, explained the occasion of their disappointment, in the absence of Gen. Burnside, as President of the meeting, and read the following letter:

Fifth Avenue Hotel, March 10, 1864.

John Austin Stevens, Jr., Esq.:

My Dear Sir,—On my return from New Haven this afternoon, I found your kind note asking me to preside at the meeting to be addressed this evening by the Hon. N. G. Taylor in behalf of the suffering people of East Tennessee, and am very sorry that an important engagement in reference to my official duties, will prevent me from being with you at the opening of the meeting. It is possible that I may be able to join you during the evening. You know how much sympathy I have for the brave and noble people of East Tennessee, and how much I admire their unswerving loyalty—and how much I desire to see their present wants supplied by the more prosperous loyal sections. They deserve aid, and I am sure they will receive it.

Thanking the gentlemen of the Committee for the honor done me by asking me to preside at your meeting, I remain,

Very truly yours,
A. E. Burnside.

Gen. Hiram Walbridge was nominated and elected as presiding officer. After thanking the meeting for the honor done him, he said:

GEN. WALBRIDGE'S SPEECH.

The patriotic citizens of this great commercial metropolis have so often and so generously bestowed their liberality since the commencement of the rebellion, that now, in appealing to them in behalf of the suffering Unionists of East Tennessee, it may not be inappropriate to state the circumstances of their present condition—the causes which have produced it, and the hope they entertain of again speedily occupying their once proud position in the galaxy of States that constitute the American Republic.

Located in the geographical centre of the old Union—there, amid their native fastnesses, and in the mountains, they have never yielded to the demands of the traitors of the so-called Confederacy, though often pressed by overwhelming numbers to renounce their allegiance to the Federal Union.

Twenty-five thousand of the choicest sons of East Tennessee, in the liberating armies of the republic, have stripped that community of its defenders, leaving their aged sires, their defenceless mothers, and their unprotected daughters, to the mercy of those formerly their neighbors and friends, who have yielded to the mad and wicked spirit of secession. A common humanity should have dictated that a population thus dependent for protection on the gallantry of those who have been temporarily in power there, should have caused those who boast of their chivalry to avoid the atrocities which they have freely committed, and at the mere recital of which the cheek turns pale. But this foul spirit of secession is alike deaf to the claims of humanity or the ties of consanguinity. This, however, need not excite surprise. A people who have voluntarily determined to overthrow the fabric of constitutional government must, in advance, have qualified themselves for every species of atrocity known to human annals.

These facts, however, only augment our responsibility to contribute whatever lies in our power to alleviate their sufferings,

and restore them to their original condition as it existed before the rebellion began. It is indeed hard, that in the third year of the contest—with over twenty millions of population from which to draw our resources and strength—we should be now under the necessity of alleviating the famishing wants of the Unionists of East Tennessee, and defending them against the brutality and outrages of a confederacy which, from the beginning, never numbered more than six millions of rebel population.

This portion of Tennessee was originally settled by emigrants from the "Old North State," who inherited their convictions of popular liberty from the men who fought at "King's Mountain," and passed the "Mechlenburgh" declaration of independence. From 1774 to 1784, "North Carolina" exercised legislation over this territory. But in the succeeding year of 1785, that government becoming distasteful to those hardy and vigorous pioneers, they were unwilling to yield to the imperious demands of the slave legislation of the parent tSate, and they, consequently, organized themselves into a separate political community, under the name of "Franklin." And until 1788 they maintained a separate political existence, whose distinguishing characteristics were political equality and universal freedom. This territory was, however, subsequently re-annexed to "North Carolina," and by her ceded to the General Government. And such was the increase in her population and the development of her resources, that after being merged into a territorial organization with "Middle" and "West Tennessee," they were admitted into the Union as a State in 1796.

This inherent love of liberty, early engendered in her first distinct political organization, has ever since continued to exercise its legitimate influence on the sentiment of her people. And while other sections in surrounding States have become more and more thoroughly imbued in their idolatry to slavery, the population of East Tennessee, catching inspiration from the invigorating breezes of their native mountains, have ever remained true to the cardinal principles on which the theory of the Federal Government is based.

This dominant love of freedom seems to be indigenous to every mountain region throughout the habitable globe. And

this has frequently been illustrated in English history, when the vestal fires of freedom were only kept burning amid the Highlands of Scotland. And to day, surrounded by the tyrannies and despotisms of Europe, a gallant and chivalric people, whose territory, reaching above the clouds, penetrates

"Where fields of light and liquid ether flow,"

maintain their love of freedom pure and spotless as the snow upon their native Alps.

In every contest of the past where the honor, integrity and renown of the United States have been involved, no people have displayed greater alacrity in upholding and maintaining the Government of the United States than the people of East Tennessee.

Subjected to a terrible conscription by the confederates when in possession of that section of the country, it is almost entirely destitute of white male population. The slaves of that region having also sought protection within the Federal lines, the women and children are without the common necessaries of life.

As each rebel conscription has been enforced in this section of the Union, the loyal men of East Tennessee, shrinking from the turpitude of fighting against a government which, in the past, had guaranteed to them so many blessings, have fled to their native mountains, preferring to encounter the wild beasts of the forest rather than their still more inhuman neighbors who have yielded to the foul spirit of secession.

The importance in which the region has been held by the rebels as a strategic point for military operations is thoroughly illustrated by the tenacity with which they have struggled to hold their grasp upon it. They fully realize that the sentiments of its population are thoroughly imbued with an inherent love of constitutional freedom. Consequently, the rebel authorities have exercised over it from the first the most tyrannical rule, hoping to crush the spirit of its free people.

But all these circumstances convince us that this part of Tennessee should have been occupied, at the commencement of the struggle, as a basis for military operations in the South. And it is now, as it was in the beginning, the dictate of wise states-

manship to develope the Union sentiment of the South by supporting and strengthening the Unionists in those localities where they are still true to the General Government as in Texas and East Tennessee. And the neglect to do this has led to a merciless rebel conscription in those localities, which has resulted to the advantage of the rebels and the absolute destruction of the Unionists in those States.

These Southern Unionists are the residuary legatees of the authority of the General Government, and the whole power of the nation should be exerted to shield them from persecution and to restore them to their former proud position.

Every day's experience demonstrates that it is the dictate of wisdom to put forth our overwhelming strength, and bring this rebellion to a spedy and immediate close. Whatever cause protracts the war still further, ruins the South; and it is kindness to every section of the country that all our energy should be devoted to bring this rebellion to a triumphant close. The government, then, brought in harmony with the designs of its original founders, will enter upon a new career of greatness and renown, while it recognizes truth, justice and political equality as the foundations of its future prosperity and strength. Let us not forget that the moral world has its laws, as fixed and eternal as those which regulate the material universe. And the nation or statesman that disregards this great truth in the administration of human affairs must, sooner or later, reap the consequences which result from their violation.

In every community there are two opposing forces struggling for supremacy,—one a temporary expediency that looks to personal objects and immediate action—the other founded on moral conviction and regulated by Christian principle; and statesmen and nations are to be measured by the manner in which they are controlled by one or the other of those opposing forces in the administration of human affairs. We are too apt to measure results by the standard of our physical existence. And this it is, and this alone, which causes so many of those who are called to exercise power and influence in public affairs, to regulate their conduct by the immediate circumstances which surround them, instead of looking beyond the present, and basing their action and shaping their policy upon the eternal principles of justice and right.

I shall now have the pleasure, fellow-citizens, of presenting to you one of the gifted sons of East Tennessee—a citizen formerly one of its ablest representatives in the National Congress. Wherever the honor, interest or renown, not only of Tennessee, but of the Union, was concerned, he was their able, eloquent and gifted advocate. Driven from his country, by the persecution of the rebels, he comes to represent to you the sufferings of his countrymen. And should fortune call any of us to his section of the country, to stand there as he stands here to-night, may we then be able to exclaim, as he exclaims here, "These! these are my countrymen, and this! Oh this! is my country!" I have the pleasure to present to you the Hon. N. G. Taylor, who will now address you.

ADDRESS OF HON. N. G. TAYLOR.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies, Gentlemen, Fellow-Citizens,—I am here to-night, at the instance of kind citizens of this great metropolis, to address you in reference to East Tennessee, whose representative I have the honor to be on this occasion. I regret that it is not my privilege to congratulate myself, and you, upon the prosperity and happiness of my people; that I cannot tell you, our homes are undisturbed and quiet; that the peace, and tranquillity, and integrity of the family circle is still unbroken; and that there are no sad signs of sorrow, no grating sounds of distress and war echoing among our mountains and valleys. But such are the desolating fruits of rebellion, such the blighting results of internecine war, that I can tell you no such pleasing stories.

I do not come here to your great rich city as a beggar, nor as a representative of beggars; for a population that has always been too proudly patriotic to bow the willing neck to the heartless tyranny of a despotic Southern oligarchy, is still too proud, although beggared by this war, to cringe, as a beggar, and solicit alms of Northern brethren. (Applause.) If you will cast your eye upon the map of the United States, and draw a line upon its face, from Cincinnati to Charleston, S. C., and another

from New York city to New Orleans, I think you will find that their intersection will be near the centre of East-Tennessee, which is that portion of the State of Tennessee lying east of the Cumberland Mountains. It comprises thirty one counties, and contains 10,000 to 15,000 square miles, and a population of 300,000 persons.

This is a mountain region essentially, and is one of the most elevated within the United States east of the Rocky Mountains. It is almost surrounded by lofty mountains, which isolate it from other sections, and make it territorially a State of itself. East Tennessee is indeed a most interesting region, and richly deserving of your warmest sympathies, and your kindest regards, if not your profoundest admiration. "It consists of the broad valley of the magnificent river (Tennessee and its tributaries) which traverses it, from northeast to southwest," for more than two hundred miles, "with a varying width of from fifty to seventy-five miles—and of the slopes of the mountains, which separate it, on the north from Kentucky, on the west from middle Tennessee, and on the southeast from North Carolina and Georgia—a beautiful valley—between beautiful enclosing hills, fertile, many of them, to their summits ; sparkling with a hundred tributaries to the noble stream which forms its principle feature." From northeast to southwest this region is traversed, for most of its length, by Powell's, Clinch, Bays, and House Mountains, whose transverse spurs and ridges reach far down into the intervening valleys—giving variety and boldness to a scenery, unsurpassed for loveliness and beauty on the American continent. Our streams are fed by ten thousand clear, bright, pebbly bottomed rivulets, whose cool, laughing waters gush from perennial fountains, away up on the mountain sides, and dance merrily on in their mission of love, awaking the echoes with the melody of their sweet voices. The axe has cleared many thousands of fertile acres, in the valleys, and along the slopes of the hills—which yield their generous fruits to the hardy farmer's toil—but the rich mountains still shade themselves with a boundless profusion of forest verdure, as if to shut out, and hide from man's obtrusive gaze, the wilderness of rich grasses and flowers, there " born to blush unseen."

Stand here with me, on the bank of this clear, rapid little river, and I will show you a landscape that God made for man to love and enjoy. There is the spring under that venerable willow—and its pellucid waters are dancing along, to their own music, in their serpentine track, through grassy meadows where flocks are feeding; to the right, is the great wheat-field already rich with the verdure of spring; beyond is the forest, venerable with age, but strong enough yet to breast the storms of a hundred years; above the forest, there, before you a mile or more away, is the first ridge of the mountain, behind which is the cascade whose silvery waters have nourished whole generations of echoes ever since the flood; still above, far away in the blue distance, rises the grand old mountain itself; on its sides and slopes the primeval forest still spreads its giant arms, as if to shield the millions of beautiful wild flowers, that flourish at its feet, while on its summit, above yon belt of mist, 6,200 feet above the sea, a green grassy prairie meadow, fringed with fir trees, spreads its beautiful bosom to the caresses of the sun. In this mountain-girt realm, there are no dismal swamps, and stagnant, putrid lakes, whence malaria springs to poison man—no miasm taints the air—these find a home in less congenial climes. The pestilential winds from the damp lowlands of the south and southwest, filtered and cooled as they sweep over the lofty crests of our mountains, breathe life and health on all our sunny valleys. Our mountains abound with ores of lead, zinc, copper, silver, and iron; bituminous coal, and many varieties of marble, are found in various localities. Salt has been discovered, and there are mineral waters, of great medicinal value, in almost every county; and we have water-power enough to operate all the machinery of the continent.

This country, these valleys, these mountains, are the homes of 300,000 people, whose misfortune it has been to incur the displeasure of their Southern brethren. Not that they differed, essentially in their sentiments and feelings upon the great national questions that had heretofore, to a greater or less extent, sectionalized the opinions of the country; not that in their sympathies, interests, education, or associations, they were severed from their brethren surrounding them,—but that they cherished

a different appreciation of the Government of the United States, which was committed to them in trust, for the benefit of posterity; not that they loved their kindred less, but their country more. [Applause.]

It is true that many of our kindred of the South are very angry with the people of East Tennessee, and they hate us with great bitterness, and of late have done us great injury. Yet, while the remembrance of this fact is a source of great pain to the people of East Tennessee, they are consoled by the reflection that this animosity and hatred have been engendered by her devotion to the union of these States, by her adherence to the farewell advice of the father of our country, by her persistent refusal to take part or lot in any mad effort for the overthrow of our common government—a government which has always protected its citizens, which has never infringed a solitary right of an individual or a State of this Union, from its beginning down, and which our people believe it to be their religious duty to hand down, as a priceless and inestimable heritage, to their children and children's children. [Loud applause.]

But it is not true that East Tennessee has ever been unfaithful to the Southern people, either in principle or in fact. We believed, and we declared, that the interests and institutions, the happiness, prosperity, and rights of the people of the South, were bound up with and in the Union, and that they could never be preserved outside of the Union. We declared this upon the rostrum and at the hustings,—everywhere, from Carter to Shelby,—from the eastern limit of the State to its western boundary upon the Mississippi river. Inexorable history has vindicated the correctness of our judgment, and demonstrated the weakness and fallacy of theirs. Let the universal prosperity that swelled every channel of their vitality—commercial, political, industrial and social—at the beginning of the war, and within the Union; and the ruined commerce, the paralyzed industry, the bankrupt treasury, the dismembered families, the broken-hearted widows, the orphaned children, the desolated homes and new-made graves of the South without the Union, attest the unutterable folly of those who execrate the people of East Tennessee, because they would not affiliate with

treason. [Applause.] Could those who made this war have beee made to taste alone its bitterness and feel its woes, it had been well. Then East Tennessee would have escaped. But, alas! the concentrated fury of the war has rolled over her innocent bosom, and she is in ruins to-day, having nothing left her but pride, poverty, and patriotism.

Her people are the descendants of the pioneer heroes of North Carolina, Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey, with here and there a solitary individual from other Northern and Southern States, and, like their illustrious ancestry, they have never learned how to be false to the Constitution and the Union. The pioneer heroes of East Tennessee left their daughters their wives and their old men, to defend themselves against a savage foe, in the great war for independence, while they buckled on their armor and struck for our infant nationality upon the sides and slopes of King's Mountain, under the lead of Shelby and Campbell. In the war of 1812, they fought gallantly on many a battle-field, and triumphed under their own immortal Jackson at New Orleans. [Applause.] In 1832–'3, when Nullification threatened with the sword to cut the Gordian knot of our Union, and when the illustrious Jackson appealed to the Eternal to witness that the Federal Union must be preserved, a united Amen swelled in the hearts and broke from the lips of the people of East Tennessee as from the lips of one man, and they were ready to sacrifice their lives in defence of the integrity of our glorious government. Her stalwart sons were mingled in the front ranks of the Mexican war, and they poured out their blood freely with their fellow-citizens of other States at Vera Cruz and Cerro Gordo, at Monterey and Buena Vista, at Chepultepec and Cherubusco, and helped to swell the shout of victory as our gallant legions marched in triumph into the Grand Plaza of Mexico.

Thus, in peace and in war, in the cabinet and in the field, at the hustings, at the bar, and in the Senate, in public assemblies and private circles, in the homes of the rich and the cabins of the poor, the heart of East Tennessee has ever "kept time to the music of the Union." [Loud applause.] This devotion is not a mere sentiment, it is a passion; nay, more, it is a principle on fire, ever burning, never consumed; it is a heritage of

the blood, transmitted from sire to son, imbibed with mother's milk; stereotyped upon the heart, and rivetted in the soul. [Applause.] Witness the sad history of the past three years! The first test of the Union sentiment of East Tennessee, upon the existing difficulties, was applied in February, 1861. The form of the question then was, "Convention or No Convention," and the electetion of representatives or delegates by the people to that Convention, in case it should receive a majority in its favor at the pending election? The true test in this election was the aggregate majority of those who vindicated the Union cause during the contest. The questions before the people were amply discussed from the rostrum, and when the day for election came, the State of Tennessee, casting a vote of 130 or 140,000, gave a solid majority of 64,000 opposed to going out of the Union, and of that number, East Tennessee gave 34,000 in favor of the Union, and 7,000 against it. [Applause.] In June, when the question was put in a different form, "Representation or No Representation" East Tennessee again recorded her vote, by overwhelming majorities, against the great treason. Then came persuasions, soft and sweet; syren eloquence, dropped like the dews of Hermon into the ears of our people of the mountains, and our boys were promised exemption from the battle-field if they would only acquiesce and let the storm roll on. Well, fellow-citizens, the August election came, for a Governor, members of Congress, and representatives to the State Legislature. By this time, the bayonets of the Southern Confederacy bristled all over the State of Tennessee. Our great men in the middle and western portions of the State had felt the force of the storm—among them, the man whom I was proud to serve in 1860, as the representative of the Union sentiment of our State in conjunction with my illustrious friend Mr. Everett—I mean John Bell. He, and the Ewings, Cave Johnson, Neal Brown, and a host of men whose hearts had been true to the Union until the storm rose, now felt their knees smite together and their hearts fail them, and the fury of the tempest swept them all off into the Southern Confederacy. Our boys in the mountains saw that storm. Efforts were made to keep us from the ballot-box. We were told—"The State having now gone out of the Union, if

you dare to go and vote for the men who are in favor of the old Union, we will see that you are taken care of. We have places prepared for men of your sentiments, and the first thing you know you will find yourselves under the gallows, or in the loathsome dungeous of the Southern Confederacy." The storm came up, from the west and south, and the east of us,—dark, gloomy, gathering blackness with every hour. We heard the muttering thunders in its bosom, we saw the livid flashes, as they illuminated us in our isolated position. But, when the election came, when the rest of the State was falling off and going into treason and the Southern Confederacy, East Tennessee gave a large vote for the Union candidate for Governor, and elected her representative to the Congress of the United States, and her representatives to the legislature, by overwhelming majorities. [Applause.]

Then came violence to individuals: the cutting and shooting down of Union flags; but still, East Tennessee breasted the storm, she still held out faithful; and by-and-by the Confederate Congress, as the war waxed hot and hotter, passed a conscript law; and every man in the community, from eighteen to thirty-five years of age, was enrolled by officers in every neighborhood, appointed for that purpose, and notified to rally at a given time and at a given point, to enter active service for the defence of the rebel cause. Then the exodus, already begun, swelled to hundreds and thousands. Our young men had resolved that they never—no, *never*—could be persuaded or charmed by blandishments or flattery, or forced by bayonets, to strike at the heart of the mother that bore them. [Applause.] No! but they went to their homes, kissed their mothers' lips and received their blessing, they received the fond farewells of their fathers, their sisters, their wives and their little ones, and then went forth, exiles from their own loved land. There was no promise of premiums or bounties to them; there was no hope of wealth, happiness and prosperity in the distance; but they left their homes in the darkness of the night, and ascended the rocky sides of the mountains, 150 or 200 miles from Kentucky, where they hoped to find relief. Ragged and in tatters, with their feet unshod and bleeding, they took the pathless ridges of the mountains, in the darkness of the night, aided by the silvery

rays of the moon or the dimmer light of the stars; and in the daytime, sought the deepest, darkest gorges of the mountains, that they might find shelter and rest until the coming shadows of another night enabled them again to pursue their perilous way, that they might find liberty and the flag of their country, under its folds alone to fight, and, if need be, there to die. [Prolonged applause.]

Regiments, companies, and squads of infantry and cavalry were now distributed over the length and breadth of the country, for the purpose of hunting down and shooting the escaping conscripts. Everywhere they went, and as they went, they entered the houses of the people, searching for arms and ammunition, and thus the people of the whole country were robbed of their muskets and rifles, and left perfectly defenceless. Prominent citizens were arrested now, by armed bands, frequently at midnight, in the bosom of their families, without notice, and carried before some Provost Marshal, or some upstart official, tried before a military commission, hastily got together, *ex parte*, without evidence, and with scarcely the semblance of a charge, sometimes with no charge at all, and then hurried off to the loathsome dungeons of Tuscaloosa, Ala., or Madison, Ga., or Richmond, or Saulsbury, or Knoxville, or Nashville, there to lie in the midst of unutterable filth and vermin, to pine away and famish upon their scanty and miserable fare, and sometimes to die in utter despair. I, myself, have known the facts of which I speak. Men as reputable as any in East Tennessee have suffered in this way. I will mention one case. Mr. Pickens had been a representative in the State Legislature; he was a man of heart, a man of soul, a man of intelligence, a man who was popular among all our people, a good citizen, and true and loyal to his country; but he had been ostracised, and in compliance with the order of Benjamin at Richmond was seized, without charges, carried South, and in the loathsome dungeons of Tuscaloosa, Ala., he paid the forfeit of his life, and became a martyr to the glorious cause of human liberty and the Union of these States. [Applause.]

Sir, such instances are not rare in our community. The prisons of the South have been filled with the best men of East

Tennessee; and it is said by those who know, that not less than five thousand—think of it, fellow-citizens!—not less than five thousand of the men of East Tennessee, because they were true to their country, because they loved the flag that emblematized all that they held dearest on earth, because they would not bow the knee to Baal, nor receive upon their necks the yoke of the king of the South, have been snatched from their homes by the hand of power, and borne away into captivity. The railroad bridge near my home was burned, and parties charged with burning it were arrested, tried by a drumhead court-martial, according to the order of Benjamin, and hung; and I speak but the truth when I tell you, that at least two of those gentlemen —for they were gentlemen, honorable, high-minded, intelligent, moral, upright citizens of the community in which they lived—two, at least, I say, of those who were thus ignominiously hung, and their bodies left dangling in the air, knew not that they were sentenced until they were brought within sight of the gibbet upon which they were to expiate with their lives that offence which they had committed against the Southern Confederacy, of being true to their own government!

Thus affairs moved on, and Terror shook her black banner over all our country; and, to make the reign of terror still more fearful, a legion of tawny Indians, whose forefathers had been wont, in other times, to tomahawk and scalp the citizens of our section of the country, were brought from their mountain regions, with their painted faces, and wild, unearthly whoops, and put upon the track of our remaining young men. But be it ever remembered, to their credit, that these poor, half-civilized Cherokees were less savage on the trail than their pale-faced companions in arms [applause]; and the people, after the first terror had subsided, and they found the kindness of heart that existed in the bosoms of these Indians, preferred a thousand Cherokee Indians in their neighborhood to one captain's company of rebel soldiers.

Several regiments of citizens had now volunteered, and hundreds more had been compelled by coercion to enter the rebel lines, and to serve in the rebel army; and about this time, Aug. 1863, Jeff. Davis made another call, running up to forty-five years of age; and at the same time, Gov. Harris issued an addi-

tional call, embracing all up to fifty-five years of age; so you see that all our population from eighteen years of age up to fifty-five were called for by these several authorities. But hark! the drum and spirit-stirring fife are heard; and the starry banners, the gleaming bayonets, and federal blue uniforms of Burnside's hosts are seen on the hills of the Cumberland as they hasten to the redemption and relief of our suffering people. The army of Gen. Bragg had been, just previously, compelled to evacuate Chattanooga, and Gen. Rosecrans occupied that extremity of the State; our young men at once sprung from their hiding places and their coverts in the mountains, and rallied to the standard of their country, under the lead of the gallant champions of the Union, and our mothers, sisters, wives, and old men, were left alone to occupy our homes. To-day, fellow-citizens, more than 25,000 East Tennesseans wear the uniform and bear the arms of your country and my country. [Prolonged and enthusiastic applause.] While I would not disparage any other section of these United States in its patriotism, I must say for my section, that in the midst of all their sufferings and trials, privations and perils, they have furnished to the support of our government more men, in proportion to their population —more than two to one—than any other section of the country. [Applause.]

As Gen. Burnside, in September, marched with his conquering hosts towards Upper East Tennessee, the rebel army retreated before him; but as they went, thinking, perhaps, that they were seeing the last of East Tennessee, they seized upon the property, the live stock, especially, of the Union farmers, all over the country, where they could find it, and carried it off with them. From that moment the work of devastation went on with accelerated momentum. Many times have the Union and rebel armies traversed the whole length of East Tennessee, exhausting the country all around for current supplies, and, at every moment, widening the track of ruin that they left behind them. In the track of the armies came robbers, who found convenient hiding-places and rallying points in the mountains that skirt our valleys, and came down and claimed their share of the property of our plundered people; and thus our barns and stables, our cribs and dwellings, were entered and robbed, and our people

left utterly destitute. The very wearing apparel of our women and children was seized by these ruffians, and carried out of our houses. Our blankets and bed-clothing, everything that was calculated to render the soldiers more comfortable, was seized by the strong hand, and carried away. Our tanneries shared the same fate. They had all been compelled, in the reign of the rebels, to contribute sixty per cent. of their leather to the government for the shoeing of their soldiers; but now, when they were retreating from the State, they seized all the leather in the vats, and bore it away, leaving our old men, women and children, to meet the rigors of the passing winter bare-footed, as well as almost naked.

Believe me, fellow-citizens, East Tennessee has drunk the full cup of suffering, and nothing seems left her now but to drain its bitterness to the very dregs. She has sacrificed everything but loyalty and honor, she has suffered everything but dishonor and death; and now destitution and famine, followed by despair and death, are trampling upon the thresholds of her sad homes, are entering their very doors, ready to consummate the sacrifice and complete the suffering. But, thank God, through all her sufferings, she has been faithful. Persuasions, threats, insults, imprisonments, wounds, stripes, privations, chains, confiscations, gibbets, and military murders, the clash of arms, the "terribleness of armies with banners," and all the combined and concentrated horrors of internecine war marshalled upon her battle-torn bosom, and hurling sorrow and ruin into all her homes, have never corrupted her loyalty, nor driven her a solitary line from her devotion to the government of our fathers. [Great applause.] Left unprotected, when she ought to have been protected by the government that she loved, interior and isolated, disarmed before she could organize, she was seized and pinioned by a power that overrode all law, and trampled constitutional liberty under its feet. Choked down, under a reign of terror black as the night of Robespierean rule in Paris, her proud neck has felt the heel of a despotism more heartless and crushing than the power of an autocracy. Her loyal people, because they could not do otherwise, have submitted, for more than two dreadful years, to a bondage their inmost hearts have abhorred—a bondage that fetters the soul, and seals the lips,

and all but closes the door of hope. We have breathed but to live, and lived but to pray, "Oh, Lord, how long?" Thank God! the prayer of the oppressed is answered, and East Tennessee, in answer to our prayers, is almost free, and the grand old banner floats once more triumphantly, gloriously, over our mountain-girt home, and there may it float forever! [Loud applause.]

"Flag of our hearts, our symbol and our trust,
Though traitors trample thy bright folds in dust,
Though vile ambition, dark rebellion's lust,
Conspire to tear thee down;
Millions of loyal lips thy folds caress,
Millions of loyal hearts thy stars do bless,
Millions of loyal hands will round thee press,
To guard thy old renown." [Cheers.]

With this history of the people of East Tennessee before you, it is for you to determine whether this brave and patriotic population shall be suffered to fall and perish in their devotion to our common country, by the blighting hand of famine, or whether your philanthropy and benevolence shall interpose to shield and protect and guard and save them. East Tennessee, my native East Tennessee, has sacrificed all she had for the country. Her horses, her mules, her flocks and herds, her cattle upon a thousand hills, have all been offered up; her corn and wheat are all consumed; her young men—all who have not perished in the camp or on the battle-field—are now swelling the ranks of your victorious armies; and, now our matrons and maidens, our old men and little children, our soldiers' widows and orphaned babes, are all bound and upon the altar; already the sacrificial knife is uplifted; it trembles in the hand of Famine;—may God save my people, and avert the stroke, in this their day of sorrow and trial!

While the scourge of this cruel war has thus blighted and blasted, devastated and ruined East Tennessee, the land of the free, the home of the loyal and brave, it has scarcely been felt north of Mason and Dixon's line. On the contrary, a degree of prosperity, such as you have never experienced, has poured into the lap of the people of the North and West boundless wealth. The labors of your agriculturists have been

succeeded by the blessings of a gracious Providence; your mechanics have received remunerative prices for all the labor they could perform; your merchants have seen their trade prosper beyond all parallel; your manufacturers have expanded and enlarged their operations in every branch of manufacture; and your mineral region is pouring forth, from the bowels of the earth, uncounted wealth. Whether you will make this vast increase of wealth a source of blessing to yourselves, your children, your country, and the world, is a problem that is left for you to solve. The desolations and ruin of this unnatural and cruel war have opened a wide field for your philanthropy and benevolence. Will you enter it?—will you sow it? Will you cultivate it? If so, an abundant crop of blessings will fall upon your basket and upon your store, upon your homes and hearths, and, above all, upon your hearts. [Applause.]

When starving Ireland was weeping over her famishing children, as they drooped and died in the remorseless grasp of famine, her wail of woe was heard across the wide waste of waters, and America wept in sympathy with Ireland; but while she lifted up, with one hand, their dying heads, with the other she ministered nourishment and life to the perishing children of the Emerald Isle. A nobler example of national magnanimity and Christian charity can scarely be produced from the annals of the world. Yet these people were the subjects of a foreign government, and were strangers beyond the sea. The cry of suffering now comes to the American ear and falls upon the American heart from the famishing lips of our own people; and East Tennessee, from the summits of her rock-ribbed mountains, with one hand beckons to her rich and and powerful and flourishing sisters of the North, and with a bursting heart, and tearful eye points with the other to the desolation that hangs like a pall of death over her forty thousand ruined homes in the valleys below. Will those sisters prove angels of blessing and of mercy, and bring peace and happiness and hope to those desolate homes again, or will they leave their past munificence alone to illustrate and adorn and glorify their history? That you, fellow-citizens, do sympathize with my people, and that you are ready to open your hands for their relief, I cannot doubt; and especially when I remember that

the appeal of the suffering and the sorrowful, the afflicted and the bereaved of earth, has never been made in vain to your magnanimous and benevolent people. Sir, the question is reduced to one of life or death. General Grant wrote to General Robert Anderson a few days ago, as I learned from him, saying that there were three alternatives for the people of East Tennessee; one was, to be carried out of their section to where they could find something to eat; another was, that provisions should be carried to them; and the last was, if neither of the others were adopted, that the people of East Tennessee must perish in the midst of their mountains. Sir, I do not believe you intend that these people shall perish. I will not believe it till I see their bones bleaching among their native hills. [Great applause.] I believe you have hearts that palpitate in unison with their hearts; I believe you have hands that will open for their relief.

Sir, the very soil of East Tennessee, from the beetling crags of the White Top Mountain to the battle-scarred summit of the Lookout, is henceforth classic ground; every neighborhood has witnessed the conflict of arms; almost every county has feltt he shock of battle; and some of the most memorable and bloody struggles that history will record have been fought on her bosom. The red sea of war has rolled its fiery billows over all her valleys, and rivulets of blood from her slippery hill-sides have swelled the tide of death. The lines of fire have illumined her midnight heavens, from Bristol-on-the-Line to the summits of the Cumberland, like the quick, lurid flashings of the tempest. The roar of trampling war-steeds spurred to battle, the clash of sabres, the sharp rattle of musketry, and the solemn thunder of artillery, mingling with the shrieks of the wounded, the yells of the vanquished, and the shouts of the victorious, have aroused the slumbering echoes in all her remotest solitudes. Rosecrans met disaster there, and thousands of brave hearts ceased to beat on the mournful field. But, near the same ground, the hero of twenty victories won back the goddess to our country's standard, and the unpretending Grant led the hosts of Freedom to triumph again. (Vociferous applause.)

The impetuous Sherman, along the slopes and summit of Mission Ridge, leads his brave legions to victory at the cannon's

mouth; the cool and dauntless Thomas, with his gallant veterans, flashes terror into the hearts of the foe; but it is reserved for fighting Joe Hooker and his splendid corps, following the flight of the American eagle, to scale the steep sides of Lookout Mountain, snatch victory from the rebels on its lofty summit, and re-echo in pealing thunders, above the clouds, the shouts of triumph from the armies below. (Great applause.)

The investment of Knoxville by Longstreet, the masterly strategy with which Potter deceived and out-manouvered the rebel chief, the siege, the various assaults and sallies, the murderous charge and bloody repulse, the daring attempt upon Fort Saunders, where young Benjamin won immortal honor by his undaunted daring, the deadly conflict, the disastrous retreat, have given many a name to a proud immortality—

"And Manson, Potter, White,
And Parke, are dashing through the fight;
Ferrero, Hascall, Carter, rush
Secession's hydra head to crush;
And waving high his glittering sword,
The Morgan-tamer Shackelford
Pants to begin the steeple-chase,
And win again immortal race!"

The gallant Saunders, with his new-born star,
Gleams for a moment through the cloud of war,
Yields, the young hero, on the bloody sod,
His name to glory, and his soul to God!

"While Burnside proved, on sea and land,
Full worthy of his high command,
With genial, but undaunted soul,
Arrays and well directs the whole;
Moves *on* his veteran army corps,
And fadeless laurels plucks once more.
Hail! chieftain of the rescue, hail!
A saddened land shall cease to wail
While 'comrades' give thee just renown,
And grateful States with honor crown:
Mothers shall teach their babes thy name,
And prattling childhood lisp thy fame;
Our hills shall clap their joyous hands,
And shout for thee and thy brave bands
The voice of age its thanks express,
And unborn generations bless."

Mingled forever in the historic page that perpetuates their heroic deeds, as on the bloody fields where they won their fame, are the sons of every loyal State in the Union. Our valleys and hill-sides entomb the remains of the slain patriots of every State who died there for their country; together they fought, united they fell; the same sod that was enriched by their blood, mingling as it flowed, grows green over the bosoms that rest, side by side, in the same grave; they died under the same starry banner in defence of the same great country, and their brave souls together were heralded to the spirit world by the loud thunders of battle. They sleep in East Tennessee's bosom, beside her own murdered sons. The maidens of the mountains will plant flowers on their graves, and water them with tears; generations of patriots will honor their memories; the everlasting mountains will sentinel their dust; and the sighing winds of autumn, and the bright waters of the valleys, shall murmur their requiem forever.

By the sacrament of fire, by the baptism of blood, East Tennessee is consecrated to liberty and the Union. Neglected by the Government, anathematized by Davis and his myrmidons—exhausted by friends—pillaged by enemies—all battle-scarred and bleeding, her tattered garments dyed red with the life-blood of her slaughtered sons—ruin and destitution all around her, and gaunt famine clutching at the vitals of her little children—there she is, pierced with anguish, and scalding tear-drops are on her pale cheek; crowned with sorrows, sublimely, grandly beautiful, she sits like a queen in the midst of her mountains—the queen of a desolate realm. She is my mother! I am proud of that mother, and I would rather write myself a son of East Tennessee, clothed in the bloody tatters her loyalty has entailed upon her, than to flourish and luxuriate in the wealth of a prince—with the brand of "traitor" stamped upon my brow. [Loud applause.] She is the sister of the great States of the North and West—the daughter of the nation—and her devotion to the nation has cost her all she has lost, and all she is suffering now. But who is it, men of New York, ladies of the Empire State—who is it that challenges your sympathy and demands your aid? Not the strong men of the land, not our young men—No: *they* are all gone—

> "Their thousands swell the bannered hosts
> Of which a mighty nation boasts."

They are struggling beside your New York boys, fighting and dying with them for the nation's life, for our common country. (Applause.) It is the fathers and mothers, the wives and children of these heroic mountaineers—who call to you, from the brink of the grave, for help. Their cry is, "We have suffered all, sacrificed all, given all we had—and we would do it all over again, if necessary, for our love of country: and now, *shall* we give up our *lives* also?" Fellow-citizens of New York, you cannot, you will not, you dare not permit it. Oh! then reach out your strong hand and save them—for a nobler race breathes not on earth's broad surface, and *they are your brethren.* Pennsylvania has heard—Philadelphia has answered, and her noble benefaction is already on the way to the scene of destitution; Maine has listened, with tearful eye and trembling heart, to the tale of woe, and sends a generous contribution to the suffering: and Massachusetts, with a liberality that illustrates her largeness of heart, has, through her noble-souled Committee, at Boston, drawn out a subscription, reaching already to more than $60,000, and averaging still, more than $2,000 per day. Will the Empire State, will the Metropolitan City—that has a single street operating a capital of more than $300,000,000, and a world-wide commerce concentrating at her gates—stand aloof in the noble work of saving from the blight of famine the destitute sufferers of East Tennessee? No, sir: No! I know your charity and benevolence have been, and are continually taxed, by the demands of this cruel war, and you have voluntarily and cheerfully met the demands. Have you *lost* anything, have you been impoverished, in purse or in heart, *by giving* for charity? Nay: but prospered and enlarged in your ability to give. Many millions have been contributed to those noble Christian enterprises, the Sanitary and Christian Commissions, and you are preparing now to endow one of them, in this great city, with at least a million more. God bless you, in your noble purpose, and crown your efforts with the most ample success. But oh! ought you not, likewise, to respond promptly, adequately, magnanimously, to the *just claims* East Tennessee presents this day upon your patriotism and honor, not

less than upon your philanthropy and Christianity? If East Tennessee is weak, poor, desolated, charred by fire, blasted by the sword, pillaged of her property, wasted of all her substance, bereft of her sons, and pallid with hunger—it is because she has loved the Union, adhered to the Constitution, and hated treason; because she has been faithful to the Government, and ready to die for the flag; *our* Union, cemented by the blood of *our* fathers; *our* Constitution, devised by their wisdom; *our* Government, the Constitution in action; the Union exerting its functions; *our* flag, the symbol of *our* liberty, the emblem of *our* nationality, the glory of *our* past, *our* pride of the present, OUR hope and promise of the future. (Applause.) Now, if in the maintenance and defence of our *common* right and property in this *common heritage*, East Tennessee has lost, and sacrificed all *her individual* property, and all *her means* of living, is it demanding *largely* of your sense of mere *equity*, and *justice*, to ask you to SAVE HER PEOPLE FROM STARVATION, till they can have time and opportunity to make bread?

But, sir, my people, not only want bread, they desire peace. Every consideration of humanity, patriotism, charity,—the hopes of mankind,—the principles of christianity,—the interests and prosperity, of the world, even of the rebellious South demand peace,—honorable lasting peace. I am not here to say hard things of the Southern people,—they are my brethren by blood—the friends of my youth, the companions of my riper years. I love them still, and I thank God, that I have a heart alive to the wide distinction between the offence and the offender. With unutterable loathing, and abhorrence, I hate the sin,—but the sinner is my brother still. This horrible rebellion I abominate, with unspeakable detestation, but the rebel is my kin for all that,—and him I would subdue, reclaim, and save, if possible. Besides, sir, large masses of these people, I know to be,—though wearing the harness of rebellion, as true, at heart, as you,—who have never yet been tried in the furnace of a despotism. From the beginning, they have had an iron hand upon them,—they have breathed an atmosphere of terrorism, such as must be felt to be known. That terrorism has compelled, coerced thousands of Southern men into the rebel army,—and chains them there to-day,—while thousands of others are, vol-

nntarily, there, because intelligent, ingenious traitor leaders have misled them, with gilded falsehoods. I hope and pray that the day of their deliverance will soon come. These, thus constrained, and thus misled, ought to have peace. Sir, the horrible prospects of the beautiful South, as well as the memory of its past prosperity, and wealth, and influence,—and the death-like desolation that overshadows it now,—the seas of blood spilled there,—the ocean of tears wept there, by widowed women and orphaned children, — all these demand peace. But how are you to have peace? That is the great question. There are but two methods of obtaining peace that I can think of. One is, to concede all the rebel leaders demand,—that is, the recognition of the Southern Confederacy, as an independent Government,—consequently the disintegration and dismemberment of the United States,—and, of course, the remanding of the Border States, with their loyal inhabitants,—together with the bones of your heroes, that fell in battle, to *their lawful possession forever.* This is *one* of the ways by which we can get peace. Are you ready to accept, will you adopt it? (Cries of "No.") Will you permit it? (Cries of "Never, never.") Must we, then, war on forever? (Voices, "Yes.") No, my friends, I will tell you a better plan. Let us bring this dreadful war to a close the other way,—the only other way, by *fighting it out with overwhelming and irresistible numbers.* (Applause.) Fight it out on its merits and demerits, and let every other question, even the "Negro," alone. Inevitable destiny governs *that* question, and God is destiny,—let us leave that question to His wisdom, and rest assured, He will settle it all right. God rules, and He has brought the counsels of the wise, of all parties, to naught, on this question. For forty years, some of your greatest men, in the pulpit,—at the press, and in the political world, have been trying to tear down slavery. What had they all accomplished before this war? Had they even abraded the surface of the "Institution." Believe me, in 140 years, their labors would have borne the same result,—leaving the Constitution untouched.

Well, there was another party, down South, that was for *preserving* it, because they held it to be a right, under the Constitution,—because it represented a large portion of the capital,

as well as the labor of the South. I was one of that party. We said, preserve the Union and you protect slavery, destroy the Union, and all its bulwarks are gone. Well, Gentlemen, this party failed. Another party, there, assumed to be the exclusive guardians and custodians of the Institution. They called us by way of reproach, Republicans, Abolitionists, Lincolnites. These men declared, that neither the Constitution, nor the flag, were a sufficient protection to slavery, and that it could only be saved by taking it out of the Union—therefore, they tore the Constitution into fragments, trampled it under their unhallowed feet, and threw themselves and slavery beyond the protection of the flag. This party has been defeated also. And now, in reference to slavery, God's finger, through the instrumentality of these traitor leaders, writes "Tekel" on the wall. (Applause.) Let the blame or the glory attach where it properly belongs. The abolitionist North failed to even wound it, the Union men of the South could not save it,—but Providence has permitted the madness and folly of Jefferson Davis and his allies in three years, to free more negroes than all the abolitionists North could have liberated in one thousand years. They designed to perpetuate, and have maimed and crippled the institution, (which they loved better than their country,) I believe, unto death, and, in their own fall, they have dragged tens of thousands of innocent and good men into the same ruin with themselves. For myself I have to say, I am not a Republican, nor an Abolitionist, but a veteran Whig, of the Clay-Webster school. (Cheers.) But I have this much of true Democracy in me,—that I have formed my love of country upon the model of, not Webster and Clay alone, but of the illustrious hero whose ashes repose at the Hermitage—Andrew Jackson. (Applause.) With that sort of Democracy, and all other parties, and isms, that love their country more than they love any party, I am willing to strike hands, under the banner of my country, and march side by side with them, to victory. (Cheers.) Having sacrificed all I possessed, but a few negroes and my land, I am ready to sacrifice these, also, if need be, for the restoration of the Union, and the perpetuation of Constitutional liberty.

But I said we must have peace, and was pointing out the only honorable way left us of obtaining it. Make our armies so

strong as to trample, crush, and smother out the last spark of treason, and rebellion-in-arms, anywhere within the territorial limits of the nation. (Immense applause.) If you have any treason lurking here at the North or in the great West, frown it down with public opinion,—crush it out at the ballot-box,—everywhere let the names of the traitors be, as they will be in history, a hissing and a by-word:

> "Be every false detested name
> Condemned to everlasting fame!"

Whether his tomb be found North or South of Mason and Dixon's line—

> "Shame and dishonor sit
> By his grave, ever,
> Blessing shall hallow it—
> Never, no never!"

Not by little armies of 400,000 or 500,000 can you destroy this monster Rebellion. Its boundary is too large, its empire too great. At first you called out 75,000 men. You were excusable. You had not grasped the magnitude of the movement. But three years of experience ought to enlighten men. Our generals have met the foe on many a field, they have tested their mettle, they have measured their strength, they have felt their prowess, they have tried their courage, they know they fight well,—they ought to know that nothing can break and beat them but overwhelming force. Then nothing remains to be done but to send men enough to whip them. (Applause.) But have you men to draw upon? Why, sir, it seems to me there are men enough in this single city to double all your armies. Your thoroughfares are crowded day and night, your streets are thronged everywhere I go,—which way I turn is a continuous tide of men; and if Davis could have one sweep here with his conscription in New York, he would not ask a recruit for three years to come; there is a perfect human avalanche rolling on forever. Now is the time, sir, while we have but *one* enemy on hand. By-and-by, we may have to settle with France. Next year we may have a trouble with England. Then while the coast is clear, and peace remains outside, we ought to clean up the Rebellion and be ready for the stormy or the peaceful future. Let us stop speculating, stop wrangling over politics,

stop making Presidents, and arranging for fat jobs and big contracts, and make it the *serious, earnest, business of rulers, and people, army and navy, to* CONQUER *a lasting and a glorious peace at home.* Sir, our Ship of State is in perilous seas—Scylla a-port, Charybdis a-lea—breakers ahead and reefs all round; there are pirates in sight, and mutineers on board, and the terrible hurricane howls o'er the sea.

Shall the crew of that noble vessel, freighted with our wives and children and loved ones, freighted with our hopes for all time to come, freighted with the prospects of liberty and the hopes of freedom of all earth's inhabitants that know or have heard of us—shall her crew, in the midst of this storm, fall to fighting as to who shall next command the ship? [Applause.] Oh, is it not the part of patriotism for every man, in this dark hour, to come and strengthen the heart of the helmsman to stand at his post? [Enthusiastic and prolonged applause.] And no matter what questions may separate and divide that crew, is it not their duty to stand in the midst of the storm, and say to the helmsman—"Guide our bark safely through! Here we are, at your back, and we will stand by you through the storm!" [Renewed applause.] Sir, if we do this, the vessel will soon pass between Scylla and Charybdis; she will leap over the breakers and the reefs, and when we get out upon a calm sea, and upon a prosperous voyage, then, and not until then, can we settle the questions that we may choose to raise.

"————sail on, O Ship of State!
"Sail on, O Union strong and great!
"Humanity with all its fears,
"With all the hopes of future years,
"Is hanging breathless on thy fate!
"In spite of rock and tempest's roar,
"In spite of false lights on the shore,
"Sail on, nor fear to breast the sea!
"Our hearts, our hopes, are still with thee;
"Our hearts, our hopes, our prayers, our tears,
"Our faith, triumphant o'er our fears,
"Are all with thee—are all with thee!"

We look behind us and see the loveliness of peace; now that she is gone we remember a thousand winning charms we never perceived when she made our country an Eden, our homes, even the humblest, a Paradise. We look before us, she is fled

and the grim visaged monster war, armed with fire-brand and sword, and every implement of death, has planted himself square between us and the dove-eyed angel peace, whom we so ardently love, and long to embrace. If we would win and recapture peace, we must, first, conquer and bind the monster between us and her. Then let her sweet image gleam upon the bristling points of fifteen hundred thousand bayonets [tremendous and long-continued applause]; let it blaze upon the glittering steel of five hundred thousand swords; let it leap from the mouths of ten thousand cannon, and the echo of that thunder will bring peace to every home and house and heart throughout the length and breadth of our reunited country. [Hearty applause.] When the atmosphere is damp and filled with malaria, and death moves in every breeze, then, sir, what do we want? We want the keen flash of heaven's electricity, we want the live thunder, rolling from mountain top to mountain top; and then all is purified, all is calm, all is serene and healthful once more. [Cheers and shouts.]

It is in mercy's name I ask for this. I can only tolerate war, because it is the shortest, most direct, and only way, to honorable and lasting peace; and I beg for war, on the grandest scale, in order to make peace sure, beyond a doubt. Give us the largest amount of physical force, in the face of the enemy, *ready* to fall upon and destroy them, that they may not be destroyed, and fill untimely graves. [Loud applause.]

Sir, I trust the time is coming, and will soon be here, when this cruel war will be over. I trust the day is soon coming which is to prove but the dawn of that prosperity which is in reservation for our glorious country in the near and far-off future, when, reunited, we shall sit under our own vine and fig tree, everywhere, and none shall make us afraid; when the watchword of the sentinels upon Liberty's watch tower, as it is uttered upon the coast of the Atlantic, shall be echoed all along the line, until the last man hears and returns the salutation by the shore of the distant Pacific.

"Our Union, ordained by Jehovah!
"Man sets not the fiat aside;
"As well cleave asunder the welkin,
"As the one mighty system divide

"The grand Mississippi sounds ever,
"From pine down to palm, the decree;
"The spindle, the corn, and the cotton,
"One pæan shout, Union to thee!"

Having already trespassed upon your patience too long [cries of "go on"], I must close my remarks.

I thank you, for your very polite attention, and will express my earnest hope that you will keep what I have said, in your memory, think upon it, and act.

Gen. W. K. Strong:—Mr. Chairman, it is deeply to be regretted that more of our fellow citizens have not had an opportunity of listening to the recitals, which we have heard this stormy evening. The touching and eloquent appeal from the distinguished speaker who has just taken his seat, must sensibly affect all hearts. We cannot consent that he shall retire from this city, under the impresion that this is to be the last he is to hear from this appeal to us. I therefore beg to move, that the gentleman who have had charge of the inauguration of this meeting, be requested to take such further steps, as, may be proper to enable the citizens of New York to make a fitting response to the appeal, which has been to-night so truthfully, so touchingly, and so eloquently made by Col. Taylor, of East-Tennessee.

The motion was carried by acclamation.

The Chairman:—All who wear the uniform of the republic when this war is over, must be entitled to its civil and political rights. (Applause.) The distinguished gentleman has adverted to the fact, that he was a member of the old Whig party. I desire to say, that I continued a member of the old national democratic party, until this threatened overthrow of the Governement took place, and then I trampled party beneath my feet. (Cheers.) And here I ask my friend to say to this meeting, with his hand pledged in mine, whether, if it becomes necessary to sweep slavery from the Union, to save the Country, he, as a Tennessean, is not willing it shall be done.

Col Taylor:—(putting his hand in that of the chairman)—Yes, slavery and everything else in the way—if it stand in the way of the nation's integrity and existence—let it go down forever.

THE SLAVE POWER:

ITS HERESIES AND INJURIES TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

A SPEECH,

BY

JOHN C. HAMILTON.

NOVEMBER, 1864.

When from a warm serene sky, a clap of thunder suddenly sounds upon the startled ear, excited attention looks up for a moment, and, if the clap is not repeated, subsides and soon forgets. Not so, the cautious mariner. Distrustful of the smiling skies and of the smooth-faced seas, he furls his sails, and stands with helm in hand, watching the outburst of the sudden tempest. It comes, but the steady bark rides on safely through the storm, till hoped for day arrives with its cheering lights and more favoring skies. Different is the fate of the unwary seaman. The torn, ragged sails, the broken masts—the headlong plunges of his ill-fated craft tell the fast-coming doom of hapless shipwreck. Such is the fate of an uncared-for vessel and its doomed crew. The tidings move us for a time, but its memory only remains in the bosoms of the afflicted few who have lost all they possessed with all they love.

But what of the wreck of a great State—of a Government—of a Republic freighted with the happiness of a world — with its promises, with its hopes? Here, nor sympathy nor sorrow are in place. The magnitude of the loss appeals to higher emotions. Indignant scorn and wrathful vengeance call out—demand—insist upon the penalties due to the massive crime of law dethroned—liberty betrayed—tranquillity banished—humanity dishonored. The penalties indeed follow, but, alas, not only do they come to the guilty few, but to the guiltless many; and to them they come in every form of human misery — in

that of all forms the direst—despair of the fortunes of mankind. So great a loss—so wide a calamity—so sad a grief—a fate so hopeless, is it not a duty to endeavor to avert — a duty of society—a duty of man in all his possible relations? How can it be averted? By the lessons of the past teaching the duties of the present—imparting to the sense of the obligation, the power, the strength, the confidence—the will of performance. And this performance is the duty of us all—the highest duty, the first duty —the ever-continuing duty — the latest duty. This common imperative duty we have to perform.

And now, my friends—I mean to speak to you of things not familiar to you all—of things it interests you all to know—to state truths, which, like the lightning from the heavens, are meant to clear the opening day. I wish you, dismissing all preferences and prejudices to examine well these truths — and then to judge and act as you value your consciences and your well-being. I propose to trace the SLAVE POWER, not in its mere social relations, but in its great political relations, its heresies and injuries to the American people.

I proceed to show — that, in Virginia — the first great Slave State of the Union, the cultivation of a special *foreign* influence *first* began, — that, to it, Virginia was ready to surrender great National advantages and rights—that, owing to *her* selfish ambitions, the establishment of a National Government was long delayed and much imperilled—that, to subserve *her interests*, an injurious limitation of an important power of Government was inserted in the Constitution of the United States — that, with *her* originated the opposition to the Administration of Washington which only the affections and gratitude of the American people for him could check—that, from *her* were propagated doctrines of construction emasculative of the Constitution — that, from *her* emanated the heresy of SECESSION—that, to subserve *her ambitions* — in her bosom a design to overturn the National Government was generated — that, to accomplish this design, an armed CONSPIRACY of men, born out of the United States, was organized—and that by the votes and influence of that armed conspiracy, the men were elevated to power, to whom these successive offences against this nation's interests — rights and duties, may ALL be clearly traced—ALL having in view — this result — the permanent elevation over the heads of the American people of an oligarchic —aristocratic SLAVE POWER, professing Democracy only to make the Democracy the servile tools of its selfish, Unnational ambitions.

In 1790—there existed within the United States 697,897 Slaves. Of this number Virginia had the great preëminence of holding little less than one half; the number of her slaves being 293,427, about one *eleventh* part of the *total* population of this country.

Of Virginia, the especial personification of its special interests —its special ambition—its special policy—was Thomas Jefferson — for, though born there, I do not speak of Washington in this

narrow relation. He belonged — as he now belongs — as he ever will belong—to the whole country—to the whole human race—to man proud, justly proud, that he was his fellow-man. And now, my friends, I ask you, what were the opinions, feelings—ultimate position, stand of Thomas Jefferson on the subject of slavery? I do not mean to be mistaken—I do not ask you to regard what I say of this, without adducing the evidence, Here it is in the fourth volume of "Jefferson's Works," edited by his son-in-law, page 340, in a letter, dated January 31, 1821. Let me premise, that this was the time of the great commotion on the proposed repeal of the Missouri Compromise which limited the extension of slavery, and that this letter was written of "The Virginia University." "Even," he wrote, "with the whole power we shall be reduced to six Professors—while Harvard will still prime it *over us* with her twenty Professors. How many of our youths she now has, learning the lessons of Anti-Missourianism, I know not, but a gentleman, lately from Princeton, told me, he saw there the list of the students at that place, and that more than half were Virginians. These will return home, no doubt, deeply impressed with the *sacred* principles of *our* HOLY ALLIANCE of RESTRICTIONISTS." In a second letter, of the 15th of February following, he wrote to General Breckenridge — "All, I fear, do not see the speck in the horizon which is to burst on us as a tornado, sooner or later. The line of division lately marked out between different portions of our confederacy, is such, as will never, I fear, be obliterated; and we are now trusting to those who are against us in position and *principle*, to fashion to their own form the minds and affections of our youth." Thus does he fear the free principles of New-England, inclining the youth of Virginia to Freedom, and thus does he scoff at those who would restrict the limits of slavery —"the spreading" of which he had urged over "the whole continent,"—as "the Holy alliance of Restrictionists." The extending influences of New-England education in favor of Freedom were the subject of those proscriptive apprehensions, and such ever will they be. Nor will you be surprised at this language addressed to me,—"New-England must be reduced in her power as a propitiation to the South." "New-England must be thrown out,"—nor yet, I trust, at my reply to the son of a Revolutionary Officer, who, with my father — sprang over a parapet at Yorktown, "I would not wish to live in a Republic that does not embrace Bunker's Hill and Yorktown too."

While the liberation of the slave was a mere distant, speculative philanthropy—an utopian vision—it all was well enough to preach a possible emancipation; but when the question seemed near by of the extension of the slave power, then we read these iron words, significant of the hand-cuff and the dungeon-gratings.

Second—It has been stated, that in Virginia the culture of a special foreign influence began — and third, that Virginia shewed herself ready to surrender great national rights, interests and advantages.

Let us to the facts, as seen in the Journals of the old Congress and in the Cotemporary historical writings.

During the long continued discussions of the terms of peace to be insisted upon from Great Britain, after a stand had been taken by New-York in behalf of high independent national ground; in the year 1781, the American negotiators were instructed "to *undertake nothing* in the negotiations for peace or truce, *without the knowledge* and *concurrence*" of the French Court, and ultimately to govern themselves by their advice and opinion." This degrading instruction was proposed at the instance of the French Ambassador, then in Philadelphia, where Congress were sitting; and was especially and obstinately supported by Madison, the leading member of that Congress from Virginia. Of this ultimatum, a dispatch from the French legation states: "It leaves the King (of France) MASTER of the terms of treaty or truce, excepting Independence and treaties of alliance." The thralldom thus intended to be imposed on the American negociators for peace was broken by the steady intelligence of John Jay, exhibiting throughout the courage and firmness characteristic of the illustrious Huguenot race, he so honored in this great national service. What followed? What followed? In return, a vote of CENSURE was proposed in Congress, which censorious vote was sustained by Madison.

Of the instructions previously mentioned, Hamilton declared, "Not only, as to final measures, but also as to preliminary and intermediate negociations" they "placed the negociators in a state of dependence on the French Ministry humiliating to themselves and unsafe for the interests of the country." Of these great interests, that of the FISHERIES was jeoparded—and the right of navigating the Mississippi to the Ocean was imperilled. To Virginia, a planting State, of what value in her bounded view were the great Ocean Fisheries? Her poor untaught white laborer knew only of the canoe, the scow, or the petty shallop; and the slave could not be trusted beyond her limits. The hardy colored rover might come home and whisper tales of dangerous enterprize—dangerous to bondage, for ever propitious to Freedom have been the Ocean and its borders. Its winds and its lofty waves brook no other than the arms of courage and the eyes of forethought to pass over this unfenced highway of the nations. On its borders have arisen, near neighboring despotisms, the "Free States," the enemies of tyrants, whence came those maxims of free commerce, of international law which control the lawless barbarisms of distant peoples, and make safe their intercourse. Yet, when a wandering codfish found its luckless unwary way into the waters of the Potomac, Jefferson, alarmed at this stranger's visit into the sacred realm of the Old Dominion, said: "I fear we may become a maritime people."

As to the navigation of the Mississippi, that great liquid bond of the Union—Madison prepared an instruction to Jay to "*recede*" from the instructions previously *drawn by himself* insisting upon

its free navigation to the Ocean. When was this recession proposed, and at whose timid, short-sighted instance? On the day that Jefferson, then Governor of Virginia, and its affrighted legislature were driven from undefended Richmond by Benedict Arnold; and at the instance of this Governor and legislature.

Nor can it ever be forgotten, that the vote of Censure sustained by Madison, reproved a treaty by which a large portion of the Western territory, now the Western States, was secured to the Union—Spain coveting them, France her persistent approver.

It has been stated that owing to the selfish ambition of Virginia the establishment of a National government was long delayed.

The provision of money by grants of revenue by the several States, was not only most important to the establishing of our Independence as a Nation, but to the establishment of a National Government. This is the language of one of the Senators of Virginia, in a letter of June 26th, 1780. "The rejection of the Resolution of Congress respecting Finance, was a *fatal stab* to the Independence of America. If Virginia does not rescind her determination, *we are all undone.* Her persisting in the idea will not only deprive herself of resources, but the whole Continent. This, added to the Kentucky policy, and her want of exertion in affording assistance to South-Carolina will place her in a very disagreeable point of view with respect to the other States." "Can you credit it," wrote Patrick Henry, the Governor of Virginia; "Can you credit it? No effort was made for supporting or restoring public credit. I pressed it warmly on some, but in vain. This is the reason you get no soldiers—*Let not Congress rely on Virginia for soldiers.*" Virginia did not raise soldiers for the aid of her sister states. She did not raise soldiers for her own protection. Alarmed weakness grasps at any expedient—desperate as it may be; and we find Richard Henry Lee a much-boasted name in Virginia—but of questioned fidelity to Washington, ere long urging, that by Congress, he "the General of the armies be possessed of dictatorial powers." These powers, of course, Washington declined. Virginia then, indeed, was feeling the armed hand of the enemy—and had met with losses. On the 15th of September, 1780, the previous year, Jefferson writes of his loss of a wagon and two horses and of a slave. "He was a negro man named Phil, lame in one arm and leg. The horses were not public property, as they were only impressed and not sold. Perhaps *your certificate* of what is lost may be necessary"—necessary for what, if not for compensation? Jefferson looking for pay for a lame slave, a wagon and two horses in the most alarming moments of the Revolution. Ye heavens, of what materials patriots are sometimes made! There are speaking contrasts in this world. General Schuyler too met with losses. His dwelling-house at Saratoga with all its appendages was burnt to the ground by Burgoyne, his great properties ravaged. He took Burgoyne, when captured, a guest into his city abode. For his losses he never asked, he

never received a dollar. Nor would one of his descendants, I trust, so blemish his blood as to ask for compensation.

To meet the great necessities of this country and of these chiefly, the support of the army, hoping also to initiate a reörganization of the Government, Conventions of certain States—now the free loyal States—were held from year to year. Virginia was earnestly invited to meet her sister States, but long—for many years—she was invited in vain—and only did she come when her coterminous interests sought the common protection of a common government. And meanwhile what is seen? Virginia granting and rescinding her grant of revenue—not only rescinding it, but denying to the Confederation the conjoint power of raising a dollar for the public defence or general welfare. In October 1782 Virginia passed a resolution in these words—"Whereas the permitting *any power*, *other* than the general assembly of this Commonwealth, to lay duties or *taxes* upon the citizens of *this State within the same*, is injurious to its Sovereignty, may prove destructive of the rights and liberty of the people, and, so far as Congress might exercise the same, is contravening the spirit of the Confederation in the eighth article thereof," therefore the act previously passed granting it was repealed! To provide for the public wants, the public lands were then deemed an important resource. This resource, ceded by other States, was long withheld by Virginia—not only withheld, but Madison points to her "military contingent," which she never had filled to sustain the Revolution—as a means in her arrogant behalf, of resisting the common interest—points to a civil war. Of this contingent, he writes, "her line is perhaps of all, in the *most disgraceful* condition."

That such a policy—so adverse to the great, vast interests of the American people—so false to the common rights and common duties which the Declaration of Independence had conferred and had imposed, would operate most injuriously upon the policy of other States; would excite discontent in the loyal, and prompt and encourage disaffection in the disloyal States, were certain consequences. Yet long, and in vain, were these consequences urged by the patriots of the Revolution—by Washington mourning over the degradation and dark disasters of his country, and by others despairing—almost despairing of the cause of Freedom. It was as though the Sun were blotted from the heavens. But great necessities force their results — chaos required order — anarchy required rule—and out of the great, urgent, most pregnant necessities and calamities, which chaos and anarchy had produced, and the still greater necessities and calamities they menaced, arose the Constitution of the United States—a Government of Order and mild pervading rule. Noble in all its aspects—Glorious in all its aims—grand and even awful in all its high reachings; and but for Virginia, and her cognate jealousies, endowed with every feature — power — quality, necessary for its preservation—and these the people of the United States will soon

furnish to this Constitution of the people—by the people—for the people—our fathers' Constitution—our own Constitution "ordained—established to secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity"—not a mere "Federal Union of the States" with Slavery to be secured to their tyrant masters. But this, thank Almighty God, is past—past beyond the reach of human power. To establish this Constitution were required, not only all the resources of Wisdom, but all the resources of the highest public virtue in its courage and in its moderation; and forth they came and together they labored to establish for this Nation a national government, worthy the efforts that had been exerted—and the ends intended to be accomplished. Of such wisdom and of such moderation, Jefferson could not boast. The spirit that could form a nation was not the spirit which, above all things, prized the superior power of Virginia, with all her slaves; and the fact will not surprise that Jefferson held back and was reluctant to the adoption of the Constitution by Virginia. Cavilling at its provisions, he is seen urging Virginia to stand at the threshold, undecided, whether or not to enter and serve her part in the great Offices of our great Temple of Constitutional Freedom. Read his letter of the 7th of February, 1798, addressed at Paris to A. Donald. "Jefferson's Works, iii. 290."

For among the many arguments urged against its adoption were powers conferred, necessary to provide for the common defence: and among the many menaces uttered loudly, a chief one was urged in Virginia: that, in the use of the means to provide for this defence, the existence of slavery would be put at hazard. "If the Northern States shall be of the opinion," was the remark of Patrick Henry, "that our slaves are numberless, they may call forth every national resource. May Congress not say that *every black man must fight?* Have they not power to provide for the general defence and welfare? May they not think that these call for *the abolition of slavery?* May they not pronounce all slaves free, and will they not be warranted by that power?" The slaveholders of Virginia trembled before this mighty question; and Virginia adopted the Constitution by a majority of *ten* of one hundred and fifty-eight votes.*

* Alexander Hamilton to Jay. 1779:

"The Negroes will make very excellent soldiers, with proper management. . . . . An essential part of the plan is to give them their freedom with their swords. . . . . This will secure their fidelity, animate their courage, and, I believe, will have a good influence on those who remain by *opening* a *door to their emancipation*. . . . The dictates of humanity and true policy equally interest me in favor of this unfortunate class of men." As to the freedom granted to the slave by Proclamation, Hamilton remarked, in 1795: "The grant was *irrevocable*. Nothing in the law of nations, nor in those by Great Britain, will authorize the resumption of liberty once granted to a human being. . . The abandonment of Negroes who had been induced to quit their masters on the faith of official PROCLAMATIONS promising them *liberty*, to fall again under the yoke of their masters and *into slavery*, is as *odious* and *immoral* a thing as can be conceived. It is *odious*, not only as it imposes an *act of perfidy* on one of the contracting parties, but as it tends to bring back to servitude men once made free."

It has been stated that, to subserve the interests of Virginia as a great slave-planting State, an important power of Government was expressly excluded by the Constitution of the United States. Tobacco, previous to its adoption, was her principal culture and largest export. During the Revolution, Congress exerted a controlling power over its export. Virginia, on the contrary, claimed the exclusive control of it, although the action of Congress was, by the admission of Madison, "to the advantage of Virginia in procuring a vent *to her staple*, and stopping the exportation of her specie." Virginia did not forget this procedure of Congress; and, with the concurrence of the *rice*-growers of South-Carolina, secured the restrictive provision in the Constitution that, "no tax or duty be laid on articles exported from any State." Is it not possible to suppose instances when the power of imposing a tax upon *exports* may be necessary to an equality of contribution by the several States, or when other great public interests might demand its exercise? Why should not the Government of the United States have the power to impose a tax on the export of cotton, thus levying a duty on the wants of other nations which levy a duty on the wants of the people of the United States? Why should there be a denial of a power to the Government of this nation which resides in and is exerted by the Governments of other nations?

It has been stated, that, with Virginia originated the opposition to the administration of the Government which only the popularity of Washington could check. As to this most reckless, most persevering, almost indiscriminate opposition, begun in its very infancy — in the first year of our Constitution, the facts are all notorious. They are to be seen in the frequent letters of Washington, and may be traced throughout his Presidential life. When Washington wrote to Jefferson himself of the attacks upon his "administration in such exaggerated and indecent terms as could be scarcely applied to a Nero, a notorious defaulter, or even to a common pickpocket," * we are not left to conjecture what was said and written — by whom said or written — or what he, the Father of his country, felt.

Here I will not dwell. It is sufficient now to remark, that this opposition would have defeated the great neutral policy which Washington established; that it subjected this country, its commerce and its honor, to the depredations and insults of France — inciting, with her connivance, a civil war — at the same time provoking the hostility of England. Amid all the surrounding, pressing difficulties, the Government of the United States kept in the path of Neutral justice—a sublime spectacle of justice and of mercy, to which she can well appeal in the coming hour of reparation by Great Britain. Nor need I call to your recollection the fact, that by a recent foreigner, Albert Gallatin, this threatened, resulting civil war was initiated.

Let those who ask, when and where, read in the resolutions

* Writings of Washington, XI. 189.

passed at a meeting at Red Stone Old Fort on the 27th of July, 1791—and that other in its foreign English, at Pittsburgh of the 21st of August, 1792—of both which meetings Gallatin was Secretary. The first of these resolutions declared the law imposing an internal duty upon whiskey, "immoral in its effects, and dangerous to liberty." The second, reïterating these assertions, earnestly invoked the proscription by the people of the Collectors of this duty. In countries of severer rule these proceedings would have been dealt with, as conspiracies against the Government. In this, almost forgotten, they have been regarded as of equivalent value to the narrow notion, that the suppression of a rebellion of unparalleled magnitude can and should be accomplished by a Government paying Specie! Oh! for the wisdom that finds its limits within the rim of a gold eagle!

But it will not do to stop here. Listen to another, most pregnant, suggestive fact. Madison had denounced in Congress the imposition of Internal duties. The fomentors of this rebellion were his political partisans. They used his name as the title of one of these seditious associations; and when this Rebellion had ripened into maturity—when Western Pennsylvania was partly in arms against the Government, Madison moved a resolution—rejected by a great majority of Congress—"that regular troops ought not to be used against citizens for enforcing the laws of the United States, but only for protection against foreign invasion, and the Indian tribes." It may seem strange to learn that, in any man's estimation, the disciplined and skilled soldiers of a civilized nation ought not to be used to maintain that civilized nation; for to "enforce its laws" when resisted by force, is the only possible mode of maintaining such a nation; but that this use is proper, to reduce to submission roving Indian tribes—the victims, at that very time—the infuriated victims of Virginian frontier aggressions. The poor negroes fleeing to the bushes were pitied and succored by these Indians. The frontier whites followed them with fire and sword and red-mouthed hounds. The Indians driven on were seen looking back—looking back with outstretched, imploring arms of horror at their more savage assailants, while the poor negro, surviving his wounds, was often the reward of his pursuer with unerring aim. "When I was recruiting," said a deceased officer, "a long-limbed poor white came forth and said: 'I think of 'listing. What do you think? If I *wing* a negro, will I have him?'" The reply I do not give. Such are the effects of Slavery—the aristocratic owners, enjoying the fruits of involuntary labor—freed from the cares and the engaging and instructive interests of an active social life, seeking political power as their occupation, and then claiming its possession as a natural right, and the poor, uneducated, debased white, seeking in the labor of the slave the indolence he covets in the toilless lives of his idle superiors.

It has been stated, that from Virginia were propagated doctrines of construction emasculative of the Constitution, and re-

sulting in evils which yet continue—the great evils which now oppress our industry, and menace consequences of a magnitude of danger from which prudence and wisdom and courage almost are compelled to shrink. By whom, if not by Virginia, was begun and stimulated the opposition to a broad, just provision for the debt of the Revolution, called by Hamilton "the price of liberty"? This debt was chiefly due to the inhabitants of the Eastern and Middle States, for the monies expended in supporting the army, which finally at Yorktown rescued Virginia from subjugation. Yet was its payment resisted in every stage of the discussion of the System of Public Credit, and its provision was only effected by a bargain which gave to Virginia the permanent possession within her borders of the National Capital, "as an anodyne," to use the words of Jefferson, which would "calm in some degree the ferment which might be excited" by the assumption of the State Debts—debts incurred by the several States for their own and the common defence—debts, the payment whereof was expressly pledged by Congress, in a celebrated address from the pen of Madison of the 26th of April, 1783; and the *refusal* to pay which debts was urged—assiduously urged—by Madison on the floor of Congress in 1790, only seven years after. Yet the Constitution had given them its express pledge of payment. In its VIth Article, it declares: "All debts and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the Confederation." These debts, this "engagement," Madison would have repudiated. Yet you all know that Madison was a signer of this Constitution and a most useful advocate of it. Of these gross, glaring inconsistencies, what is the solution? The Assembly of Virginia, unwilling to pay her share of these debts, denounced the assumption of them "as repugnant to the Constitution of the United States;" "as a measure particularly injurious to the interests of Virginia; as an act impolitic, unjust, odious, and deformed." Madison presented this denunciation to Congress, obeying the behest of Virginia.

Widely different was the view of a most distinguished officer of the Revolution, a native of Massachusetts, who had fought the battles of the South. "We shall soon," General Lincoln wrote to Hamilton, "whenever this" (denunciation) "comes in practice, be without a Federal government; and with its fall, we shall probably be deprived for ages to come, of the power of again assembling and forming a system for the General Government of the United States, *by the voice of the people.*" "This," Hamilton also wrote, "this is the first symptom of a spirit which must either be killed or will kill the Constitution of the United States." Its principles, he declared, must be "*exploded.*" To provide for these debts, internal duties upon some mere idle indulgences and luxuries had been recommended by Hamilton, as Secretary of the Treasury. Among these was a duty upon snuff. The snuff-makers were in commotion. They proclaimed this duty to be a

grievance, and there were those who sympathized with them. Snuff, we all know, is a manufacture of tobacco. Tobacco was then the "staple" of Virginia.

From whom, if not from Virginia, emanated doctrines of strict construction emasculative of the Constitution? Whence came the denial to the General Government of the power to establish an uniform currency, with the aid of a National Bank; and what the motive of that denial, but to secure to Virginia the retention within her borders of the seat of government, which she feared the establishment of a National Bank in Philadelphia would put in jeopardy? Commerce and its instruments, money and banks, were things which Virginia politicians—Jefferson, Madison, and Randolph—thought of little moment to Virginia; but the monopoly of political power was in their minds of every moment, and by this consideration was their policy governed.

Yet as to the seat of that Capital—Ames predicted truly, that it would, from its position, easily fall into the hands of a foreign enemy, and a true narrative of this rebellion will tell, that twice it was near falling into the hands of rebel bodies of Virginians. Reflecting men had urged that the Capital should be at Trenton, a position easily defended by its adjacent population.

By whom if not by Virginia, were raised the objections to the means to protect the fisheries on the American coast, from which France insisted upon "excluding" the American States lest they should become a nursery of seamen? In this policy France was foiled, and Virginia took it up, Madison denying to the National Government the power of granting a small bounty for the encouragement of those Fisheries.

For the encouragement of these great Fisheries, this great wealth, which the beneficent Creator annually directs with his unseen hand upon our rocky coast, as though he would make the Ocean return to the land a tribute for the flowing land streams filling her bosom—for the encouragement of the Fisheries, which had invited the Puritan race far over the stormy seas from the low marshes of Holland—for the encouragement of the Fisheries, Massachusetts had asked a bounty to equalize with the foreign bounties. For this bounty, Fisher Ames—most eloquent, most true, most bravely true to his country, asked in the name of Masachusetts—appealing to and rebuking Virginia, "If the lands of Kentucky are invaded," he exclaimed, "you drive off the invader at the general expence, and so you ought. Why shall we not protect our domain upon the Ocean? Another, and important view is, the Naval protection, of which it will be the source. Our trade is increasing rapidly: the richer that trade, the better the prize to the enemy. Can the planter, who takes up arms to protect his harvests on shore, be so much deceived as to wish to have it unprotected, when afloat? Thrown out of employment by war, the fishermen are instantly in action. Their mode of life makes them expert and hardy. They cast anchor on the banks, three hundred leagues from land, and with a great length of cable ride out the storms of winter.

If the gale proves too strong, they often sink at their anchors. For ever wet, the sea almost becomes their element—cold and labor, in that season of frost, brace their bodies; and they become as hardy as the bears that walk around them on the floating fields of ice. Their skill and spirit are not inferior. Familiar with danger, they despise it. If I were to review their exploits," added Ames, "the theme would find every American heart already glowing with the recollections of them; it would kindle more enthusiasm than the subject requires. My view only is, to appeal to facts, to evince the importance of the fisheries, as a means of Naval protection. It is proper to pass over Bunker's Hill, though memorable by the valor of a regiment of fishermen; nor, is it necessary, to mention further, that five hundred fishermen fought at Trenton. Manning our privateers, they supplied us with merchandise and military stores, without which, the war could not have been continued."

Jefferson made a report on the fisheries—As a means of protection was stated—the remission of duties, but as to this he gave no opinion. The protection he did propose was, "the making fish a part of the military ration—a part of the sea stores of vessels—and the more general use of fish in furnishing the supplies of the table." But to this he added a proposition threatening our infant strength—the driving our fishermen from the ocean. France, it has been seen, opposed the securing to the United States the right to fish. France, by her policy, was seeking to build up her Fishing interest. Against her, nevertheless, nothing was advised —but against Great Britain with her predominating naval force —"counter regulations" of commerce—leading on to war.

The expenses incurred in supporting the Western army, employed in defending the frontiers of Virginia, demanded an augmentation of the national revenue. By the duties imposed, it was sought, in their incidental effects, to furnish a protection of and to encourage a development of the industry of this country, cherishing its infant and introducing new manufactures. This protection, and this encouragement, it was Hamilton's office to propose. He did propose it, supporting it by a great body of various argument. —Virginia did not dare to oppose this protection as a practical fact. Such opposition would have been unpopular, and in favor of it she had been committed. Jefferson and Madison were thus committed. What did they do? By a perversion of the great argument, they sought to shew that violations of the Constitution would be sanctioned—violations, which the argument itself directly and positively declared were not contemplated, and the possibility of which, as results from it, wholly, conclusively, utterly, disproved and repelled —and so Washington, though tampered with, regarded it. Manufactures, Virginia was reluctant to protect, though she had shown herself eager to protect the snuff box, while attempting a violation of the Sinking Fund. Dwarfing the Constitution in its birth, and seeking to emasculate it, when born—to bind it with the coiling ligaments of strict constructions—of forced interpretations, this mighty

nation was to be shrunk in all its growth—and kept fast in a tight jacket, the scoff of the world, and the struggling victim of State ambition—of Virginia's State ambition. What were all the great interests of this country to Virginia, of the great mass of whose unfortunate population the *hoe* was the implement — to whom the sun rose and set ever on, from weary day to day, over its dull compelled labor, with no promise of reward—no to-morrow of repose—no future of earthly good—no hope of better things? Commerce—money—banks—fisheries—ships—manufactures, were all regarded by her as extraneous. These were the great elements—the great essentials of the free, loyal States. Through them, the influence of these free white laboring States must grow. That growth ere long must prevail, must preponderate, if unchecked, unshackled. Therefore was the exercise of Governmental power to encourage, to protect them, the subject of Virginia's jealousy—the object of her hate. The great commercial crises of this country—coming and again renewed, as though they were the necessary concomitants of enterprizing industry—the questions of protection or *no* protection—of National banks and State banks—ever recurring in their alternating phases—disturbing, upsetting the great quiet interests of society, under the wanton play of illicit politics—all these tell of this State ambition—of this SLAVE planting policy—blind and mute to all other interests, with fixed vision and loud spoken voice as to its own interest.

An ambition so intense would not hesitate as to its means. To secure the influence of the Post Office to the views of Virginia Jefferson urged, but urged in vain upon Washington the appointment as Post Master General of Thomas Paine. And finding Washington above his arts, he sought in concert with Madison to induce him to refuse a reëlection. This concerted effort also failed, and then was seen an endeavor by repeated calumnies to disgust him with office, that thus disgusted he would resign. Genet now appeared to play his part in the America drama. Instructed by France to make the United States her instrument in the recently declared war against Great Britain, Genet assumed the position of almost a rival power with Washington—violating the neutrality of this country—denying the legitimate authority of the Government, defying its exercise, and appealing to the people to sustain him, in disregard of all his violences and outrages and fulminating menaces. What a scene is this! Washington bearded by a foreign Minister and Jefferson in collusion with him. The honest and honorable gratitude of the American people to France was the feeling played upon and abused by the Virginia leaders. Of them what did Washington then write? "It is not the cause of France, nor I believe of liberty which they regard; for, could they involve this country in war (no matter with whom) and disgrace, they would be among the first and loudest of the clamorers against the expense and impolicy of the measure."*

* Washington to R. H. Lee.

Jefferson felt that he had lost the confidence of Washington, and he resigned his office. The resignation was accepted.

The partisanship and subservience of Virginia to France, and the domineering arrogance of England, her impressment of our seamen, her violations of our neutrality now brought on a crisis, threatening immediate war. To preserve the peace of this young country was worthy every effort consistent with its honor—and in despite of the machinations of Virginia, a mission to London was instituted. A treaty was concluded, in most respects wise, in some respects faulty. The wisdom was disregarded—the faults exaggerated, and all the passions of the public were brought in play to prevent its ratification. At Richmond, a public meeting pronounced this treaty, "insulting to the dignity, injurious to the interest, dangerous to the security and repugnant to the Constitution of the United States." Hamilton also appealed to the people—"If you consult your true interest, your motto cannot fail to be—'PEACE and TRADE with ALL NATIONS. Beyond our present engagements, POLITICAL CONNECTION with NONE'"—and for this appeal he was stoned! Nor did Washington escape denunciation. He ratified this treaty.

Hear the language used of him by Chancellor Livingston—who administered to him in this city, his Inaugural oath—"He has ratified the fatal instrument, alike hostile to our liberties, and the good faith we owed to France and to our own Constitution, which confines to Congress many of those powers which are *bartered away* by the Executive." If this charge were true, Washington was a hideous criminal. If not true, what was the accuser? To the purity of Washington mankind have raised a monument, so high that the light ever plays upon its top—while the lofty pile casts an ever deepening shadow upon his traducers. Among these Jefferson was not silent, nor were others, for ere long Washington was charged with *peculation* in respect to his salary—a charge forthwith met by Hamilton and utterly confuted.

The ambition of Virginia had been thwarted thus far in her opposition to Washington, but it was not throttled. This treaty being ratified was by the terms of the Constitution, "*the supreme law of the land.*" France drew an outline of the mode of defeating its operation. Jefferson sanctioned this outline. Madison attempted to make it prevail. The treaty had been ratified by the President and the Senate in the mode prescribed by the Constitution. Madison resorted to a sophism, the effect of which would have been to render the House of Representatives paramount to the other Departments of the Government—in contradiction of his own previously, and deliberately avowed construction of it. The peace of the country was at stake—but of much higher moment, its honor and its good faith were at stake. In vindication of these Washington and Hamilton united and prevailed. Of the attempt of Madison, Washington remarked, "it was striking, at once and that boldly too, at the fundamental principles of the Constitution." Jefferson fretted and scoffed—"I see no harm," he

wrote, "in rendering their sanction" (that of the House) "*necessary*, and not much harm in *annihilating* the whole treaty-making power, except as to making peace." Of Washington's ratification, he wrote, "I wish that his honesty and his political errors may not furnish a *second* occasion to exclaim—'Curse on his virtues, they have undone his country.'" Yet, at a future day, as to an act the most beneficial of his whole life—the purchase of Louisiana by treaty, he avowed—"The Executive, in seizing this, a fugitive occurrence, which so much advances the good of the country, has done an act *beyond* the *Constitution*." Thus have we here before us as to the great plenary treaty power of this country, which fully warranted this purchase; two great comprehensive facts in the leading action of Virginia—an attempt to *defeat* the Constitution by an *usurpation* of the House of Representatives, in respect to a treaty, beneficial to the commercial interests of this country—provisional as to the debts due to its citizens for depredations on their commerce, and securing peace, all of which the Virginia leaders would have prevented; and an avowed *usurpation* of the Constitution in the exercise of this treaty power, by the leader of Virginia.

How are these facts explained? The commerce of this country, the debts due for the violations of this commerce—these were the interests of the great body of the people—of its laboring white population—to Virginia of little moment;—but the acquisition of Louisiana, Virginia saw was the guarantee, for ever as she supposed, of her political power—the field of her especial labor—and a market for her slaves, cotton and sugar to be raised in a torrid clime by the toil of slaves in countless increasing numbers—giving to the Slave States an increasing representation. It would be a lame omission not to mention, that "the restitutions and other debts to American citizens," it was proposed by Madison to barter to France for the purchase of Louisiana. They *were bartered*, and by the United States never have been paid. In this payment Virginia had no interest.

The culminating act of her ambition we now reach. It has been stated that from Virginia emanated the doctrine of SECESSION.

The conclusion of the treaty with Great Britain secured for a time the power of Washington and of his friends—if the Government should continue to exist. The State ambition of Virginia had become restive, reckless. Would it longer submit? Was there no expedient short of rebellion—of open armed rebellion? The contriving brain of Jefferson began to work, and from it sprang the doctrine of State Secession. Of this doctrine he was the author, he the self-acknowledged author. Madison the advocate! It was solely of Virginia birth—Virginia advocacy. It sprang up on the borders of the Potomac near which it is now expiring amid all the agonies—all the writhing tortures of a monster's death, this Hydra—a hissing Serpent with its many heads, "waved over by the flaming brand" of the American HERCULES—

the power of the loyal American people—at the gate of Richmond "with dreadful faces thronged and fiery arms."

What is this doctrine of SECESSION founded upon—if not upon the theory of a *compact* between the States, each having an independent sovereignty, when, as to the great primary purposes for which the General Government exists, the States *never* had—have not now any sovereignty? Independent only in Union—Sovereign only in Union, the great primary attributes of sovereignty always have been, now are, the exclusive property of that Union—the joint indefeasible estate of the whole united people of the United States;—a Sovereignty never to be given up. The doctrine of Secession is a doctrine that the majority of the people of the United States shall NOT govern. It is the doctrine of a sovereign minority. The practical assertion of this doctrine is Rebellion.

And as has been said in the bosom of Virginia to subserve the ambition of Virginia was concerted a design to subvert the Constitution. I quote the words of Washington in a letter to La Fayette of the 24th of December 1798. "The sum amounts to this,—that a party exists in the United States, formed by a combination of causes, which oppose the Government in *all* its measures, and are determined, as their conduct evinces, by clogging its wheels, *indirectly* to *change the nature* of it; and to SUBVERT THE CONSTITUTION." Listen—weigh these words, and then tell me, whether it was not a righteous indignation that prompted the patient, the forbearing, "the modest, the sage" Washington to declare of "that party, they have been the CURSE OF THE COUNTRY."

Southern politicians could, perhaps, well afford to admit this doctrine into their newly fabricated constitution, with Slavery as its basis, and the interests of Slavery for it an enduring, tightening ligature. Well could they afford it as a lure and a pretext to other States to join them—among whom a supposed diversity of interests might prompt to a severance from their fellows—the great expectation of the Slave States thirsting ambition.

The party of SECESSION must be the *weaker* party in a great community — it must be a party of the minority, for the majority control, they never *secede*. The party of Secession must be the *unlawful* party, for else it would not secede from the majority, who, in free communities of Government, have a right to impose the law. I am speaking of a Government, not of a mere league—this Union is not a league, but a Constitution ordained and established by the people of the United States—as a substitute for a preceding league. Of this weaker, this unlawful party, in action, the natural, the inevitable recourse is to Conspiracy. It must gain its strength by conspiring with others—*out* of the national domain—*within* the national domain. And what are the facts? This party of Virginia did conspire with France, and did conspire within the loyal States. Washington took the command of an army raised to repel an invasion by France in the interest of

this party of Secession—and volunteers were called forth to suppress the first movement of an organized conspiracy—a conspiracy organized here—in this city of New-York, and ramified throughout the country. Its history is short—Napper Tandy, an Irish Insurgent, arrives in New-York from Paris, and immediately "The American Society of United Irishmen"—that was its name—was founded. It proposed to embody all the Irish in the United States, then estimated at about 50,000 men, provided they "were such, and such only, as *had suffered* in the cause of freedom, or who by their zeal for the rights of mankind had rendered themselves *distinguished* and *worthy of trust*." Irish Insurgents or ready to proceed to Insurrection! The constitution of this combination declared, "that the *test* of this Society, the intention of its institution, other than as a social body attached to Freedom, should be *secret* and *inviolable*." This test-oath, beside the emancipation of Ireland, pledged the efforts of the associates for the attainment of liberty and equality to mankind *in whatever nation they resided*, and that they never would divulge any of its *secrets*. The admission of members was guarded, further to indicate the nature of the association; and an enlarged organization was formed so as to extend its ramifications to the most remote recesses of the Union. Under a General Executive Committee were State Committees. These controlled the *Sections*, to which were subordinate Sub-*Sections*, "consisting only of eight men each, all living *near* one another, one of whom was to *warn them in cases of urgency*." That it was formed for *other* purposes than the emancipation of Ireland is shown by its constitution — that it contemplated measures *within* the United States is proved by the words of its preamble, which declared, at a time ominous to this country—"There is not now time to argue and complain. *This is the time* to act. To act with energy we must act with union. Irishmen are united at home—we will not be disunited abroad." Of such a combination — contemplating purposes it dared not avow — bound by a *secret and inviolable test*-oath—organized with military gradation —pledged to act "with *energy and union*—to act upon *instant warning*" was not Hamilton warranted in regarding it as involving the danger to the country of "an internal invasion"? The measures of the Government for its suppression alarmed its fomentors. Jefferson trembled at the imagined danger of a criminal prosecution, and his confidential friends—emissaries of France—Volney and Collot fled beyond the sea. The pulse of the American people now beat high. With the parting apathy Energy took the reins, and a second Insurrection in Pennsylvania was suppressed. But Washington had been succeeded by, from his jealous passions—a semi-maniac; and amid his follies and his ravings, the heart of this nation sank. The syren song of Peace was raised—and yielding to its solicitations, the author of the doctrine of Secession was beheld — seated in the chair Washington had filled. Washington did not live to see this change — indeed had he lived, he would have prevented it — and well did his enemies understand this.

—Hear the language of a parasite of Jefferson—"I am glad he is dead. We could not pull him down." An important inquiry presents itself, by what means were the friends of Washington ejected from power. Hamilton has furnished the public answer — "It is certain, had the late election been decided entirely by *native* citizens, had foreign auxiliaries been rejected on both sides, the man who ostentatiously vaunts, that *the doors of public honor and confidence have been burst open to him*, would not now have been at the head of the American Nation." . . . . . "Who wields the sceptre of France, and has erected a despotism on the ruins of her former government? A foreigner! Who rules the councils of our own *ill-fated*, unhappy country? And who stimulates persecution on the heads of its citizens for daring to exercise the right of suffrage? A FOREIGNER!" That foreigner was a Swiss.

It is not my purpose to trace further on the history of this country through its sad near after story. How its COMMERCE was *sacrificed* by Virginia at the behest of a *foreign* Despot many live to recollect—their impoverished families to lament! How its CURRENCY became *worthless*, and its PUBLIC CREDIT became bankrupt, the ruined fortunes of many still living tell! What degradations this nation suffered from France—What insults and depredations were inflicted upon it by England, the indignant memories of many still living have not forgotten! War followed—wholly unprepared war. Of a great fraud practiced upon the counsels of this nation by a Virginian President to precipitate that war I have not time to relate. Peace was made—and after a time—SECESSION long sleeping awoke from her trance — NULLIFICATION followed. An American Machiavelli came forth from South-Carolina in the person of Calhoun—armed with problems and teaching metaphysics, though quaking while he taught—and from Tennessee came forth a Soldier of dauntless will and iron purpose—the Patriot Soldier—Andrew Jackson—armed with the armor of this nation, and before his frown Secession fainted. But it did not die. Imbecility — Imbecility in the midst of traitor counsels — warmed it into life, and it is before our eyes in the bloody form of a Great Conspiracy — a Great Rebellion — a Great Civil War. Is not Slavery the source — the life — the ambitious care and purpose of this war? If not, what is its purpose? The answer is—The arrogant Independence of a few to secure and perpetuate the dependence of the many — of millions of slaves — a war sustained by poor, untaught—misled whites, regarded as a cheap sacrifice to the aspirings of those arrogant few. I have used the word—arrogant —might not a stronger word be used, when I tell you, that in reply to a mild remark as to "the unfortunate institution of Slavery," Barnwell Rhett, a chief instigator in South-Carolina of this rebellion answered me, "I do not consider it unfortunate. I would establish Slavery, if it did not exist."

And now before I close I will make one observation. I do not mean to be understood as passing an indiscriminate censure upon the dead. In long careers of public service it would be strange,

were there no reliefs in the dark picture of a vitiated, selfish ambition. Nor even, in the heated discussions of an election, and of such an election as this, is it "meet that every nice offence should bear its comment." To elevate, not to lower the tone of public feeling, is the duty which so great a cause inspires, so great a cause demands. Nor, while I have recalled to you these facts of certain men of the Secession school—of Virginia—can we forget what Virginia has given to this country in Washington—the object of their persecuting hatred—in Marshall—the subject of their biting calumnies—in Winfield Scott—called "a traitor to Virginia," because he would not be a traitor to his country. The public deeds of public men are the property of the public—and whether good or evil, are living lessons to those who come after them; and it is to a few of these lessons I would now, by your indulgence, ask your attention—the honor of your attention—for with what delight have I remarked the rapid advance of the recent vast audiences up to the height of this great crisis in their patient hearing and quickest perception of the truths and arguments presented to them.

Are there no analogies in what I have related to what is recent and now before us—and are those analogies without instruction? How is it, that the public force of this great nation has been below its great necessities? Is it not owing to the clamors of former days alarming the counsels of our days? How is it, that our finances are so much disturbed? Is it not that the sound experience of former days has not governed in the policy of our days? How is it, that the counsels of the Administration have not commanded in the public mind all the respect always necessary to a successful administration? Is it not that personal rivalries have left the President without the power of beneficial united consultation? On the other hand — what have been the impediments interposed to the policy of the President and to his measures by the opposition? Have they not sought by advice — by misrepresentation—by invidious and cruel arts sought to defeat the levy of our soldiers—cruelly inciting the abused, deceived foreign population to riot—and plunder and murder? Have they not by every artifice that could be resorted to endeavored to destroy all confidence in the financial ability of this nation—holding up specie as the only currency, and at the same time, by depressing the value of the currency rendering unavoidable the increase of its volume? Have they not, by insisting on the exclusive rights of State banks, deformed the system of national banking, alarming the timid and making pause the prudent? Have they not organized throughout the country an extensive conspiracy to control the legitimate authority of the nation — giving aid and comfort to the enemy — armed to coërce the loyal people and banded together by illicit oaths to use every means to insure success to the Rebellion? Have they not, in concert with these rebels, presented to this nation a platform—which if carried into effect—must inevitably "subvert the Constitution"? Are they not at this moment by the

false cry of Peace, Peace, seeking to bring on emergencies—that would make this fair country—unfit to live in—almost a solitude? Is there a person here who doubts, were this election cast against our President, that this Union would be dissolved? If there be such a man, I can only say—God help him to a sounder judgment.

How is it that this nation has been, as it were, so long heaving and tossing throughout all this storm? Foreign influence has done its part, as of yore. The two great powers combined, each pursuing its separate path of hostility—England by a covert war —France by those arts which make religious power—the instrument of political power—France establishes a throne in Mexico under the rule of an Austrian prince — of a most bigoted race—aided—chiefly aided, by the wealthy Mexican Church. To give to that Church assured permanence, and thus to maintain the ascendency of France, what more probable than that this Church, dreading of all things the Protestant power of the United States, would exert all its irresistible influence over the Roman Catholic population of the United States? How otherwise explain the recent united vote, in opposition to the Administration, of the Catholic Irish in Pennsylvania, than by the indefatigable efforts of the Priests, presumed to be directed by the Society at Rome of the "*Propaganda*"? Domestic treason, seeking foreign influence, has unnerved us — party bigotry, party ambition, party avarice, all coveting and all uniting to recover its long-enjoyed, long-abused power, believing or affecting to believe every imputation wantonly hurled against the Government. At the very head of that party a FOREIGNER, first and recently known here as an official servant of Austria—then, without any public service to "our country," promoted to a foreign mission, doubtless the reward of known party activity and probably of large party aid—that Foreigner now foremost in its ranks—opening the doors of the Chicago Convention, and declaring as to men, pouring out their treasures and their blood to maintain their existence as a nation—"Four years of misrule by a sectional, fanatical and corrupt party have brought our country on the very verge of ruin." Words—words—words like these, of insult and bravado, towards men whose fathers fought the battles of the Revolution—whose children have returned in sickness and with wounds from the present battle-fields of patriotism—may excite surprize from such a source; but what are they when compared, in accents familiar to all our ears, by a *Native* of this country—the fallacious sophist—and party servant—the Governor of this great, patriotic State? And, meanwhile, that Convention, dictated to by Rebel emissaries near by at St. Catherines, and at Clifton in Canada, some of whose confidential papers are in the possession of our government—and besieged at its very doors, day and night, by armed conspirators pervading the Great West, and known as "The Order of American Knights" —or "Sons of Liberty"—plotting against the Government.

Of this great treasonable conspiracy, shewing "its origin, history, and names, its organization and officers, its extent and numbers, its

armed force, its ritual, oaths and interior forms, its written principles, its specific purposes and operations—the witnesses and their testimony" — a recent Official Report contains the fearful story—but of that story leaves much untold. Of its specific purposes these are enumerated—"aiding soldiers to desert and harboring and protecting deserters — discouraging enlistments and resisting the draft—circulating disloyal and treasonable publications—communicating with and giving intelligence to the enemy —aiding them and assisting them to recruit within the loyal lines —furnishing them with arms and ammunition—destroying government and private property—and persecuting Union men—ASSASSINATION and *murder* coolly, deliberately discussed in councils of its order, and *recommended!!*"

But for these influences, this war would have ceased, for it is on these influences foreign and domestic, the rebels have largely counted. That in the conduct of this great Civil war errors have been committed cannot be denied, but they were errors on the side of the public safety—these errors, though furnishing the opposition with grounds of objection—do not explain the divided mind of the people. To these influences so active and so wicked, this divided mind must be traced. Who does not recollect the universal burst of feeling at the attack upon Fort Sumter? Has the cause changed? Is it not larger — more comprehensive — clearer to a clear public vision — more *intense?* If patriotism — duty—prudence—wisdom—all demand the complete reduction of this great—this devilish rebellion—Humanity now puts forth her claims for such reduction. Without arms, accustomed to a brutal rule, the Slaves hitherto have remained passive. Superior force triumphing over the rebels, of that force the slaves a part, feel their power and the value of their freedom. The unfreed are quiet in the near hope of liberation through the might of arms. Let the election go adverse to the Government — and those arms cease to be used, will the freedmen be reduced to bondage or the slaves submit to longer bondage? He who believes this, mistakes human nature. Despairing of lawful help, they would not hesitate to resort to a general insurrection — a shocking general massacre. Humanity thus demands in loudest accents the total suppression of this rebellion by force of lawful arms, and so it will be suppressed. From the beginning of this great struggle I felt assured, with only one serious question in my mind—What of the great West? For I had learned of great boons before the West in negotiation with the South. That question was not long unanswered. When at the first Public meeting in this city after Sumter was taken, I felt it answered. In the vast concourse — miles of surrounding patriotism, 'twas evident that the population of the Northern Seaboard was true, that the Treasury would be furnished. The scene was full of promise; for as, with the arm of Colonel Anderson on mine, we passed through the mighty crowd, and on up the platform, appeared a vast field of glory. Loud, loud deafening cheers were heard swaying through the air, only silenced for the opening prayer

of as true a patriot as ever spoke great gospel truths—by this modest, devout soldier—the type of his wronged insulted country in the presence of the Statue of the FATHER OF THIS COUNTRY. Remembering the past, this Statue, though silent speaking—was ever before my eyes. The aged steed, with uplifted foot, seemed ready for the start — proud of his burthen — and there sat Washington, with rein in hand, mindless of his steed — serene and calm — his uncovered head beamed on from the sky — and when I asked, 'What of the Great West?' the statue seemed to answer—for there were beheld his outlook—far—far away—his extended arm with open hand pointing to the Great West — 'That West once our danger — now our safety.' It was a vision and a promise. How fulfilled—Morton and Brough—Grant and Sherman and Sheridan with their conquering armies tell.

And the day of greatest danger will soon be past. The Eighth of November next is the great political advent, whence we shall date a new era to our country—to free government—to the welfare of the human race. Time with its mighty arm has long been winnowing the sins and errors of the world. The armed turrets which in Europe lined the borders of its great water courses are long since empty—the brandings and the burnings for Heresy are gone. The Inquisition is gone—the Bastile is gone—the shackles of the Press are gone — the Pulpit is almost free. These are the things of the old world—and here in this New World, nearer to the rising sun, the great lights of religious and social truths are pouring in their flood, telling us of the near emancipation of the slave, and telling us also of the great cares and duties, which a larger freedom imposes on a people such as we are. True it is, that great burthens have been incurred, but a wise policy can make them light. True it is, that many lives have been lost, and that among our own much loved—wounds and sicknesses tell of the sufferings and the dangers undergone for our country. But are we not richer—are we not sounder for these wounds, healthier even for these sicknesses? We have armies — of all the armies of the earth—the bravest and the best. We have Generals to lead them *now* — of no doubtful fame — but, who can point to fruitful victories, which, nor Macedon — nor Rome — nor Modern Europe can boast. We have a Navy whose maintops are of almost romantic interest. Full of glory—full of honor—full of every honest pride, we are a people to value the great achievements that have been performed, not only to value, but to reward them in every form reward can be best bestowed. We have a country — ere long— again under one rule—and that, the rule of a united People.

And are we not a wiser people? In almost four years of war and civil strife, have we not lived centuries? And do not the truths our fathers told fall now—now at last—on welcome, willing ears—welcome, willing hearts? What are some of these truths? An armed Rebellion must be subdued by arms, and the peaceful authority of the Government of this great Nation must be reëstablished over every foot of the National Territory. Slavery

must be for ever abolished, not only by the armed power of this nation, but by the civil power of this nation—declared, made part of its Constitution; not by "an ultimate Convention," to put all at hazard, but by well-digested recommendations of Congress to be submitted to the people of each State for their approval. The structure of the Government should be thereby so modified as to secure — independent of State lines or State influences — to the people the free voice of one people in the choice of those they mean to administer the great TRUST of governing. Limitations of the powers of the Constitution, injurious to the interests and inconsistent with the equal rights of all the people, should be erased from the Constitution—and Provisions should be made to secure more perfectly those powers and rights of the Government and of the citizens, necessary "to form a more perfect Union and secure the blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our posterity."

These things performed, let us heal the wounds of this great Civil War — rewarding the faithful soldier with the property of the faithless traitor—thus protecting the Capital of this great nation from foreign or domestic insult, and proclaiming to the world by mighty acts that a people can be free and can maintain their freedom.

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THE GREAT ISSUE.

AN ADDRESS

BY

JOHN JAY, ESQ.

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MR. JAY'S ADDRESS.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen:

In thanking your Club, as I beg leave to do most cordially, for the honour you have done me in asking me to follow the speakers whose eloquence has already consecrated your campaign quarters to those principles of Nationality and Freedom upon which our Fathers of the Revolution laid the basis of our Republic, I cannot forget the interesting historic associations that cluster around the site you have so happily selected.

Close to this spot, eighty years ago, stood Fort Putnam, afterwards called Fort Greene, constituting an important point in the line of intrenchments which, extending on the one side to the Navy Yard, and on the other to Freek's Mill Pond, had been thrown up to protect our slender army from the British forces of Lord Percy and Lord Cornwallis, aided by the Hessians under General Heiser.

From this line on the 29th August, 1776, after the gallant but disastrous engagements in which our forces had failed to maintain their ground, though led by Generals Sterling, Sullivan and Grant, Washington resolved to withdraw the army across the river; and he accomplished that famous retreat under cover of the protecting fog which concealed his movements from the British, the sound of whose spades and pickaxes was distinctly heard by our retiring soldiers.

Again Americans assemble on the site of Fort Greene to defend the same sacred cause of their country, and to emulate the

patriotism and heroism which marked these lines in the last century. Engaged now in a contest of yet greater magnitude, we meet at a time when our prospect of success is brighter far than it was then, for our recent news, whether from Atlanta or the Shenandoah, Alatoona or Cedar Creek, whether from Pennsylvania, Ohio or Indiana, whether from our soldiers aiming bullets at Southern rebels, or ballots at Northern renegades:—all our news, and the despondent tone of our foes, whether in Richmond, in London, the vicinity of Niagara, Missouri, or at our own doors, tell us that this time it is the enemy that retreats and the British Hessians that despair.

The kindly fog that enveloped the army of Washington is exchanged for the dawning light that smiles upon our victories, foretelling the early coming of the blessed day when peace shall again reign over our broad country, one, united and entire, and the Rebellion and the cause of the Rebellion shall have been buried, without hope of a resurrection, in a common grave.

In addressing you on the great issue presently to be decided by the American people, I can hardly hope to say anything which has not been again and again more ably presented, for among the marked results of this contest is the earnest devotion and the intellectual activity with which, from a thousand rostrums in every section of our land, the varying phases of the question have been boldly grasped and exhaustingly analyzed. Indeed, no more striking proof of the fitness of educated Americans for self-government has been or could be given than the almost universal intelligence with which the Southern Rebellion is discussed in every school district from Maine to Kansas. It is well that this grand conspiracy, begotten of slavery and conceived in treason, secretly fondled by Northern traitors, openly encouraged by our foes abroad, and relied upon to prove the incapacity of the American people and the instability of the American Government, should at every step of its progress develop, as it has done and as it is now doing, the fact that, notwithstanding the national prosperity that has blessed our country, and despite its tendencies to demoralization, a church supported by voluntary subscriptions, free schools, free speech and a free press have elevated our masses to

a degree of intelligence, virtue and self-respect absolutely unknown in any other land. In the midst of a gigantic revolt that would have shaken to its foundations the most ancient throne in Europe, we have not simply called into existence an army and a navy at which the world wonders, but we have shown, in the good order, prosperity and loyalty of the free States, that a government based on the will and the affections of an enlightened people is beyond all comparison the most stable government in the world.

FOREIGN EFFORTS TO DESTROY THE REPUBLIC.

These decisive proofs in favour of popular government do not, unfortunately, afford profound satisfaction to our aristocratic friends across the water, or to the descendants in our midst of the tories of the Revolution, who for three-fourths of a century have tendered us their mournful condolence on the demoralizing influences of democratic institutions and the inherent weakness of republican government. At the present moment their hope seems to be that by fostering a division in the loyal States, and thus elevating to power a party pledged to the declaration of the Chicago Platform, that the war for a restoration of the Union is a failure, and that justice demands "an immediate cessation of hostilities," their triumphant predictions of our hopeless dissolution may still in some sort be verified.

"The crash of a New World," said the London Times at the commencement of the rebellion in 1861, "is an awful phenomenon. War has dashed like a comet upon the great American Republic, and all the institutions and destinies of that mighty Union seemed scattered in fragments around. * * The United States of North America have ceased to be."

A curious commentary upon this asserted dissolution of our government, which Sir Bulwer Lytton hailed as a blessing to England and the world, was contained in a recent article of the Times warning Canada that she must protect her own border, as England could scarcely supply a sufficient army not for a single campaign, but for "a single battle, conducted on General Grant's principles."

The hostility of the ruling English classes to the American Republic, in its struggle with the slave-owner, struck us at first with profound surprise and no less profound indignation; but reflection upon the causes of that hostility have enabled us to view their conduct with a calm and philosophic spirit, even while we see the ocean covered with the wrecks of our merchantmen burnt by English pirates, our carrying trade transferred to British ships, and its profits accumulating in British pockets.

The lesson taught us by these things has been a costly one, but it will henceforth secure us from similar disappointment; and it is a lesson which will never be forgotten. We have learned the treatment which we may expect if we allow our national power to be crippled, or if in our foreign policy we exhibit the least sign of timidity or trepidation: and Mr. Seward's diplomatic volumes show conclusively the sort of argument that is the most certainly convincing with European powers.

THE ENGLISH GOVERNMENT AND LAIRD'S IRON CLADS.

All the international law and diplomatic skill of Mr. Adams availed nothing towards convincing the British government that they were bound in honour to protect us from Laird's iron-clads, and that our clear right to the enforcement of a fair neutrality depended on the law of nations, and could not be in the least abridged by the insufficient provisions of their own statutes.

On the 1st of September, 1863, Earl Russell wrote to Mr. Adams announcing the deliberate decision of the British government upon the matter, and in a tone that intimated that the correspondence was concluded:

"Under these circumstances and having regard to the entire insufficiency of the depositions to prove any infraction of the law, her majesty's government are advised that they cannot interfere in any way with these vessels."

Mr. Adams replied on the 5th September: "It would be superfluous in me to point out to your lordship that this is *war*." This "superfluous" suggestion this quiet reminder, effected more than folios of arguments, and illumined Downing street with a flood

of light upon the dubious powers of the British government. On the third day after it was written Mr. Adams received the following:

"FOREIGN OFFICE, September 8th, 1863.

"Lord Russell presents his compliments to Mr. Adams, and has the honour to inform him that instructions have been issued which will prevent the departure of the two iron-clad vessels from Liverpool."

The voluminous correspondence of the State Department, interesting as it is, contains few letters so interesting and so instructive as these pithy notes. No great power of Europe is to be driven from a course of action which it regards as beneficial to its own interests, however detrimental it may be to us, by the most eloquent appeals to international affection, or the most convincing references to Grotius and Vattel. Regret as we may that Governmental Cabinets are swayed by other than the holiest considerations of Christian duty; and the fact remains written in the diplomacy of every nation, not excepting our own, that the conduct of one power to another is measured less by theoretic doctrines of duty and honour than by its idea as to the point of endurance to which it will be perfectly safe to go; and it is fair to them and ourselves, that upon this point, so far as our nation is concerned, there should be henceforth no mistake. We are the judges of our own rights and our own honour; and of our readiness and ability to defend them there should never be a question. Had England been sooner told "this is war," the "290" would never have escaped from Liverpool. England would have been spared that great scandal on her honour: the aggravating pile of claims now accumulating in Downing street, for the outrages committed by the Alabama, and all the exasperation of feeling aroused by them in this country would have been saved.

Let the formula, capable as it is of simple variation, be preserved for occasional reminder in our diplomatic copy-book; as happily expressing that *ultima ratio* which is sometimes essential to the completeness of the diplomatic arguments, and which, when happily blended with them, tends to dissipate all lingering

doubts and to produce a prompt and profound conviction. In this struggle for national existence, promptness even in diplomacy becomes to us a military necessity, and as we have seen in the case of the Alabama, delays are dangerous. General Dix has furnished us with a simple rule to be applied at home: "If any man attempts to haul down the national flag, shoot him on the spot," and so to every intermeddling of a foreign government with our affairs, even though it be done at the instance of Northern renegades, like the peace Democrats who sought intervention from Lord Lyons, appearing as the tools and toadies of a foreign aristocracy, and reminding us of Benedict Arnold and his secret interviews with the British agent, the most gentle diplomatic argument, against the outrage, may breathe at its close the spirit that animates the phrase, "It would be superfluous to point out to your Lordship that this is war."

THE INCONSISTENCY OF ENGLISH CRITICISM.

In regard to English criticism about which we were formerly a little sensitive, we have learned to weigh the motives of the critic, and to discriminate between the fair critiques of our foreign friends and the unfair comments of those who, from the prejudices of class or the interests of party, are inevitably our foes.

Not simply the dispatches of the foreign office, but the organs of English opinion, which are openly in favor of the Slave Confederacy, serve as useful monitors of the curious inconsistency which may be unconsciously reached by those who devote themselves to an unrighteous cause with small regard to principle or honour.

The unfriendly comments of this class on Mr. Lincoln's Administration, are now daily re-produced by our pro-slavery rebel organs as arguments against his re-election, and they are at once interesting and suggestive.

At first Mr. Lincoln was denounced for apathy and sluggishness in not defending promptly the national supremacy and in allowing the Republic to drift into dissolution. When at last he struck the first blow in return for the many that had been struck by the rebels, he was promptly charged with "undue

haste and inexcusable precipitation" in plunging into "a senseless and bloody strife." Every measure of Government, the act of confiscation for instance, which promised to cripple the rebellion was characterized as unnaturally cruel and without precedent, as if no such thing as confiscation had ever been known in England; whereas, as the *Saturday Review* remarked in an article on Irish history.

"After a quarrel every one confiscated—Mary confiscated, Elizabeth confiscated, the Stuarts confiscated, James II. confiscated, William III. confiscated."

So with Slavery. Although England has led the world in the work of emancipation, and her truest glory is associated with the names of Clarkson, Wilberforce, Fowell Buxton, and that noble Commoner, long since departed, the late lamented Henry Brougham—although emancipation has become the policy of the age, not simply throughout Christendom, but even of less enlightened portions of the globe; although the Emperor of Russia has emancipated his serfs, and the Emperor of Turkey has abolished the slave market, although the Bey of Tunis has freed his slaves and the Tributary Nomads of Asiatic Tartary have given liberty to theirs, the idea of abolition in the United States, as a military result of the war inaugurated by the slave power, causes grief and alarm to the London *Times*, which, entering into our Presidential campaign as earnestly as if the fate of England hung upon the issue, deprecates the re-election of Mr. Lincoln among other reasons for fear that he would sanction what it is pleased to call "the rash and cruel policy of immediate emancipation."

And thus the *Times*, that has so long thundered its anathemas at the American people for not abolishing slavery in the Southern States where, under the Constitution, they had no power to touch it, is found hand in hand with our pro-slavery sympathizers at the North, the mitred bishops and robed priests who bless it from the pulpit, down to the "friends" of Governor Seymour, who in their zeal for the Domestic Institution, burned an asylum for colored orphans, hung negroes with brutalities never exceeded by a Parisian mob in the utmost fury of the Revolution and trampled to death,—women aiding in the murder, a commissioned officer of the United States.

The reason why the *Times* denounces as cruel, immediate emancipation, the safety of which we are every day illustrating is simply that the abolition of slavery would add to the glory the prestige, the power and the perpetuity of the American Republic. And to effect the extinguishment of the United States, to see trailed in the dust the stars and stripes; the party represented by the *Times* would perpetuate American slavery—consecrate it as the corner-stone of a new Empire: and continue the whip, the handcuff, the chain, the collar, the branding-iron, and the auction-block, as measuring at this day the extent of the Christianity and the civilization which it represents as a reputed organ of English opinion! All this infamy because emancipation clearly forshadowed by the defeat of the rebellion, is essential to terminate the plot for humbling the pride of the American people—for tearing asunder the American Republic, for destroying forever American unity for annihilating forever American strength, and enabling British opponents of an extension of the franchise to point to the scattered fragments of our once great Republic, as a warning to all who should hereafter dare to advocate in England Representative Reform, or to name the name of popular sovereignty!

THE BEARING OF THE ELECTION UPON EUROPE.

I have dwelt for a moment upon this deep, persistent hostility of a leading class in England to the restoration of our national supremacy, for the reason that it has a direct and momentous bearing upon the pending Presidential election.

Accustomed as we are, every four years, to assemble quietly at the polls and cast our vote for Presidental electors, it requires a little reflection to enable us to estimate aright the grandeur of the struggle on which we are about to enter; and, perhaps, its profound and world-wide importance is appreciated by the statesmen of Europe more readily than by ourselves.

Grand as was the struggle of the American Revolution when, as feeble colonies, after prolonged efforts for the redress of wrongs done in violation of our Constitutional rights as British subjects, we successfully defied for seven years the army and navy of Great

Britain, it is excelled in magnitude and solemnity by the question—whether the nation then founded by our fathers shall now succumb in its might to a rebellious faction, and sacrifice its territorial integrity, its national supremacy, its popular sovereignty, its free institutions and free principles, to aid the establishment of a slave empire, and to enable the advocates of despotism and aristocracy throughout the globe to declare that the experiment of Republican Government in America has been a blunder, and that its repetition elsewhere would be a crime.

Happily removed from immediate contact with the concerns of Europe, faithfully adhering to the farewell advice of Washington to avoid entangling alliances with foreign nations, we have been industriously engaged in developing the resources of our Imperial Republic, in extending our canals and railroads and telegraphs, so as to place the sea board and the interior side by side; increasing our commercial tonnage and extending our manufactures, improving our agriculture, opening our mines of gold and quicksilver, lead and iron, and our wells of oil, extending our settlements to the slopes of the Rocky Mountains, with schools and churches for an endless train of emigrants from every part of Europe, and organizing, year by year, Republican States hundreds of miles in extent and thousands of miles distant from each other. It thus happens that our thoughts have not been very much engrossed with the petty wars and disputes, however interesting to themselves, of the rival Cabinets of Europe; nor have we become so enamored of the workings of the balance-of-power principle in preserving the harmony of the Continent as to be anxious to dissolve into separate nationalities, that we may secure peace and harmony on the European plan; but we were content that Europe should go her way, while we took our own.

It is but a little while since those foreign rulers cared as little, or even less, about the affairs of America.

When the question of the ratification of the American Constitution—that Constitution which this Rebellion aims to overthrow—and the preservation of which in its integrity, as the great charter of our Republic, now depends upon the issue of this election: when the question of its ratification was being debated in the Virginia Convention in 1788, Patrick Henry said, in reply

to the argument of an opponent, "Give me leave to say that Europe is too much engaged about subjects of greater magnitude to attend to us. On that great theatre of the world, the little American matters vanish."

That day has passed, and passed forever. Less than four score years are gone; and, within the memory of living men, our transatlantic Republic has risen from a confederacy of feeble colonies to the position of a power great in its territorial extent, great in its material resources, great in the industry and energy and intelligence of its people; but greater, far greater, in the world-wide influence of its national and fundamental principle—that all men are born free and equal, and with an inalienable right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

OUR OPPONENTS IN THE CANVASS.

In this Presidential Canvass our opponents are many, representing opposite interests, but all earnest and active for our defeat. The so-called Democratic party is not, at this time, without distinguished and powerful allies: Jeff. Davis in Richmond, Louis Napoleon in Paris, Maximilian in Mexico, the Southern Aid Association in London, the blockade-runners at Liverpool, the British merchants, whose incomes have been swelled by the destruction of our commerce, the leading Democrats of New York, who waited upon Lord Lyons to invite British intervention, and advise him of their readiness to let the Confederates go, are all warmly in favour of the candidates nominated at Chicago.

Eloquent appeals are made to the Rebel army in the South, to rouse themselves to new ardour, that they may ensure the success of the Democratic ticket. Its candidates are cheered along the rebel lines of Petersburgh, in response to the shouts of our soldiers for Lincoln, and the rebel prisoners, as they pass, in the streets of Washington, the banner of war for the Union greet it with groans, and salute the names of McClellan and Pendleton as those of friends.

"McClellan's election on the Chicago platform," says the *Charleston Mercury*, "must lead to peace and our independence."

"Our success in battle," says the *Charleston Courier*, "insures the success of McClellan; our failure leads to his defeat."

This fact, so clear and simple, is perfectly understood by the Democratic leaders in New York. Their daily effort is, to depreciate the importance of our victories; to magnify the slightest reverse to our arms into significant defeat; and while the world is marveling at our success, and good news follows fast upon the wires, and it is becoming clear that we are nearing the beginning of the end, they are mournful even to sadness, at the fear, or shall I say the hope, of impending disaster to our armies. They tremble for Grant at Petersburgh; still more for Sherman at Atlanta; but, most of all, for Sheridan, lest he should be utterly "gobbled up" by Early and Longstreet.

But the uneasiness of these gentlemen, while their prophesies of evil are awaiting fulfillment, is hardly greater than their anguish when they are utterly falsified, and our victories are ascertained to be brilliant and decisive. The proposition of our Common Council, to illuminate the city in honor of the achievements of our gallant soldiers, was met by the Democratic Mayor of New York—Mr. Gunther—with a prompt and indignant negative. Recognizing the fact that the success of our nation's flag tended to defeat his party, he was not ready to exhibit the semblance of a joy which he did not and could not feel.

SOUTHERN PROOFS OF OUR PROGRESS TOWARDS RE-UNION.

Every new victory is a new contradiction of the theory embodied in the Chicago platform, that the war is a failure, and every mail from the South brings us fresh proofs that the military despotism that rules at Richmond is losing the confidence of the Southern people, and even of their army itself. Gen. Grant tells us that the Rebels are losing, by desertion, about a regiment a day, and this statement which seemed almost incredible, is confirmed by Jeff. Davis' confession, that two-thirds of his army are "absent without leave," while the Richmond papers explain the defeat of Early, when Sheridan sent him "whirling through Winchester," by declaring that the Valley was running with apple brandy, and that officers and men were drunk together: and both

Richmond and Georgia papers frankly acknowledge that their people fear their own lawless, disorganized and thieving armies far more than they do the well-ordered and disciplined armies of the United States. Such is our position at this moment. Our armies have been largely reinforced with most excellent material, and the rebel army is being depleted. In view of the difficulty they find in coping with our armies in fair fight on the battle-field, or even when intrenched in fortifications like those of Vicksburg and Atlanta, they are resorting to cowardly raids upon the unarmed citizens of our northern border, and the only victory they have gained of late was that won by the thieving gang from Canada, who, with a gallantry worthy of Semmes, succeeded in robbing the startled villagers of St. Albans.

The *Richmond Examiner*, of October 17, hardly a week ago, disclosed a significant fact, illustrating the feelings of the southern soldiers, when it said, "There is but one single disagreeable feature in the situation of the armies near Richmond. The pickets are not fifty yards apart, and they are continually talking;" and the editor insists that it must be stopped as the only way of stopping desertion.

All these facts go to shew that the people of the South, and even their soldiers, are beginning to understand the whole matter; that they are learning to regret the mad step of secession into which they were precipitated by a few ambitious party leaders, representing a faction of their oligarchy of 350,000 slaveholders; that they have become disgusted with the non-fulfillment of the bright promises then made to them, and are fretting against the stern military despotism which has swept their homes with a remorseless conscription, and exposed the wives and widows left behind to the merciless exactions of the rebel army.

They have learned from such admirable documents as the letters of Sherman that what we "want, and will have, is a just obedience to the laws of the United States," and it is no wonder that their pickets fraternize with ours, and that the country people actually fear less the approach of the once-hated Yankees than that of their own boasted "chivalry." Sherman's tone to the Mayor of Atlanta was clear. He spoke the sentiment of the country when he said, "I want peace, and believe it can only be

reached through Union and war, and I will ever conduct war purely with a view to early and perfect success. But, my dear sir, when that peace does come, you may call on me for anything. Then will I share with you the last cracker, and watch with you to shield your homes and families against danger from every quarter."

In this situation of affairs, the advice of Generals Grant and Meade, and Sherman and Dix, and Hancock and Sheridan, Sickles and Meagher, and I believe of every other general in the field or out of the field, unless it be General McClellan or General Buell, is to push the war sharply, crush the military power of Davis, and release from his control the southern people and the southern States upon which he has placed his heel; for as we have seen in his tone to their Governors he has no more regard for the State sovereignty of North Carolina and Georgia than he has for the negroes whom he orders to the trenches. In the recent significant letter of Mr. Boyce, of South Carolina, to Mr. Jefferson Davis, the fact is frankly admitted that not simply the absolute sovereignty which the seceded States claim to have, but the constitutional dignity and State rights which they possessed in the Union are absolutely trampled out. "Is not our federal government," says Mr. Boyce, "in the exercise of every possible power of a National centralized despotism? Suppose there were no States, only provinces, and unlimited power was conferred upon you and Congress, what greater power would you exercise than you can now? * * It is plain that our government exercises the power of a central despotism?"

The moment this central Richmond despotism is broken, the work of restoration will have begun, and the people enabled to control their own State action will return: and this is the simple military problem of which we await the solution by General Grant. "It cannot be denied," is the language of the Richmond *Whig*, (September 12th, 1864,) "that if they (the United States) can bring together a force large enough to overwhelm Lee's army wherever the theatre of battle may be, they do imperil Richmond, and with it the Confederate cause itself." Then the southern people, freed from the controul of the treacherous conspirators who have deceived and misled them, will be able to think and

act for themselves. And the facts to which I have alluded, showing a return of better feeling toward our soldiers individually and our army in a body, are of profound interest and importance, as indicating the easy settlement of our National difficulties when once the question of military power is determined in our favour.

And now it is constitutionally submitted to the American people to declare the policy which shall controul the National Government during the next four years. There would have been other grave questions to be considered had this election chanced to occur soon after the rebellion commenced, when our army and our navy were to be created, a depleted treasury filled, our ruined credit restored; but all these we now have. Our army of veterans, whose battle-thinned ranks are again full, led by generals whose names will stand by those of Cesar, Wellington, and Napoleon; a navy, which, with all that has been said in disparagement of Mr. Secretary Welles, has no compeer in Europe, whose naval fight at New Orleans, and again at Mobile, with Farragut lashed in the mast-head, will be coupled in history with that of Nelson; a treasury replenished at will from the exhaustless coffers of the American people, and a credit already appreciated on German Bourse, and entitled to a confidence greater than belongs to the guarantee of any throne in Europe!

OUR NATIONAL STRENGTH AND GOV. SEYMOUR'S THREAT OF REPUDIATION.

As regards our national resources, the suggestion of Governor Seymour, of the possible disgrace of national repudiation, echoed and repeated with characteristic arrogance by the London *Times*, has led to a more familiar acquaintance with the statistics of our census, and, without wishing to detain you long upon this point, you will perhaps allow me to remind you of the leading facts of our condition as compared with the nations of the world. They not only illustrate a chief reason of the foreign jealousy that has been of late exhibited towards our Republic, but they throw a flood of light upon the great question of our present policy in the treatment of this rebellion.

Our territory, which embraced at the peace of 1783, 800,000

square miles, was enlarged by the purchase of Louisiana, the acquisition of Florida, the annexation of Texas, and the Oregon treaty, and the treaty with Mexico, to 2,900,000 square miles, almost four times its original area, nearly double the area of all Europe, excluding Russia, and more than twenty times as large as Great Britain. Our population has increased from about four millions in 1790 to thirty millions in 1860, the annual increase having been four times that of Russia, six times that of England, nine times that of Austria, and ten times that of France, and according to the ratio of increase, which has been singularly uniform, our population in 1890 would be about one hundred and seven millions.

If this seems fanciful and exaggerated, remember that a resort to statistics is the only safe mode of obtaining a correct idea of the present and future of our country, and, as Lord Stanley—who, by the way, appreciates aright the American question—has well remarked, "When in discussing the social question we apply the statistical test, we are really doing no more than appealing from imagination to facts, from an imperfect to a perfect system of observation."

During the last decade, then, from 1850 to 1860, while the population of Great Britain increased less than one per cent., that of the United States increased thirty-five per cent. During the same ten years, while the estimated increase of national wealth in Great Britain was 33 per cent., the increase of our national wealth was 126 per cent., rising from seven thousand millions (7,135,780,000) in 1850, to sixteen thousand millions (16,159,616,000) in 1860, at the rate of more than nine hundred millions a year.

Ex pede Herculem! From this little item of the census you can judge of the stature of your country. A volume of statistics could hardly show more clearly the length and breadth and height of the gigantic nationality, which this rebellion, instigated by the ambition of a handful of slaveholders, is attempting to destroy.

A territory twenty times as large as Great-Britain, a population increasing at the rate of 35 per cent. to her 1 per cent., and a national wealth increasing four times as rapidly, despite her mon-

ster capital accumulated through centuries, and her early superiority in agriculture, commerce, arts and manufactures!

I drop the topic of comparison, which I have introduced,—not to encourage in this trial hour a spirit of boastfulness, for which it will be time enough when we have put our armour off, but simply to enable us the more readily to appreciate our actual position now.

Although still in our earliest youth, we are exhibiting a vigour without precedent in the history of nations whose annals commenced a thousand years ago; and it is worthy of careful note that, while the increase of our numbers has been steady at about 34 per cent. for each decade, the ratio of increase of our national wealth has been always in excess of the increase of population, and of late unexampled in its advancement.

From 1830 to 1840, our wealth increased 42 per cent.; from 1840 to 1850, 64 per cent., and from 1850 to 1860, as I have said, 136 per cent. At the same rate, in 1870 it would be 250 per cent.; and, as Mr. Walker has shown, in the year 1890—twenty-six years from to-day—our national wealth would be nearly four times that of Great-Britain, a fact that should tend to relieve the anxiety of our English friends in regard to our ability to pay a debt hardly half as large as their own.

Our national wealth in 1860, if we look simply to the States in our possession, was estimated at nearly 12,000 millions, about four times that of the Rebels; and, at the annual rate of increase of twelve and a half per cent., it has increased in the four years since 1860 some 6,000 millions.

The loyal States, despite the boasts of Davis and his cabinet, that they would water their horses in the Hudson, occupy the palaces of New York, and plant their confederate counterfeit of our flag over Faneuil Hall, have escaped the desolation and destruction of war, thanks to the brave army of the Potomac, under McClellan at Antietam, and under Meade at Gettysburg. The national payments are chiefly to our own people. Emigration, that inexhaustible source of wealth and power, has increased, is increasing, and will continue to increase, despite all the efforts of Mayor Gunther to prevent it. The new States and Territories are rapidly filling up. Our resources are being marvelously de-

veloped; and the American who, in the face of these facts, ventures to suggest the danger of repudiation, even though the suggestion be simply for party purposes, shows that his discretion, his intelligence and his honesty are all upon a par.

Even in England, where, perhaps, the wish was ofttimes father to the thought, and the monstrous inventions of rebel agents have been accepted as scriptural truth, the *London Economist* and *Saturday Review* have recently enlightened their bewildered readers, and shown them that the wealth of America is distributed among an immense number of persons of small income; and the *Economist*, estimating the wage-income of the United States as equal to the property-income of Great Britain, demonstrated our capacity to bear easily 600 millions dollars annual taxation.

EFFECT OF THE CHICAGO PLATFORM ON THE RIGHTS OF NEUTRALS.

This digression from the question of the Presidential election is not altogether a digression, for our present foreign relations render it doubly imperative that the domestic policy we now adopt shall be such as will warn them against the slightest infringement upon our interests or our honour. And in two points especially the declarations of the Chicago platform have a bearing upon the position towards us of foreign nations that has scarcely attracted the degree of attention to which it is entitled. The resolutions declare (and you know with what anxious deliberations those resolutions must have been prepared, and with what unanimity and enthusiasm they were adopted as expressing the decided policy of the party):

"That this Convention does explicitly declare, as the sense of the American people, that, after four years of failure to restore the Union by the experiment of war * * * *, justice, humanity and the public welfare demand that immediate efforts be made for a cessation of hostilities."

Here is a solemn pledge on the part of the American people, if they adopt it by electing the candidate selected to execute this policy:

First, that the war for the Union was an experiment and a failure.

Second, that it was unjust, and that justice demands its discontinuance.

Third, that hostilities on our part shall immediately cease.

And to these things asserted in the Resolutions is to be added the all-significant fact, that a pledge for the maintenance of the National unity, proposed to be inserted in the draft of the Resolutions, was *rejected*.

Add to these another fact, that the "leading Democrats" who waited on Lord Lyons intimated that British intervention would be accepted by the Democratic party when they should come into power, and that they were preparing to acquiesce in Secession, and it is not difficult to understand why the Southern Rebels and their foreign friends are the warm advocates of McClellan. It is a little curious that we have to go to Parliamentary Blue-books and the correspondence of a British Minister, to learn the real policy and intention of the great American Democratic party; and the fact involuntarily suggests a doubt whether it is, in truth, either American or Democratic; but it is not, perhaps, very much more strange than it is to see a foreign millionaire, the agent of the Rothschilds, and lately a representative of "the most despotic family in Europe," the Austrian Hapsburgs, presiding over its National Committee.

Besides the information furnished us by Lord Lyons, we have more from Mr. W. S. Lindsay, of the House of Commons, who, very recently, delivered an address to his constituents, in which, after quoting a resolution passed by Rebel sympathizers in Ohio, he said—

"A member of the Federal Congress writes to me that meetings are being held through the West and adjoining States for securing peace and separation, and he asks me to make known these meetings in this country, and he adds: 'There must be a Western as well as a Southern Confederacy, for the party who advocates this course grows stronger and stronger every day.' I am glad to see that feeling arising in the Southern States, and the feeling is increasing in the West. A very distinguished statesman, a member of the Senate, writing to a friend of mine—a statesman who occupies a very high position in Europe, and was a Minister of the United States Cabinet—writes: 'We are tumbling to pieces fast, and unless Europe steps in and saves what is left, we shall go headlong to destruction.'"

Pleasant language this for "a very distinguished statesman, a member of the Senate," to address to a member of the British Parliament; and it would be worth our while to ask how it is

that men born and bred in America, and honoured and trusted by their fellow-citizens, could have sunk so very low, had we not learned that there is no depth of infamy to which the Northern advocate of Slavery and Rebellion will not descend.

But looking simply at the platform, and without these outside guides to its meaning, I think it clear—

1st. That its adoption invites and ensures foreign intervention in our domestic affairs.

2d. That it renders probable instant recognition of the Southern Confederacy. And

3d. That it will operate to raise the blockade, and open instanter the Southern ports. Upon this last point it will be remembered, that whatever agreement may be made between two belligerents agreeing upon an armistice, or cessation of hostilities, as to the *statu quo*, that agreement can not be made to bind *neutrals*.

"The duties imposed upon them," says Hauteville, "by the state of war depend essentially upon its continuance. The moment it ceases, from whatever cause, *even temporarily*, peace is completely restored, as regards them, during the cessation of hostilities. They resume, then, all the rights which had been modified by the war, and can exercise them in their full extent during the whole time fixed for the duration of the truce, if this time has been limited by the agreement, and until the resumption of hostilities has been officially announced to them if it has not been limited."

We need not stop to picture the activity with which French and English iron-clads, war steamers, gunboats, guns, ammunition, and all the muniments of war would be rushed across the Atlantic to the Southern ports, opened to neutrals by a cessation of hostilities; or to recognize the absurdity of supposing, if anybody could be so absurd, that Mr. Davis, when thus materially strengthened, and, perhaps officially recognized by the Great Powers of Europe, would bend, in all humility, before the Flag of the Republic, or unite in a convention to amend the Constitution by the popular majority, which he has repudiated, instead of defiantly demanding Southern independence, and looking forward to the day when he might safely execute his olden resolution, to plant his flag in Washington and Boston.

Does anybody suppose that our European foes would not jump at such a chance as a cessation of hostilities would afford, to give to our Republic the *coup de grace;* or that Lord Clanricarde and his friends would not invoke heaven and earth to put a stop to what England, so innocent of blood, calls, with horror, "this dreadful carnage?"

Would not the election of McClellan, under these circumstances be, as General Wool has bluntly declared, the surrender of the United States to Jeff. Davis and his government? Is it possible to imagine a more glaring case of National suicide than would be the cessation of hostilities on our part towards this Rebellion, at the very moment when our grasp is tightening upon its throat? On what reasonable or even plausible plea can this policy be defended?

For an answer to this question I have occasionally looked at *The World* and the *News*, both advocating McClellan's election, and, so far as I can understand, for precisely opposite reasons; *The World* on the ground that he is in favor of war, and the *News* because he is solemnly pledged to peace. Not having consulted *The World* to learn how to cast my own vote, I was not disturbed by the antagonistic arguments, but it is easy to imagine the incertitude and perplexity with which some Democrats must rise from the perusal of these daily sheets, morning after morning, resolved to hold to the uttermost the Democratic faith, as taught by the Democratic organs, and yet embarrassed and confused beyond expression by the irreconcilable articles presented for their acceptance.

On one point these differing sheets are unanimously agreed, and this is their entire readiness to secure and divide the spoils of the National Government, and provided they attain that desired end, they are not disposed to be unreasonably scrupulous as to the political principles on which its attainment shall be effected. Mr. Amos Kendall is said to have remarked to an anxious inquirer about the party policy: "Let us elect McClellan, and we will settle all that afterwards." However convenient and admirable for their purposes may be this willingness to become all things to all men, it is at least natural that the American people, in view of

the sacrifices they have made, and of the issue which is at stake, should demand something more explicit in regard to the policy that is to govern the country for its preservation or its destruction, than the presentation of a disunion platform and a Union letter, with the request, "deposit your ballot and take your choice!"

The truth, I believe, is that the New York managers of the party—Messrs. Belmont, Richmond and their friends—went to Chicago expecting to controul the Convention, and found to their disgust that they were in the hands of Western peace delegates, and of an outside mob headed by rebel sympathizers, members of secret societies who assumed the controul of the body and dictated the "surrender" resolution; and that their last hope of saving the party from utter defeat and eternal infamy was, if possible, to divert attention from the peace platform by reiterating the cry of Union in the letter of acceptance.

MR. WINTHROP'S ARGUMENT IGNORING THE PLATFORM.

On Thursday last I found in the *World* an elaborate and ingenious speech by an accomplished statesman of Massachusetts, the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, and it contains much with which all loyal men will agree; but Mr. Winthrop conveniently shirks entirely, the great issue of peace or war presented in the Chicago and Baltimore platforms, the issue upon which the Presidential contest is to be and ought to be decided. Indeed, in his previous effort at New York, where he was associated, I think, for the first time with Mr. Isaiah Rynders and the "friends" of Gov. Seymour, Mr. Winthrop treated Gen. McClellan as if he had been an independent candidate, at liberty to make his own platform, and choose in all things his own policy: instead of being one of two candidates designated together to execute a certain line of policy, most deliberately marked out and unanimously adopted by the great representative Convention by whom they were nominated. Mr. Winthrop referred to the Convention and the Platform in a tone of sarcasm which was doubtless perfectly sincere, declaring that he did not hold McClellan "responsible for any equivocal or unequivocal words of Chicago Conventions which malicious partizans may attempt to assert to his injury," and that his support-

ers for the Presidency are "not to be scared from their position by any paper pellets of the brain, wise or otherwise, which ever came from the midnight sessions of a resolution committee in the hurly burly of a political convention."

It is perhaps natural that Mr. Winthrop, with his social and political associations as a New England Whig, should regard with the deep contempt he so unmistakably expresses the Democratic body that met at Chicago, and the platform that they so carefully constructed; but as a somewhat recent member of the party his interpretations are perhaps hardly entitled to the same weight as those, for instance, of his elder brother in the Democratic faith, the Hon. Fernando Wood, and that gentleman gives us plainly to understand that, whatever may be Gen. McClellan's private views, Mr. Geo. B. McClellan, the nominee for the Presidency, acknowledges himself the creature of the Chicago Convention, and will faithfully execute the policy he was chosen to fulfill. That is the understanding of Gov. Seymour, who said, at Milwaukie, "I think our candidate an able man, but no matter, for we fight this battle on *the general issue;*" and Gen. McClellan in his letter recognizes the fact that he can not accept the nomination without distinctly accepting the platform; for, after expressing his views, he says, "Believing that the views I have expressed are the views of the Convention, I accept the nomination."

A moment's reflection may satisfy Mr. Winthrop that the bare insinuation that Mr. McClellan, if elected, is capable of repudiating the peace policy on the strength of which he had received the votes of the Peace Democrats who nominated him at Chicago, is more injurious to his reputation and more insulting to his honour both as a soldier and a gentleman, than any charge that has yet been preferred by the most bitter of his opponents.

The rule on this point with the Democratic party is absolutely imperative. Mr. Buchanan, after his nomination on the Cincinnati platform, said: "*I must square my conduct to that platform, and insert no new plank, nor take one from it.*"

Thus, whatever Mr. McClellan's private views, he is as much bound to carry out the policy of the platform as Mr. Pendleton would be, who has said:

"If you find conciliation impossible, if your differences are so

great that you can not or will not settle them, then, gentlemen, let the seceding States depart in peace, let them establish their government and empire, and work out their destiny according to the wisdom which God has given them."

Now, as Mr. Winthrop, if he votes for General McClellan must vote also for Mr. Pendleton,—for they are inseparable on the electoral ticket: I do not quite see the consistency between the sentiments he expresses in favour of another draft, if a draft be necessary, and of paying taxes and raising loans to maintain the supremacy of the Government, and the vote he proposes to give for a President and Vice President pledged to an immediate cessation of hostilities. Indeed, the policy of the Democratic party has not been strikingly consistent. For two years their persistent demand was for a more vigourous prosecution of the war; and now that they have got it, they demand that it shall not be prosecuted at all.

Mr. Winthrop, discarding the platform, and treating this grand issue very much as if it were a question of personal preference, charges Mr. Lincoln and his friends first with virtually causing the war, and next with being incompetent to conclude it.

He declares "if the in-coming President and his friends in Congress had given countenance and encouragement to the movement of the Peace Convention, and to the measures it proposed, the secession would have ended with South Carolina and the Gulf States, and we should have had Union and peace before six months had expired. The rebellion would have been nipped in the bud; it would have been crushed in the egg, &c."

While this may be the opinion of Mr. Winthrop and his friends, it is expressly contradicted by the testimony of Mr. Everett, and by the deliberate convictions of the late Senator Douglas, who, while he had certainly no particular affection for Mr. Lincoln, nor any devotion to Republican principles, declared emphatically that if the rebels had been allowed to write their own terms on a sheet of blank paper they would not have accepted it, and Douglas called on all Democrats to sustain the country and the Lincoln Administration in preference to party.

The fact is, and it is a fact not now to be forgotten or ignored, that such was the anxiety of the North at that time to settle this

thing by compromise, and to avoid war with its horrors, by every concession that could honourably be made, that the effort was prosecuted to such an extent, and continued under such indignities, that the olive branch we extended so perseveringly was regarded by the rebels as a sign of cowardice, and they hissed their contempt at us in the very Senate Chamber.

"Mr. President," said Senator Wigfall of Texas, "Mr. President, we have insulted your flag, we fired on the 'Queen of the West,' and you did not resent it."

And so it would be now, were the American people to indorse the Chicago platform, which McClellan and Pendleton were nominated to execute. Were Grant to lower his colours to Lee, and tell him that the United States had concluded that the war was a failure and must be stopped; were Sherman to request Hood to stay his flight and return to Atlanta, which was awaiting his acceptance; were Sheridan to dispatch his swiftest courier after Longstreet, to overtake his fleeing and scattered columns, and tender him a flag of truce and an offer of armistice;—from every part of the Confederacy would come a cry of scornful triumph that would disturb the slumbers of our dead heroes who have died for their country; for it would declare that they had died in vain!

On the testimony of a refugee from Atlanta, Mr. Winthrop tells us that "If Mr. Lincoln is elected, the people of the South will fight for thirty years." This comes, of course, from "a perfectly reliable gentleman," but does it look like fighting thirty years, when two-thirds of the army have deserted, and the Southern people prefer our troops to their own?

The testimony of an unnamed refugee can hardly be expected to outweigh the assurances of Grant, the admissions of Davis, and the reiterated statements of the Richmond press.

THE DEATH OF SLAVERY THE ACT OF THE REBELS.

Slavery is dying, and will die by the laws of war, and the mad act of the slaveholders; and its death will be an untold blessing, not only to the slaves, but to the hundreds and thousands of non-slaveholding whites, whom the base aristocracy of

slavery ground to the very dust. Its death may well be mourned by the aristocratic Southern clique that would make their own power perpetual, for they know that with the extinction of slavery, schools and churches, manufactories and all the institutions of freedom and sources of prosperity will appear among them, and endow the labouring class with prosperity and independence. Mr. Everett has well expressed the opinion which will probably receive judicial sanction that "by the simple act of levying war against the United States the relation of slavery was terminated certainly so far as concerns the duty of the United States to recognize it or to refrain from interfering with it."

If this be so, then the Proclamation of Emancipation may have been unnecessary.

But there are few national rights more clearly settled than the right of a nation at war—and the Supreme Court has decided that we are at war, and that the people within the limits of the rebellion are public enemies—to emancipate slaves as a military necessity for the prosecution of the war, or as a guarantee of peace.

There is one other view of the subject. It is clear that as subjects of the United States the Government was entitled to their allegiance, through the masters to whom they were held to service, and that when those masters became armed traitors, the right of the Government to the allegiance of the slaves remained unimpaired; that it had a perfect right in the exercise of its sovereignty to direct the slaves to render their allegiance directly to the Government, and in doing so to pledge protection to their wives and children. It may be that the slaves might with justice have answered the national Government, "you have given us no protection, and we, therefore, owe you no allegiance;" but as they cheerfully responded to the call, no stranger, and least of all, no rebel master, can raise such an objection.

Their heroism, again and again, has saved the honour of our flag, and the lives of our friends and kinsmen, and if, as we thankfully and confidently believe, the day is near when their long servitude is to be ended, the American people will not soon forget the loyal aid they lent us, and the blood they so freely spilt, when their revilers were betraying the cause of the Republic, by giving aid and comfort to its foes.

But although it may favour the purpose of those who sympathize with the Rebellion, and of the Democrats who are hungry for office, to represent the Republicans as the authors of the impending emancipation, the credit actually belongs to Mr. Davis and his confederates in the South, and their abettors in the Free States. Mr. Boyce told the South Carolinians in 1850: "If secession should take place, of which I have no idea, for I cannot believe in such stupendous madness, I shall consider the institution of slavery as doomed, and that the great God, in our blindness, has made us the instrument of its destruction." They knew well the stake for which they were playing, and that if they failed, slavery was doomed. Mr. Herschel V. Johnston says, in a recent letter: "The President of the Confederate States never uttered anything more true than when he said to the unofficial messenger of President Lincoln, that we are not fighting for slavery, but for the right of *self-government*." That is the term by which the rebels designate the Richmond despotism, precisely as by their "chivalric devotion to freedom," of which we have heard for thirty years, they have uniformly meant their determination to cling to the despotic power of slavery. It seems probable, from late accounts, that Mr. Davis is himself about to arm all the able-bodied negroes in the Confederacy, giving them their freedom; and the Northern gentlemen, who are so unhappy at the work of emancipation, originally inaugurated by secession, and presently to receive its completing touch from the hand of the arch-leader of the Rebellion, may more properly address their complaints to Richmond than to Washington. They may remember, too, that if at any time the war has threatened to be a failure, it was when Mr. Lincoln, lending an ear to the insidious counsels from border States, and rebel sympathizers, permitted a thought for the interests of slavery to interfere with the preservation of the Union. Whatever of delay—whatever of difficulty or of danger, of waste of treasure or of life, resulting from the prolongation of this war, is connected with the slavery question—lies at the door of those who, either blindly or purposely, sacrificed our National honour and the success of our arms when they insisted on the National Army becoming slave catchers and guardians for the Southern rebels, and thus induced the Government

and its officers to give aid and comfort to the enemies of the Republic.

MR. DISTRICT ATTORNEY HALL'S SPEECH, AND THE TREATMENT OF UNION PRISONERS.

Having referred at some length to Mr. Winthrop's effort, which is characterized by the *World* as "the most brilliant and effective speech of the campaign," let me refer simply to the title of another speech which I find in the *World* of Friday, and which, judging from its headings, I presume was, perhaps, intended to influence a class of Democrats a shade lower than Mr. Winthrop's hearers. Here is the title:

"A. LINCOLN ARRAIGNED.

Speech of Hon. A. Oakey Hall at New Haven, Ct., Last Evening.

COUNTS IN THE PRESENTMENT.

High Political Crimes and Low Partisan Misdemeanors the Sum Total.

LIST OF THE CHARGES PREFERRED.

Treason, Homicide, Arson, Kidnapping, Robbery, Perjury, Blasphemy, Profanity, Obscenity, Bribery, Embezzlement, Forgery, Mayhem and Thimble Rigging.

The People to Decide the Case Nov. 8.

&c., &c., &c."

If Mr. District Attorney Oakey Hall will glance at a report just published, of the Committee appointed by the Sanitary Commission to inquire into the treatment of our prisoners by the rebels—a committee consisting of Dr. Mott, Dr. Delafield, Mr. Martin Wilkins, and other gentlemen of the same high character—he will find a record of crimes committed by the rebel rulers of the South against our gallant soldiers, whom the fortunes of war have placed in their power, with which he can harrow the feelings of any audience he may address without taxing his fertile imagination. He can frame an indictment for the systematic robbery, insult, starvation and murder to which they are exposed

in every rebel prison of the South, where strong men are reduced, day by day, to the condition of skeletons—ragged, filthy, hideously diseased, devoured by vermin, frost-bitten, and almost naked. Their scanty bread contained whole grains of corn, fragments of cob, and pieces of husk; the meat tainted, the beans rotten, the soup briny with worms floating at the top, the total ration insufficient to support life; and the food sent to these prisoners by their friends in the North stolen from its rightful owners when they were both freezing and starving! "The cold froze them," says the report, "because they were hungry, and the hunger consumed them because they were cold." Their keepers deliberately inflicted upon them the gnawing pains of hunger, and many are thus reduced by cruelty and starvation to all the stages of idiocy and imbecility.

The conclusion sadly reached by the Committee, after the most careful deliberation, is that it was "all a determined plan, originating somewhere in the rebel councils, for outraging and disabling the soldiers of the enemy who had honourably surrendered in the field."

CONCLUSION.

Is it with this rebel government, guilty of such crimes, where the prolonged agony is more dreadful than the brutal massacre of Fort Pillow, that the American people should consent to an armistice or commence a negotiation?

Is it to a party that proposes such an armistice and negotiation that the American people should surrender this government, especially when they remember that it is the same party that was in power when this rebellion first raised its head in the council of Buchanan, and used the power itself of the Executive to cripple, divide and betray the nation?

From that wretched depth of almost helpless humiliation we have risen, under the presidency of Mr. Lincoln, with the help of God and our own right arm, to the point of dignity and strength where we now stand. Whether we shall maintain our position and crush this rebel despotism, and emancipate the citizens and States of the South from its relentless grasp, and become

once more an united people, to whose shores the oppressed of all nations shall come, and to whose bright example the oppressed nationalities of the world shall look, or whether, on the contrary, we shall surrender our birthright, surrender our national supremacy, our national integrity, and, more than all, our national honour, —this is the grand issue which, in the exercise of your sovereignty as Americans citizens, you are now called upon to decide.

"Since the days of ancient Rome," as the *London Times* remarks, "no question so important has been submitted to popular decision."

To you is committed by God, in this election, not simply the destinies of this Republic, but in large measure the future of christendom.

The friends of civil freedom in other lands appeal to us on their own behalf as well as on our own, for they know that the principles of popular sovereignty and equal freedom are at stake, and that if these can be trampled out in the land of Washington, by armed rebellion organized by the treachery of slaveholding aristocrats, and abetted by a supple and deluded democracy, blindly led by foreign agents and native demagogues, and made to do the bidding of the hereditary foes of our Republic—they know that "the sovereignty of the people" will thenceforth be a jest at every court in Europe.

"The future of the American continent," wrote Prof. Goldwin Smith, "hangs on the issue of this war, and as victory may incline to loyalty or rebellion, it will have the heritage of freedom and of social justice, or of a tyranny darker and fouler than the darkest and foulest tyrannies of the old world. This contest touches the dearest interests and move the inmost hearts of men not on your continent alone. Everywhere it is felt to be, as in truth it is, a contest between the great parties that divide mankind—the party of justice and of the future, and the party of privilege and of the past. You have friends of the rebel slave-owners among you in the North, and so have we; and the same are the enemies not only of the American Republic, but of the hopes of man."

And now I will close my too long address with a passage from

one of John Bright's magnificent speeches, for it seems a fitting response both to the charge from Chicago that the war is a failure, and to Mr. Hall's assault upon Mr. Lincoln. Mr. Bright, I may remark, is the champion and representative of the forty-nine-fiftieths of the working classes of Great Britain,—such is the startling disproportion as announced by Mr. Gladstone, in his recent speech on extending the suffrage,—who are absolutely disfranchised by her present laws, and who anxiously await your verdict in this election, whether the American Republic shall stand in its glory or ignominiously fall.

"Look," said Mr. Bright, "at the power which the United States have developed! They have brought more men into the field, they have built more ships for their navy, they have shown greater resources than any nation in Europe at this moment is capable of. * * Look at their industry. Notwithstanding this terrific struggle, their agriculture, their manufactures, and commerce, proceed with an uninterrupted success. They are ruled by a President, chosen, it is true, not from some worn-out royal or noble blood, but from the people, and the one whose truthfulness and spotless honour have claimed him universal praise; and now the country that has been vilified through half the organs of the press in England during the last three years, and was pointed out, too, as an example to be shunned by many of your statesmen, that country, now in mortal strife, affords a haven and a home for multitudes flying from the burdens and the neglect of the old governments of Europe, and, when this mortal strife is over, when peace is restored, when slavery is destroyed, when the Union is cemented afresh, for I would say, in the language of one of our own poets, addressing his country:—

> 'The grave's not dug where traitor hands shall lay,
> 'In fearful haste, thy murdered corse away,'

then Europe and England may learn that an instructed democracy is the surest foundation of Government, and that education and freedom are the only sources of true greatness and true happiness among any people."

NARRATIVE

OF

PRIVATIONS AND SUFFERINGS

OF

UNITED STATES OFFICERS & SOLDIERS

WHILE

PRISONERS OF WAR

IN THE HANDS OF

THE REBEL AUTHORITIES.

BEING

THE REPORT OF A COMMISSION OF INQUIRY, APPOINTED BY THE UNITED STATES SANITARY COMMISSION.

WITH AN APPENDIX,

CONTAINING THE TESTIMONY.

"For I was an hungred, and ye gave Me no meat; I was thirsty, and ye gave Me no drink; I was a stranger, and ye took Me not in; naked, and ye clothed Me not; sick, and in prison, and ye visited Me not.

"Lord, when saw we Thee an hungred, or athirst, or a stranger, or naked, or sick, or in prison, and did not minister unto Thee?

"Verily I say unto you, inasmuch as ye did it not to one of the least of these, ye did it not to Me."

MEMBERS OF THE COMMISSION.

VALENTINE MOTT, M. D., LL. D.,
Ex-President of the Medical Department of the University of New York, and Emeritus Professor of Surgery; Fellow of King and Queen's College of Physicians of Ireland; Honorary Fellow of the Royal Medical and Chirurgical Society of London, etc., etc.
Chairman of the Commission.

EDWARD DELAFIELD, M. D.,
President of the College of Physicians and Surgeons of New York, and Emeritus Professor of Obstetrics and the Diseases of Women and Children; President of the National Ophthalmological Society, etc., etc.

GOUVERNEUR MORRIS WILKINS, Esq.

ELLERSLIE WALLACE, M. D.,
Professor of Obstetrics and the Diseases of Women and Children, Jefferson Medical College, Philadelphia, etc.

HON. J. I. CLARK HARE,
Judge of the District Court of the City and County of Philadelphia.

REV. TREADWELL WALDEN,
Rector of St. Clement's Church, Philadelphia.

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EXTRACTS

FROM THE

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS OF THE STANDING COMMITTEE OF THE UNITED STATES SANITARY COMMISSION.

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823 Broadway, New York, May 19, 1864.

Resolved, That Dr. Ellerslie Wallace, Hon. J. I. Clark Hare, and the Rev. Treadwell Walden, of Philadelphia, and Dr. Valentine Mott, Dr. Edward Delafield, and Gouverneur M. Wilkins, Esq., of New York, be respectfully requested to act as a Commission for ascertaining, by inquiry and investigation, the true physical condition of prisoners, recently discharged by exchange, from confinement at Richmond and elsewhere, within the rebel lines; whether they did, in fact, during such confinement, suffer materially for want of food, or from its defective quality, or from other privations or sources of disease; and whether their privations and sufferings were designedly inflicted on them by military or other authority of the Rebel Government, or were due to causes which such authorities could not control. And that the gentlemen above named be requested to visit such camps of paroled or discharged prisoners as may be accessible to them, and to take, in writing, the depositions of so many of such prisoners as may enable them to arrive at accurate results; and to adopt such other means of investigation as they may think proper.

823 Broadway, New York, May 31, 1864.

Voted, to request of the Committee of Investigation on the condition of exchanged Union prisoners, the examination not only of Union prisoners, but also of some of the Rebel prisoners recently captured, with reference to the question whether they have, while in the Confederate service, suffered like privations to those experienced by the Federal captives.

The above is a correct copy from the Minutes.

J. FOSTER JENKINS,
General Secretary of the United States Sanitary Commission

September, 1864.

The Commissioners appointed in the foregoing resolution, by the Standing Committee of the United States Sanitary Commission, respectfully submit the following Narrative and Report — drawn from the mass of evidence collected by them, and printed in the Appendix — as the result of their inquiry and investigation.

V. MOTT,
EDWD. DELAFIELD,
GOUV. MOR. WILKINS,
ELLERSLIE WALLACE,
J. I. CLARK HARE,
TREADWELL WALDEN.

THE

NARRATIVE AND REPORT OF THE COMMISSION.

I.

Reports of Cruelties in the Beginning of the War — Mutual Recrimination of North and South — Later and more Authentic Reports — Heart-rending Condition of Returned Prisoners — The Congressional Inquiry—The Sanitary Commission Appoints a Commission of Inquiry — Range of the Investigation — Visit of the Commmissioners to Annapolis and Baltimore — Appearance of the Returned Prisoners — Living Skeletons — Testimony Taken — The Claim of the Rebel Government and People — The Humane Principles of Modern Warfare.

EVER since the outbreak of the war, the country has been full of painful rumors concerning the treatment of prisoners of war by the rebel authorities. Every returned prisoner has brought his tale of suffering, astonishing his neighborhood with an account of cruelty and barbarity on the part of the enemy. Innumerable narratives have also been published and widely circulated.

The public have been made very uneasy by these reports. One class have accepted them as true; another have felt them to be exaggerated; still another have pronounced them wholly false,—fictions purposely made and scattered abroad to inflame the people against their enemies, and doing great injustice to the South.

On the other hand, rumors have crossed the border, of an outraged public sentiment in the South, precisely on the same account: reports abounding there of cruelty and barbarity to the rebel soldiers in our hands. It has been repeatedly announced that whatever restrictions or privations have been suffered by Northern men in Southern prisons, were in retaliation for these.

In the beginning of such a prodigious contest, as this has proved to be, breaking out in the midst of a people unaccustomed to war, and quite removed from extensive military traditions and examples, it was natural that many irregularities should have occurred, and many usages of warfare been disregarded on both sides; and that in the matter of prisoners especially, where either region was suddenly inundated by many thousands, great abuses should have taken place, until accommodations could be provided, and arrangements perfected.

But these early days of ill-preparation have long passed away. The war has lasted more than three years. Both sections have become accustomed to it, and are familiarized with the ideas, habits, and laws of military life. The passionate fury of one side and the patriotic indignation of the other, have had time to settle down, at least so far as to accept this condition, and make every civilized provision known in modern warfare, for the mitigation of its horrors and inhumanity.

And yet the painful rumors, so rife at the outbreak of the war, instead of subsiding with its early tumult, have lately increased to an extent which has seriously alarmed and aroused the public. The tales of cruelty and suffering have become even more heart-rending. Months ago we heard reports that our men were starving and freezing in the Southern prisons. In the late temporary resumption of the cartel, boat-loads of half-naked living skeletons, foul with filth, and covered with vermin, were said to have been landed at Annapolis and Baltimore. Men, diseased and dying, or physically ruined for life, unfit for further military service, had been received in the stead of soldiers of the enemy returned in good condition, and who had been well fed, well clothed, and well sheltered by our Government during their captivity.

But many reasons were circulated to account for such a difference. It was alleged that these emaciated men were the victims of camp dysentery, or similar distempers, and of food, which, however good in quality, and sufficient in quantity, was averse to the Northern constitution. Again it was alleged that the rebel army was, itself, suffering for want of food and clothing, and that the very guards to these prisoners had fared no better.

There were many among us who were willing to credit any statement which would mitigate or excuse the infamy of permitting such a condition of things. For the sake of humanity and the American name, they hoped that the worst could not be proved.

But there were others to whom the proof was sufficient, and who were convinced that the whole was a horrible and pre-determined scheme, contrived for the purpose of depleting our armies, and discouraging our soldiers.

The attention of Congress was roused, and a committee was appointed to investigate this and other alleged barbarities. Their report has just been published.

Before, however, the result of their inquiries was known, the United States Sanitary Commission, as the organ of popular humanity and philanthropy, determined to make an independent investigation; and such a one as would, if possible, put the question at rest on all points upon which the public mind was divided or unsettled; and furnish information so full, and so direct from original sources, that every one could arrive at a just conclusion.

They accordingly appointed the undersigned as a Commission of Inquiry, partly because they were known to be removed from any political affiliations and prejudices, and partly because three of their number were supposed to be professionally competent to read the unerring testimony of nature in the physical condition of the men.

Two distinct departments of evidence were thus opened.

In entering upon their duties the Commissioners had no other wish than to ascertain the truth, and to report the facts as they were. For this they endeavored to collect all the evidence within their reach, and to hear and record all that could be said on every side of the subject. They were accompanied by a United States Commissioner, and in every case the testimony was taken on oath or affirmation before him, or in his absence, before other officers equally empowered.

The mass of evidence, printed as an Appendix, was collected during a period of several months, and is now arranged and classified to facilitate the reader's reference. If it had been printed in the order in which it was taken, it would have been too irregular and apparently heterogeneous to have exhibited the total result of the investigation. But, as it now stands, it will be found united and homogeneous enough in the tragical story which it tells, without variation or self-contradiction, to the country and to the world.

Much of the evidence, however, is made up of bare abstracts of the free and full conversations that were held with persons examined, and although all the essential facts are preserved, yet many graphic and pathetic minor details are omitted which escaped, or could not enter, the formal record, but sometimes were noted down by those who were present. Besides this, the Commissioners were witnesses themselves, and saw and heard enough to overwhelm them with astonishment, and remove the last doubt from their minds.

For this reason, and that the reader may share with them, so far as can be, the almost dramatic development of the inquiry, they send out these pages, not in the form of a brief documentary report, simply referring to the testimony, but as a descriptive narrative, in which all the salient points of the evidence, and the results of their own observation, are incorporated together. Such a narrative need be only an intelligible grouping of material—its facts will speak best for themselves.

The Commissioners, at the very outset, were brought face to face with the returned captives.

They first visited the two extensive hospitals in Annapolis, occupying the spacious buildings and grounds of the Naval Academy and St. John's College, where over three thousand of them had been brought in every conceivable form of suffering, direct from the Libby Prison, Belle Isle, and two or three other Southern military stations.*

They also visited the West's Buildings Hospital and the Jarvis General Hospital in Baltimore, where several hundreds had been brought, in an equally dreadful condition.

The photographs of these diseased and emaciated men, since so widely circulated, painful as they are, do not, in many respects, adequately represent the sufferers as they then appeared.

The best picture cannot convey the reality, nor create that startling and sickening sensation which is felt at the sight of a human skeleton, with the skin drawn tightly over its skull, and ribs, and limbs, weakly turning and moving itself, as if still a living man!

And this was the reality.

The same spectacle was often repeated as the visitors went from bed to bed, from ward to ward, and from tent to tent. The bony faces stared out above the counterpanes, watching the passer-by dreamily and indifferently. Here and there lay one, half over upon his face, with his bed clothing only partially dragged over him, deep in sleep or stupor. It was strange to find a Hercules in bones; to see the immense hands and feet of a young giant pendent from limbs thinner than a child's, and that could be spanned with the thumb and finger! Equally strange and horrible was it to come upon a man, in one part shrivelled to nothing but skin and bone, and in another swollen and misshapen with dropsy or scurvy; or further on, when the

* The Commissioners would acknowledge the courtesy and hospitality of the accomplished and efficient Surgeon in charge of the Hospital at the Naval Academy, Dr. VanderKieft, by whom every facility for conducting the inquiry was heartily given.

surgeon lifted the covering from a poor half-unconscious creature, to see the stomach fallen in, deep as a basin, and the bone protruding through a blood-red hole on the hip.

Of course these were the worst cases among those that still survived. Hundreds like them, and worse even than they, had been already laid in their graves.

The remainder were in every gradation of physical condition. Some were able to sit up, and to move feebly around their bed; others were well enough to be out of doors; many were met walking about the beautiful grounds of the Naval Academy—by a curious and probably accidental compensation, on the part of the Government, swung to this Paradise on the Severn from the sandy little island in James river and its bleak and bitter winds.

But however unlike and various the cases were, there was one singular element shared by all, and which seemed to refer them to one thing as the common cause and origin of their suffering. It was the peculiar look in every face. The man in Baltimore looked like the man just left in Annapolis. Perhaps it was partly the shaven head, the sunken eyes, the drawn mouth, the pinched and pallid features—partly, doubtless, the grayish, blighted skin, rough to the touch as the skin of a shark. But there was something else: an expression in the eyes and countenance of desolateness, a look of settled melancholy, as if they had passed through a period of physical and mental agony which had driven the smile from their faces forever. All had it: the man that was met on the grounds, and the man that could not yet raise his head from the pillow.

It was this which arrested the attention of some of the party quite as much as the remarkable phenomenon of so many emaciated and singularly diseased men being gathered together, all, with few exceptions, having been brought from the same prisons in the South.

Every one who was questioned contributed his part to swell the following account of privation, exposure and suffering.

The veil is now to be lifted from two of the nearest and most noted Southern stations for prisoners. There appear, indeed, occasional glimpses of places of captivity in Danville, Virginia, and Andersonville, Georgia, but the chief interest centres upon Libby Prison and Belle Isle, at Richmond.

Before, however, the narrative proceeds, two things must be borne in mind:

First, that we are now penetrating into the arrangements of a people who claim, and have so far maintained, their entire independence of the United States Government; who have organized a government of their own; who have also organized immense and powerful armies; who had, in the beginning, so far prepared themselves, and, during the last three years, have so far completed their preparations, as to be able to match, and all but overpower one of the strongest military establishments ever known.

Let them, for the moment, be taken for what they claim to be: "The Confederate States of America," a mighty government, and a "superior race," first in civilization, in culture, and in courage, distinguished for all that is magnanimous, chivalric, humane, hospitable, and noble, for all the graces and refinements, and highest developments of individual and social life.

Furthermore, another thing must be borne in mind: that, in these days of civilized warfare, the cowardly and barbarous usage no longer prevails of maltreating prisoners of war, but the moment a conflict is over, every sentiment of Christianity and humanity rises to mitigate the bloody horrors of the field. The distinction of friend and enemy is no longer known.

The surgeon, with the high sense of professional duty in which he has been educated, goes equally to all. The prisoners taken are not thrown into dungeons, nor shut up in jails, but put into barracks. They are made as comfortable as the arrangements necessary for their safe keeping will permit. They are sheltered, warmed, fed and clothed, in all necessary respects as well as the soldiers that vanquished and captured them. They become, for the time being, part of the military family of their enemy, and are made subject to the same sanitary and other regulations.

Their barracks are never overcrowded; sufficient area is allowed for exercise and fresh air; so much bathing is permitted, and even insisted upon, for the sake of cleanliness; their food is in every respect the same as that consumed by the army within whose lines they are; their clothing is all that they need. Such a thing as robbery of their private property is unknown, or never tolerated if known.

When sickness overtakes the prisoner he is removed to the hospital: taken from his bunk and placed upon a bed, and then, whatever distinction existed before vanishes entirely: every kindness and attention, every remedy and delicacy that a sufferer needs, is freely and generously given.

Such is the high principle, and noble usage, which prevails in modern warfare. The perfection of its arrangements is a matter of pride and honor among soldiers, and

the proper boast of every Christian government.

We now turn to the people and government at present waging war with our Government, and who, through a dead-lock in the cartel, hold tens of thousands of United States soldiers as prisoners of war.

II.

Almost invariable Robbery of Prisoners—Description of Libby Prison—Overcrowded Rooms—Barely room to lie down—Ragged and verminous Blankets—Shooting at prisoners without warning—Instances of Shooting in Libby—Same in Danville and Atlanta—Insufficient and disgusting Rations—Slow Starvation—Withholding and thieving of Boxes sent from the North—Sufferings of the Officers—The Cells—Inhumanity to the Dead—The Mining of Libby.

THE first fact developed by the testimony of both officers and privates, is that prisoners were almost invariably robbed of everything valuable in their possession, sometimes on the field, at the instant of capture, sometimes by the prison authorities in a "quasi official way," with the promise of return when exchanged or paroled: but which promise was never fulfilled.* This robbery amounted often to a stripping of the person of even necessary clothing. Blankets and overcoats were almost always taken, and sometimes other articles; in which case damaged or ragged ones were returned in their stead.

This preliminary over, the captives were taken to prison.

The Libby, which is best known, though also used as a place of confinement for private soldiers, is generally understood to be the officers' prison.

It is a row of brick buildings, three stories high, situated on the canal, and overlooking the James river, and was formerly a tobacco warehouse. The partitions between the buildings have been pierced with doorways on each story.

The rooms are one hundred feet long by forty feet broad. In six of these rooms, twelve hundred United States officers, of all grades, from the Brigadier-General to the Second-Lieutenant, were confined for many months; and this was all the space that was allowed them in which to cook, eat, wash, sleep, and take exercise! It seems incredible. Ten feet by two were all that could be claimed by each man—hardly enough to measure his length upon; and even this was further abridged by the room necessarily taken for cooking, washing and clothes-drying.

* No instance of the promise being kept appears in the evidence, but there have been occasions reported, though very rare, where money was returned, but even then in depreciated Confederate currency.

At one time they were not allowed the use of benches, chairs or stools, nor even to fold their blanket and sit upon them, but those who would rest were obliged to huddle on their haunches, as one of them expresses it, "like so many slaves on the middle passage." After awhile this severe restriction was removed, and they were allowed to make chairs and stools for themselves, out of the barrels and boxes which they had received from the North.

They were overrun with vermin in spite of every precaution and constant ablutions. Their blankets, which averaged one to a man, and sometimes less, had not been issued by the rebels, but had been procured in different ways; sometimes by purchase, sometimes through the Sanitary Commission. The prisoners had to help themselves from the refuse accumulation of these articles, which, having seen similar service before, were often ragged and full of vermin.

In these they wrapped themselves at night, and lay down on the hard plank floor in close and stifling contact, "wormed and dovetailed together," as one of them testifies, "like fish in a basket." The floors were recklessly washed late in the afternoon, and were therefore damp and dangerous to sleep upon. Almost every one had a cough in consequence.

There were seventy-five windows in these rooms, all more or less broken, and in winter the cold was intense. Two stoves in a room, with two or three armfuls of wood to each, did not prove sufficient, under this exposure, to keep them warm.

The regulations varied at different periods in stringency and severity, and it is difficult to describe the precise condition of things at any one time, but the above comes from two officers, Lieutenant-Colonel Farnsworth and Captain Calhoun. As it happens, they are representatives of the two opposite classes of officers confined in the Libby. The former coming from Connecticut, and influentially connected at the North, was one of a mess to which a great profusion of supplies, and even luxuries, were sent. The latter coming from Kentucky, and being differently situated, was entirely dependent upon the prison fare.

These officers were there during the same season, but never became acquainted. The accounts of each, which will be found in the evidence side by side, are here combined and run together.

From their statements it appears that the hideous discomfort was never lessened by any variation in the rules, but often increased. The prison did not seem to be under any general and uniform army regulations, but the captives were subject to the caprices of

Major Turner, the officer in charge, and Richard Turner, inspector of the prison.

It was among the rules that no one should go within three feet of the windows, a rule which seems to be general in all Southern prisons of this character and which their frequently crowded state rendered peculiarly severe and difficult to observe. The manner in which the regulation was enforced was unjustifiably and wantonly cruel. Often by accident, or unconsciously, an officer would go near a window, and be instantly shot at without warning. The reports of the sentry's musket were heard almost every day, and frequently a prisoner fell either killed or wounded.

It was even worse with a large prison near by, called the Pemberton Buildings, which was crowded with enlisted men. The firing into its windows was a still more common occurrence. The officers had heard as many as fourteen shots fired on a single day. They could see the guards watching for an opportunity to fire, and often, after one of them had discharged his musket, the sergeant of the guard would appear at the door, bringing out a dead or wounded soldier.

So careless as this were the authorities as to the effect of placing their prisoners in the power of the rude and brutal soldiery on guard. It became a matter of sport among the latter "to shoot a Yankee." They were seen in attitudes of expectation, with guns cocked, watching the windows for a shot. But sometimes they did not even wait for an infraction of the rule. Lieutenant Hammond was shot at while in a small boarded enclosure, where there was no window, only an aperture between the boards. The guard caught sight of his hat through this opening, and aiming lower, so as to reach his heart, fired. A nail turned the bullet upward, and it passed through his ear and hat-brim. The officers reported the outrage to Major Turner, who merely replied, "The boys are in want of practice." The sentry said, "He had made a bet that he would kill a damned Yankee before he came off guard." No notice was taken of the occurrence by the authorities.

The brutal fellow, encouraged by this impunity, tried to murder another officer in the same way. Lieutenant Huggins was standing eight feet from the window, in the second story. The top of his hat was visible to the guard, who left his beat, went out into the street, took deliberate aim, and fired. Providentially he was seen, a warning cry was uttered, Huggins stooped, and the bullet buried itself in the beams above.

Very much the same thing is mentioned as happening in the prison buildings at Danville. A man was standing by the window conversing with private Wilcox. At his feet was the place where he slept at night, close under the window, and where his blanket lay rolled up. He had his hand on the casement. The guard must have seen his shadow, for he was invisible from the regular beat, and went out twenty feet to get a shot at him. Before the poor fellow could be warned, the bullet entered his forehead, and he fell dead at the feet of his companion.

Almost every prisoner had such an incident to tell. Some had been shot at themselves a number of times, and had seen others repeatedly fired upon. One testifies that he had seen five hundred men shot at.

The same brutal style of "sporting" while on guard, seems to have prevailed wherever the license was given by this cruel and unnecessary rule. Captain Calhoun, mentions that while he and his companions were on their way to Richmond from North-eastern Georgia, where they were captured, they stopped at Atlanta, and just before they started, a sick soldier who was near the line, beyond which the prisoners were not allowed to go, put his hand over to pluck a bunch of leaves that were not a foot from the boundary. The instant he did so, the guard caught sight of him, fired, and killed him.

Another instance of equal skill in "shooting on the wing," will be noticed in the case of the soldier who only exposed his arm an instant in throwing out some water, and was wounded, fortunately not killed, by the rebel bullet. Something of the same kind was related in the course of conversation, but is not in the evidence, as happening at the Libby, when an officer was shot while waving his hand in farewell to a departing comrade.

But there were cruelties worse than these, because less the result of impulse and recklessness, and because deliberately done. There opens now a part of the narrative which is as amazing as it is unaccountable.

The reader will turn to the heart-rending scenes of famine which the testimony before the Commission has exposed.

The daily ration in the officers' quarter, of Libby prison, was a small loaf of bread about the size of a man's fist, made of Indian meal. Sometimes it was made from wheat flour, but of variable quality. It weighed a little over half a pound. With it was given a piece of beef weighing two ounces.

But it is not easy to describe this ration, it was so irregular in kind, quality and amount. Its general character is vividly indicated by a remark made in conversation, by one of the officers: "I would gladly," said he, with emphatic sincerity, "*gladly* have preferred the horse-feed in my father's stable."

During the summer and the early part of the fall, the ration seems to have been less insufficient, and less repulsive than it afterwards became. At no period was it enough to support life, at least in health, for a length of time, but however inadequate, it was not so to such a remarkable degree as to produce the evils which afterward ensued.

It was about the middle of last autumn that this process of slow starvation became intolerable, injurious, and cruel to the extent referred to. The corn bread began to be of the roughest and coarsest description. Portions of the cob and husk were often found ground in with the meal. The crust was so thick and hard that the prisoners called it iron-clad. To render the bread eatable, they grated it, and made mush of it, but the crust they could not grate.

Now and then, after long intervals, often of many weeks, a little meat was given them, perhaps two or three mouthfuls. At a later period, they received a pint of black peas, with some vinegar, every week. The peas were often full of worms, or maggots in a chrysalis state, which, when they made soup, floated on the surface.

Those who were entirely dependent on the prison fare, and who had no friends at the North to send them boxes of food, began to suffer the horrible agony of craving food, and feeling themselves day by day losing strength. Dreams and delusions began to distract their minds.*

Although many were relieved through the generosity of their more favored fellow prisoners, yet the supply from this source was, of course, inadequate. Captain Calhoun speaks of suffering "a burning sensation on the inside, with a general failing in strength." "I grew so foolish in my mind that I used to blame myself for not eating more when at home." "The subject of food engrossed my entire thoughts." "Captain Stevens having received a box from home, sat down and ate to excess, and died a few hours afterwards." "A man had a piece of ham which I looked at for hours, and would have stolen if I had had a chance."

One day, by pulling up a plank in the floor, they gained access to the cellar, and found there an abundance of provisions: barrels of the finest wheat flour, potatoes and turnips. Of these they ate ravenously until the theft was discovered.

But the most unaccountable and shameful act of all was yet to come. Shortly after this general diminution of rations, in the month of January last, the boxes, which before had been regularly delivered, and in good order, were withheld. No reason was given. Three hundred arrived every week, and were received by Colonel Ould, Commissioner of Exchange, but instead of being distributed, were retained, and piled up in warehouses near by, and in full sight of the tantalized and hungry captives. Three thousand were there when Lieutenant-Colonel Farnsworth came away.

There was some show of delivery, however, but in a manner especially heartless. Five or six of the boxes were given during the week. The eager prisoner, expectant perhaps of a wife's or mother's thoughtful provision for him, was called to the door and ordered to spread his blanket, when the open cans, whether containing preserved fruits, condensed milk, tobacco, vegetables, or meats, were thrown promiscuously together, and often ruined by the mingling

These boxes sometimes contained clothing, as well as food, and their contents were frequently appropriated by the prison officials. Lieutenant McGinnis recognized his own home-suit of citizen's clothes on one of them, pointing out his name on the watch-pocket.

The officers were permitted to send out and buy articles at extravagant prices, and would find the clothes, stationery, hams and butter which they had purchased bearing the marks of the Sanitary Commission.

In one instance this constant thievery became an unexpected advantage to the inmates. After the famous "tunnelling out," by which so many effected their escape, the guards confessed that they had seen the fugitives, but supposed that they

* The very same phenomenon occurred during the celebrated Darien Exploring Expedition, under Lieutenant Strain, some years ago. The whole party suffered starvation; a number of them died, and the remainder were rescued when they had become emaciated and debilitated nearly to the point of death.

"From the time that food became scarce to the close, and just in proportion as famine increased, they revelled in gorgeous dinners. Truxton and Mauray would pass hours in spreading tables loaded with every luxury. Over this imaginary feast they would gloat with the pleasure of a gourmand." — *Darien Explor. Exped., Harpers' Monthly*, vol. x., p. 613.

The party separated, Strain and Avery being the least exhausted and going on before the others to obtain succor if possible.

"At length starvation produced the same singular effect on them that it did on Truxton and Mauray, and they would spend hours in describing all the good dinners they had ever eaten. For the last two or three days, when most reduced, Strain said that he occupied almost the whole time in arranging a magnificent dinner. Every luxury or curious dish that he had ever seen or heard of composed it, and he wore away the hours in going round his imaginary table, arranging and changing the several dishes. He could not force his mind from the contemplation of this, so wholly had one idea — food — taken possession of it." — *Darien Explor. Exped., Harp. Monthly*, vol. x., p. 750.

were their own men stealing the boxes! The tunnel, after running under the street, had its outlet near where the boxes were piled up.

All through the winter and late into the spring was this suffering, chiefly from hunger, prolonged. There is evidence of its continuation even so late as the month of May last.

Surgeon Ferguson, who was confined there at that time, gives a most painful picture of what he saw.

"No one can appreciate, without experience, the condition of the officers in the prison during the twelve days of my stay; their faces were pinched with hunger. I have seen an officer standing by the window, gnawing a bone like a dog. I asked him, 'What do you do it for?' His reply was, 'It will help fill up.'

"They were constantly complaining of hunger; there was a sad, and insatiable expression of face impossible to describe."

There is no suffering that can be mentioned greater than that of the slow and lingering pains of famine, except it be perhaps the agonies of absolute death from hunger — but of this no Libby evidence was collected. The description of Libby life might therefore end at this point so far as having reached the climax of all possible misery on the one hand, and of all possible barbarity on the other. But the testimony develops still other instances of cruelty, which may as well be introduced here, in order to show the animus of the Confederate authorities.

It is stated that for offences, whether trivial or serious, the prisoners were consigned to cells, beneath the prison, the walls of which were damp, green, and slimy. These apartments were never warmed, and often so crowded that some were obliged to stand up all night. It was in these dungeons that the hostages were placed.

But the inhumanity was not confined to the living. It extended even to the disposal of the dead. The bodies were placed in the cellar, to which the animals of the street had access, and very often were partly devoured by hogs, dogs, and rats. The officers had the curiosity to mark the coffins in which they were carried off, to find out whether they were buried in them. But they proved to be only vehicles for bearing them away, returning a score of times for others.

This must have been the case with privates only, who occupied part of the prison, as it is mentioned that the officers generally secured by contributions, made up among themselves, metallic coffins and a decent, temporary deposit in a vault for those of their number who died, until they could be removed to the North.

One other incident may be noticed which is quite in keeping with all the rest, but without the foregoing catalogue of outrages to humanity, would appear too shocking to be credible.

At the time Kilpatrick made his nearly successful raid on Richmond, the city was thrown into a panic by his approach, and the prison officials deliberately prepared — so the story runs — a more expeditious way of closing the career of their prisoners. It was somewhat more merciful than starvation, because it substituted instantaneous death for an endless agony of dying. The negroes gave the first intimation to the captives of what was going on.* Richard Turner took care to dash the hopes of his captives, as well as add to their anxiety by informing them that "Should Kilpatrick succeed in entering Richmond, it would not help them, as the prison authorities would blow up the prison, and all its inmates." Lieutenant Latouche was overheard observing to a rebel officer with whom he had entered the cellar, where the two hundred pounds of powder were said to be placed, "There is enough there to send every damned Yankee to Hell." Turner himself said, in the presence of Colonel Farnsworth, in answer to the question "Was the prison mined?" "Yes, and I would have blown you all to Hades before I would have suffered you to be rescued." The remark of Bishop Johns is corroborative as well as curious, in reply to the question, "Whether it was a Christian mode of warfare to blow up defenceless prisoners?" "I suppose the authorities are satisfied on that point, though I do not mean to justify it."

The idea is so monstrously shocking that the mind hesitates to grasp it, or believe it. Many will try to see in it only a menace to deter any further attempt to take Richmond by a raid. And yet the evidence, even if it does come by rebel admissions, has an air of diabolical sincerity. A remark of Turner's justifying the act, which was mentioned to one of the commissioners, but accidentally omitted in the formal testimony, gives quite a decided turn to the very natural probability that the fiendish plan was resolved upon: "Suppose Kilpatrick should have got in here, what would my life have been worth after you all got loose. Yes, I would have blown you all to Hades before I would have suffered you to be rescued." This was his argument and self-justification in brief, though somewhat more at length at the time.

The act was altogether consistent with the characters of the three men who had author-

* "Dug big hole down dar, massa. Torpedo in dar, *sure!*

ity over the prison: — General Winder, the Commander of the Department, Major Turner, Commander of the Prison, whose brutality is fully illustrated by his management of it, and Richard Turner, Inspector of the Prison, by occupation a negro-whipper, (see the testimony of Colonel Farnsworth,) and whose savage nature vented itself in frequent acts of personal insult and physical violence toward the prisoners.

Be the story true or false, it is, at any rate, consummately befitting and consistent, inasmuch as the strongest reasons for its probability may be derived from the other facts that have now been narrated. If true, it is strongly corroborative of the vindictive purpose which animates the Confederate authorities. History may yet write it so, and therefore the Commissioners do not pass it over in silence because of any doubt that may cling to it.

Let the spectacle, that, probably, came so near taking place, be, at least, the appropriate crown and close of this portion of the narrative; the Union raiders, bounding over the fortifications of Richmond, intent upon rescuing their companions from a captivity worse than death, — and the three great brick buildings lifted bodily into the air, and let down in one stupendous crush and ruin upon the living forms of twelve hundred helpless men!

III.

Description of Belle Isle—No shelter provided from the heat in Summer, or from the cold in Winter—Sufferings during the late severe winter—Expedients to avoid Freezing to Death—Men Frozen to Death—The loathsome and inadequate Food—Men perishing from Hunger—Unavoidable Filth of the Camp and of the Men on account of the Rules—Neglect of the Sick—Cruelty to the Sick—Incidents of cruelty in Hospitals.

But there is a still lower depth of suffering to be exposed. The rank of the officers, however disregarded in most respects, induced some consideration, but for the private soldiers there seemed to be no regard whatever, and no sentiment which could restrain.

It is to this most melancholy part of their task that the Commissioners now proceed.

Belle Isle is a small island in the James river, opposite the Tredegar Iron-works, and in full sight from the Libby windows. It has pretensions enough to beauty at a distant view to justify its name, as part of it is a bluff covered with trees. But the portion on which the prisoners are confined, is low, sandy, and barren, without a tree to cast a shadow, and poured upon by the burning rays of a Southern sun.

Here is an enclosure, variously estimated to be from three to six acres in extent, surrounded by an earthwork about three feet high, with a ditch on either side. On the edge of the outer ditch, all round the enclosure, guards are stationed about forty feet apart, and keep watch there day and night. The interior has something of the look of an encampment, a number of Sibley tents being set in rows, with "streets" between. These tents, rotten, torn, full of holes,—poor shelter at any rate,—accommodated only a small proportion of the number who were confined within these low earth walls.

The number varied at different periods, but from ten to twelve thousand men have been imprisoned in this small space at one time, turned into the enclosure like so many cattle, to find what resting place they could. So crowded were they, that at the least, according to the estimated area given them, there could not have been but a space two feet by seven, and, at the most, three feet by nine, per man—hardly a generous allotment even for a "hospitable grave."

Some were so fortunate as to find shelter in the tents, but even they were often wet with the rain, and almost frozen when the winter set in. Every day some places were made vacant by disease or by death, as some were taken to the hospital, and some to burial.

But thousands had no tents, and no shelter of any kind. Nothing was provided for their accommodation. Lumber was plenty in a country of forests, but not a cabin or shed was built, although the commonest material would have been a grateful boon to the captives, and would have been quickly and ingeniously employed by them.

This is an established station for prisoners of war, and yet not a movement has been made, from its beginning to this moment, to erect barracks, or make any suitable and humane provisions for the comfort of those confined there. It remains to this day an open encampment, close under the walls of Richmond, and well known to the Confederate authorities, with nothing but the heavens for its canopy.

Here then these thousands lay all last summer, fall, and winter, with nought but the sand for their bed, and the sky for their covering. What did they do in the summer and early autumn, with the sickening heat of a torrid sun pouring upon their unprotected heads? What did they do when the rain descended and the floods came? What did they suffer when the malarious fog enveloped them, or when the sharp winds swept up the river, and pierced their almost naked and shivering forms.

Stripped of blankets and overcoats, hatless often, shoeless often, in ragged coats and

rotting shirts, they were obliged to take the weather as it came. Here and there a tent had a fire, and the inmates gathered round it, but the thousands outside shivered as the cold cut them to the bone, and huddled together for warmth and sympathy.

The winter came—and one of the hardest winters ever experienced in the South—but still no better shelter was provided. The mercury was down to zero at Memphis, which is further south than Richmond. The snow lay deep on the ground around Richmond. The ice formed in the James, and flowed in masses upon the rapids, on either side of the island. Water, left in buckets on the island, froze two or three inches deep in a single night.

The men resorted to every expedient to keep from perishing. They lay in the ditch, as the most protected place, heaped upon one another, and lying close together, as one of them expressed it, "like hogs in winter," taking turns as to who should have the outside of the row. In the morning the row of the previous night was marked by the motionless forms of those "who were sleeping on in their last sleep"—*frozen to death!*

Every day, during the winter season, numbers were conveyed away stiff and stark, having fallen asleep in everlasting cold. Some of the men dug holes in the sand in which to take refuge. All through the night crowds of them were heard running up and down to keep themselves from freezing. And this fate threatened them, even more than it would have threatened most men, exposed to an equally severe temperature, even with such thin clothing and inadequate shelter—*for they were starving!*

The very sustenance of animal heat was withheld, and one of the most urgent occasions of hunger, a freezing temperature, which makes the bodily necessity stronger, and the appetite for food greater, was given full opportunity to make havoc among them. So the last stay and power of resistance was taken away—the cold froze them because they were hungry,—the hunger consumed them because they were cold. These two vultures fed upon their vitals, and no one in the Southern Confederacy had the mercy or the pity to drive them away. Only once was there heard a voice of indignant remonstrance in the rebel Congress from a noble-hearted statesman, but it was heard with indifference, and brought about no alleviation.

Read the rude words of these suffering men. Put together their testimony, and what a harrowing tale it tells!

They were fed as the swine are fed. A chunk of corn-bread, twelve or fourteen ounces in weight, half-baked, full of cracks as if baked in the sun, musty in taste, containing whole grains of corn, fragments of cob, and pieces of husks; meat often tainted, suspiciously like mule-meat, and a mere mouthful at that; two or three spoonfuls of rotten beans; soup thin and briny, often with the worms floating on the surface. None of these were given together, and the whole ration was never one-half the quantity necessary for the support of a healthy man.

The reader will not be surprised to hear that the men were ravenous when the rations were brought in, nor remain unmoved by the simple and touching expressions which fell from so many of them:—

"There was no name for our hunger."

"I was hungry—pretty nearly starved to death all the time."

"I waked up one night. and found myself gnawing my coat sleeve."

"I used to dream of having something good to eat."

"I walked the streets for many a night—I could not sleep for hunger."

"I lost flesh and strength, and so did the others, for want of food."

"If I were to sit here a week, I could not tell you half our suffering."

There were other indications of the desperate famine to which they were subjected. They gnawed the very bones which had been thrown away, sometimes breaking them up for soup. They were glad to get the refuse bread which was occasionally thrown to them by the guards. They even ate the rats which burrowed in the encampment. A dog, belonging to an officer, straying into the enclosure was caught and secreted, and before he could reclaim his property, it was torn apart by the man who stole it, some of it eaten by himself, and the remainder sold to his comrades.

So reduced were they, that they exchanged their clothing for food, and left themselves exposed the more to the cold. Under the temptation to secure double rations, many worked at their trades of blacksmithing and shoemaking for the rebel army.

But as the weary months drew on, hunger told its inevitable tale on them all. They grew weak and emaciated. Many found that they could not walk; when they attempted it a dizziness and blindness came, and they fell to the ground. Diarrhœa, scurvy, congestion of the lungs, and low fevers set in.

To add to their suffering there came the unavoidable consequences of being herded and crowded together, but in this case especially aggravated by a most unnecessary restriction. A broad beach surrounded the island, and yet only about seventy-five men were permitted to bathe per day in the river,

in squads of five or six at a time. At this rate it was literally and almost accurately what so many of the men state: that they were allowed to wash themselves only once in six months.

"Lice were in all their quarters." Vermin and dirt encrusted their bodies. They were sore with lying in the sand. None, not even the sufferers with diarrhœa, were allowed to visit the sinks during the night, and in the morning the ground was covered and saturated with filth. The wells were tainted; the air was filled with disgusting odors.*

Many were taken sick daily, but were allowed to suffer for days before they were removed to the hospitals, and when this was done, it was often so late that the half of them died before reaching it, or died at the very moment their names were being recorded.

There was a hospital tent on the island, which was always full of the sick. It had no floor, the sick and dying were laid on straw, and logs were their only pillows. "If you or I saw a horse dying," said one, "wouldn't we put some straw under his head? Would we let him beat his head on a log in his agony?"

When this tent was full, the sick were taken to a hospital in Richmond.

The poor creatures were often as prematurely returned, as they had been tardily removed thither. Often were they seen escorted back, so weak as hardly to be able to move, some even crawling on their hands and knees. Colonel Ely, of the 18th Connecticut, saw one of his men, a former schoolmate and townsman, George Ward, a much respected citizen of Norwich, Connecticut, returning to the island in this condition, with a squad of others. He threw him a ham, but as the "poor fellow crawled to get it," says Colonel Farnsworth, who also witnessed the sad condition of an old acquaintance, "the rebel guard charged bayonets upon him, called him a damned Yankee, and appropriated the ham."

An incident which happened in the very hospital from which these men were brought will give even a better idea of how the sick were treated.

Two officers made their escape. Immediately all the patients who were able to sit up or stand were taken into an empty room under the Libby, and kept there twenty-four hours, without food or blankets, as a puishment for not having reported the contemplated escape. From this treatment Surgeon Pierce died. The officers in the room above took up the floor, supplied the sick with food and drink, and shared their blankets with them. For this they were deprived by Major Turner of rations for a whole day.

A still more vivid picture of a hospital interior is given by Surgeon Ferguson. It is of the notorious and horrible Hospital No. 21, where, so late as in May last, Dr. Ferguson says "the wounded Union prisoners were under treatment, * * * I consider," he adds, "the nourishment and stimulation they received entirely insufficient to give them a proper chance for recovery. I am surprised that more do not die. There were many bad cases among them that must inevitably sink under this treatment after a few days. The condition of these men was such, that any medical observer would impute it to insufficient stimulation and nutrition.

"The bedding where the privates were confined by wounds was very dirty; the covering was entirely old, dirty quilts; the beds were offensive from the discharges from wounds and secretions of the body, and were entirely unfit to place a sick or wounded man on.

"On the faces of the wounded was an anxious haggard expression of countenance, such as I have never seen before; I attribute it to want of care, want of nourishment and encouragement."

A Hospital Steward, while a prisoner, attending to some duty in the hospital, found, by accident, the Confederate Surgeon-General's quarterly report, which he brought away with him when he was paroled. By this, it appears that in the months of January, February and March last, out of nearly twenty-eight hundred patients, about fourteen hundred—or half the number—died! This document will be found in the appendix.*

And what was here done in prison and hospital, to our private soldiers on Belle Isle, and to our officers in the Libby, was done nearly all over the South. These facts are most conspicuous only because in the foreground. But from almost every station in the distant South, of which anything is known, comes the same story of robbery and insult, of starvation on food both bad and insufficient, of exposure—in the day to heat, and in the night to the frost—of shootings without warning, of close and filthy rooms or unsheltered encampments, of disease without care or medical treatment, and of deaths without number.

Danville has yet the whole of its dreadful tale to tell. Andersonville has yet to account for its average of one hundred and thirty deaths a day, at which rate the whole

* This taint of the drinking water was mentioned in conversation, but was accidentally omitted in the evidence.

* Page 55.

of its present number—thirty-five thousand—will be dead in a few months.*

The very railroads can speak of inhuman transportations from one point to another of the sick, the wounded, and the unwounded together, crowded into cattle and baggage cars, lying and dying in the filth of sickness, and the blood of undressed wounds.

IV.

The men as they appeared when brought on board the flag-of-truce boat, and into the Hospitals—Distressing spectacle—Hunger, nakedness, filthiness—Disease and death from starvation and cold—Cries for food—Imbecility and insanity of many—Opinions of the surgeons—The Medical Report of the Commission.

THE Commissioners do not feel at liberty, in presenting a narrative like this, every fact of which is rooted in the appended testimony, to make any inferential statements, although there are some incidents which are as essentially connected with such a state of things, as certain known effects are with certain established causes. A hundred scenes of suffering could be imagined and depicted by one conversant with the medical and other phenomena of famine and exposure to cold, which would be recognized as part of their own history by those who saw or experienced the wretched life led by the prisoners on Belle Isle.

But, as it has happened, the reader is furnished with vivid descriptions, by eye-witnesses, of the men as they appeared at the time of their transfer into the hands of the United States Government, and they have only to be imagined back on Belle Isle, or wherever else they had been, to get all too painful a conception of what was daily to be witnessed there.

"I have been," said Mr. Abbott, who, as special agent of the Sanitary Commission, was among the first to come in contact with the returned prisoners—"I have been on the battle-field, and in the hospitals, and witnessed much suffering, but never did I experience so sad and deplorable a condition of human beings as that of the paroled Union prisoners just from Belle Island, and the rebel prison of the South."

It was his business, for a period, to accompany the flag-of-truce boat as it plied between City Point, Virginia, and Annapolis, Maryland, bringing home thousands of the wretched men. The greater proportion of them were living skeletons, and each successive boat-load was in a worse condition than the last. Hundreds, at each trip, were stretched on cots, sick with every form of disease which could have been induced by confinement, exposure, and bad food. A number were dying; several died before the boat landed. Every one was in a frightfully filthy condition. All were deficient in clothing. Many were almost naked, and whatever they had on was ragged and dirty. Their hair and beards had grown long, having been uncut for many months. Their bodies were encrusted with dirt, and infested with vermin. One man had convulsions during a whole trip, caused, the surgeon said, by vermin. The vermin were very thick upon his body, and he threw his attenuated arms about, catching as at lice, throwing them off, and slapping them with his blanket.

In this state the prisoners were landed, and were received by the surgeons of Annapolis and Baltimore.

Many were so weak that they had to be carried ashore on stretchers, and died in the brief transit. Others tottered to the hospital, with the little strength they had remaining, only to die in a few hours. Some of them were found covered with bad and extensive sores, caused by lying on the sand. Many had lost their reason, and were in all stages of idiocy and imbecility.* One had become incurably insane in his joy at being delivered.

Often they acted like children and had to be taught again the decencies of life, so long had they been unhabituated to them. A number had partially lost their sight, hearing, and speech. One man was pointed out to the commissioners who had been so covered by vermin, that after having been, as was supposed, thoroughly washed, his head even been shaven, was laid upon a

* At the very moment this inquiry is concluded and this report is being prepared, a memorial is brought to the President of the United States by commissioners appointed by the prisoners still in confinement at Andersonville, representing their sufferings and appealing for succor. A statement is also published, verified under oath by three of these soldiers, who were exchanged August 16th. These documents are so remarkably corroborative, in every particular, of the results developed by the inquiry, and, in some respects, represent a state of things so much worse than at the date at which the investigation closed, that they have been appended in a supplement, which will be found, after the evidence, on page 259. The frequent menacing predictions of the rebel press, and the evident precipitation of cruel measures upon the prisoners which is exhibited by the testimony taken before the Commission, find a fitting confirmation and counterpart, in this the latest account which has come from a Southern prison.

* "Wilson was exceedingly debilitated, and had become perfectly childish, and almost idiotic from suffering, and Strain feared that bad effects might ensue if he was permitted to eat as much as he wished." *Darien Explor. Exped. Harpers Month.* vol. x. p. 752.

clean bed—in ten minutes the sheets and his clothing were covered with vermin again. And this was not peculiar to him. It was only an instance of the unavoidable condition of all. In some cases they were so eaten by lice as to very nearly resemble a case of scabbing from small pox, being covered with sores from head to foot.

Many had been badly frost-bitten, and came ashore with feet partially amputated. In one case it was mentioned to the visitors that a frozen foot fell off as the man was being carried ashore!

Without exception they were ravenous for food. Their cries for something to eat were pitiful to hear. The surgeons had to restrain their voracity, and keep them on small quantities of liquid food lest they should kill themselves by over-eating or by eating solid food. They would often entreat for the sight of an apple or a piece of meat, that they might enjoy at least the vision of what they could not have.

It was their invariable reply in answer to the question, "What was the matter?" "That they had been starved, exposed, and neglected on Belle Isle?"

The surgeons, themselves, were unanimous in their opinion as to the cause of their condition, not only from the uniform story of the men, but from the characteristics of the different diseases, the revelations of the post-mortem examination, and especially, and most conclusively of all, the invariable treatment which proved most efficacious; namely, not medication, but simple nutrition and stimulation.

They all agreed in attributing the condition of the men to one or more of the following causes: Deprivation of clothing; insufficient food, in quantity and quality; want of fresh air on account of over-crowding; consequent and unavoidable uncleanliness; want of adequate shelter during the fall and winter; and mental depression the natural result of all.

The reader will be impressed by the emphatic utterances of the surgeons:

SURGEON VANDERKIEFT.—"Their condition is on account of ill-treatment by starvation and exposure, as I am convinced is the case by their actual condition on their arrival, and by rations shown to me. That the men must have been in good health when captured, I do not need such a statement, as I am well acquainted with the regulations which govern the medical department of our army, 'to send to the rear every man who is not perfectly able to bear arms.' * * *

"The diseases most common among these returned prisoners are scurvy, diarrhœa, and congestion of the lungs, which are not amenable to the ordinary treatment in use in civil life, or in hospitals of our own army; they are most successfully mastered by high nutrition and stimulation, with cleanliness and fresh air—medicinal treatment being of small assistance in the recovery of the sufferers, and often being entirely dispensed with, * * * thus proving by the counteracting effect of good food, air, cleanliness, and stimulants, that these disorders are the result of the causes above stated."

SURGEON ELY.—Speaking of the dead whom he had found on the boats as they landed, "No words can describe their appearance. In each case the sunken eye, the gaping mouth, the filthy skin, the clothes and head alive with vermin, the repelling bony contour, all conspired to lead to the conclusion that we were looking upon the victims of starvation, cruelty, and exposure, to a degree unparalleled in the history of humanity. Nearly every instance leads us irresistibly to the conclusion that death has been owing to a long series of exposures and hardships, with a deprivation of the barest necessities of existence. * * *

"In many cases that I have observed, the dirt incrustation has been so thick as to require *months* of constant ablutions to recover the normal condition and function of the integuments. Patients have repeatedly stated in answer to my interrogatories that they had been unable to wash their bodies once in six months, that all that time they had lain in the dirt. * * * In many instances this is the prime, exciting cause of the diseases of the pulmonary and abdominal organs which are so constantly found among our Richmond patients." *

SURGEON PARKER.—"The majority of the diseased cases were diarrhœa, caused by bad diet, of insufficient and bad quality. They have resulted from the want of variety of diet. I found nutrition was the most successful treatment. I do not consider the (rebel) rations, I have seen, sufficient for the support of life for any long time."

SURGEON PETERS.—"The post-mortems have made apparent diseases of nearly all the viscera to a remarkable extent.† Under a spare but concentrated diet many have rallied. In one instance a boy gained fifty pounds in two weeks. I think nine-tenths of the men weighed under one hundred pounds. They had an uncontrollable appetite."

SURGEON CHAPEL.—"We were obliged

* See his evidence for a report at length of the results of the post-mortem examinations. Appendix p. 48.

† See Dr. Carpenter on Starvation, where fifty-two per cent of the starved were thus affected.

to treat them as children in regulating their diet, having to restrain their over-eating, and confine them to a concentrated, but nourishing and generous diet. Several cases had no disease whatever, but suffered from extreme emaciation and starvation * * * * * All gave evidence of extensive visceral disease, of which starvation, cold and neglect were undoubtedly the primary cause. Some of the cases sank from extreme debility, without any evidence of disease as the cause of death."

The professional opinions of these gentlemen, and the other incidental medical testimony scattered through the appendix, will, without doubt, be received with great weight by the reader. But, after all, the evidence of the men themselves, rudely and abruptly worded, and so often unconsciously graphic and pathetic, will come more convincingly to the popular heart.

It will be enough for most people that the captives were *hungry* day and night, and suffered the gnawing pains of famine, with its dreams and delusions. It will be enough that they became weak and emaciated to the degree in which they were found when exchanged. It will be enough that they were poisoned by foul air and over-crowding; and that they were exposed in the depth of winter to the cold, without shelter and without covering. It will be enough that thousands of them became hideously diseased, and that most of them miserably perished.

People do not need any other information in the face of such facts as these in order to come to a just conclusion, and yet there is a certainty and a satisfaction in scientific facts, and in the testimony of nature, which ought to be recognized in an investigation like this.

For this reason the commissioners made the investigation also a scientific one, and append a medical statement, prepared at their request by one of their number, drawn likewise from the evidence, the facts and arguments of which are fully indorsed by the medical members of the commission.

V.

Reported suffering of the Rebel Army, and Embarassment of the Rebel Government for want of Supplies, as an Excuse for Denying Food and Clothing to United States Soldiers—The Imposibility of there being any such Deficiency—The Physical Condition of the Rebel Army perfect—Facts drawn from Rebel testimony.

It has been said, and has been the general impression, that the rebel government was itself embarrassed for want of supplies—that its own soldiers were naked and hungry, and that even the prison guards shared the privations of the prisoners.

It will be noticed that this excuse, urged strenously by their friends, and half accepted by every one disposed to be moderate and just, after all, only accounts for a small portion of the conduct of the rebels to their captives.

Why were they robbed of their private property: the money, and the few trinkets a man usually carries with him? Or, if this was the uncontrollable habit of a wild soldiery, why was it the regular proceeding of the Libby authorities on the entrance of an officer? Why was it often done with brutal violence, when the person undergoing the process expostulated?

By whose connivance were the supplies of food and clothing, sent from the North, stolen? By whose neglect, or by whose order, were they withheld in immense quantities from men palpably starving and freezing?

How is it that—after three years of war, during which everything military had grown colossal and correspondingly complete, with them, as with us,—that no extensive barracks, even of the cheapest and frailest kind, offering, at least, space to move in, and shelter from the weather, were not erected; but that open encampments, or city warehouses too small for such occupation, continue in use to this day?

How is it that, even under such circumstances, supposing them, for some reason, unable to have done better, they made rules circumscribing the prisoners still further, exposing them to the poison of foul air, generated by unavoidable personal uncleanliness, and by the equally unavoidable accumulations of filth under certain conditions of disease, for which either no provision was made, or if made, they were capriciously prevented from using? *

Why, when over-crowding a building with captives, did they make an imaginary boundary line, two or three feet inside the windows, to be observed under penalty of instant death? How is it that the guards were not only permitted, by this regulation, to amuse themselves with taking the lives of the prisoners, upon certain given opportunities, but were negatively encouraged even to murder and assassination, by the indifference of the prison authorities?

* "Sometimes we were allowed to go to the privy, and sometimes we were not. We have been kept from it so much as three days, until we fouled the floor." Appendix, page 34.

"After we tunnelled out, we were only allowed to go to the privy six at a time; the floor was in one mess—filthy; an ordinary one horse wagon load of human excrement on the floor every morning." Appendix, page 39.

"The enclosure on Belle Isle was a mass of filth every morning, from the inability of the men to proceed to the sinks after evening." Appendix

And is there anything to account for the condition of their hospitals for prisoners? Even supposing them to be ill-supplied with medicines, there were common remedies, easily at hand, which were seldom administered—or supposing them to be ill-furnished with hospital comforts, even with sheets and bedding, there was no necessity for placing the *wounded*, as well as the sick, on beds too foul to approach, and afterward made still more offensive by the permitted accumulations of the secretions and putrid discharges of the patients.

Why, also, when their arrangements induced so much sickness and disease, did they leave the men to suffer, often for weeks, before they removed them (and then like sick animals) from the encampment or the prison to the hospital, often to die on the way, or as soon as they were put in the hands of a physician? Why did they discharge them when so feeble that they reeled back to the place of captivity, and even had to crawl thither on their hands and knees? Or why, as in one instance (and one, under such circumstances, may be many), did they subject them, even before they were convalescent and discharged, to such a punishment as confinement in a cell, exposure to cold, and deprivation of food?

These grave developments of the testimony, by no means new to many at the North, and occasionally the subject of newspaper report (though never in such detail as now related), have as yet elicited no excuse or explanation; and until an excuse or explanation comes, the government by whom such things are authorized, and the people by whose public sentiment such things are encouraged, will stand arraigned for almost immeasurable inhumanity and criminality before the civilized world.

But it is important that this matter of famine and freezing, suffered by our men, should take more than a negative place among the foregoing positive facts, as half explained away, if it should appear that neither were necessary or unavoidable.

These are the two worst developments of the inquiry—the facts cannot be denied, for no evidence was ever more closely knit in support of anything, and the question, therefore, lies open: Were the people who were capable of these other unaccountable and inexcusable acts, capable, also, of deliberately withholding necessary food from their prisoners of war, and furnishing them with what was indigestible and loathsome, when their own army was abundantly supplied with good and wholesome food? Were they capable, also, not only of depriving their prisoners of their own clothing, but also of withholding the issue of sufficient to keep them warm, when the soldiers of their own army were well-equipped, and well-protected from exposure to the wet and cold?

But the inquiry cannot stop at this point. If they were capable of this, then they were capable of beholding, without compassion, their fellow beings subjected to the worst and most lingering agonies which humanity can endure. Putting together the act, and this insensibility to its consequences, what other deduction can be drawn, than that all was a pre-determined plan, originating somewhere in the rebel counsels, for destroying and disabling the soldiers of their enemy, who had honorably surrendered in the field?

And has it come to this? Has the oft-threatened black flag, the signal of a foe that has no mercy and gives no quarter, been floating all this time, not courageously on the battle field, but over prisons and hospitals in the South, full of surrendered and helpless men?

The commissioners, from the outset, considered this department of their investigation to be fully as important as the other, and were at equal pains to leave it no longer a matter of doubt whether or not the rebel government was unable to provide their prisoners with food and clothing, good and sufficient.

One fact was evident on the face of things, that no army could have endured such forced and violent marches, the fatigues and exposures of such desperate campaigning, and have kept up a spirit for such indomitable fighting, unless they had been well-equipped, and their physical condition had been maintained by every means, medical and commissary, known in a well regulated army.

The rebel authorities could not afford to swell their army by conscription on the one hand, and to let the material, thus obtained, escape its military use, by famine and disease on the other. The same arbitrary energy which could enforce the one, could provide against the other.

Nor are the quotations of Confederate prices any criterion by which to judge. The country is rich and fertile, if the Confederate currency is inflated and poor. Every agricultural resource of a soil and climate, unsurpassed by any other in the world, has been quickened to meet the emergency. The necessity has, also, in three years, developed other and unknown fountains of supply—all at the command of a strong, desperate, and despotic government, which has not hesitated to employ every means to keep its armies on the most perfect military footing.

This reasoning is borne out by the facts developed in the inquiry. The testimony will be found to be quite a revelation of the

rebel mode of sustaining an army and a war. Their efficiency in this respect must be admitted—an efficiency created partly by a greater aptitude and inclination for the single art of war, than for the many arts of peace; and partly by the deadly necessity they are under for the most strenuous possible defence of their rebellion, on account of the extraordinary power developed by the Government of the United States.

It appears, from the testimony, that the guards of the prisoners (of whose privations so much has been said) were better supplied with food than the prisoners. The question was frequently asked, and elicited the invariable reply, that they did not share the same ration. Their supply was of a different character, and was enough. Sometimes they threw fragments of food to the hungry captives on Belle Isle. It will be remembered, that at the time the Libby prisoners were so insufficiently fed, a room in the cellar was found stocked with provisions of excellent quality.

But no testimony on this point can be so satisfactory as that derived from the rebel soldiers themselves.

Several of the commissioners went directly from Annapolis to Washington for the express purpose of visiting and examining the rebel prisoners. They found a large number at the Lincoln Hospital. Although these prisoners were suffering from wounds received in the late battles of the Wilderness and Spottsylvania, they were in a physical condition which alone was evidence enough of the care that had been taken of them by their own government. In every case they were healthy, hardy, vigorous men. There was scarcely a trace even of the terrible fatigue they had so recently endured. Better than all, as an indication of their condition, their wounds were healing as only the wounds of men in perfect health can heal.

Nine, out of the whole number, were examined under oath. The formal testimony stopped at this number, as it was found by conversation, that all had the same account to give, and it was needless to multiply depositions. They came from six of the principal States of the Confederacy. Two were from Virginia, two from South Carolina, two from Georgia, one from Mississippi, one from North Carolina, and one from Alabama.

In order to make the inquiry more complete and satisfactory, certain members of the Commission afterwards visited Fort Delaware, and the Hospital on David's Island, New York, at both which stations rebels were confined, and the testimony of eleven more was procured. The men were from Virginia, Georgia, North Carolina and Mississippi.

The evidence of these three separate sets of witnesses, which has been placed together, was given without hesitation, and is uniform and reliable. Any amount of such could have been procured, but that which has been taken will be found full enough.

The result of the whole amounts to this: In the words of one of them—"They had nothing to complain of in the way of food and clothing." They were supplied with rations, only a few ounces less than the over-generous ration of the United States army.

The quality of the rebel ration was as satisfactory to the rebels as the quantity. The corn-bread was excellent, made by themselves from fine meal. One of them naively observed that he preferred it to Northern meal! They had never had any meal furnished them of that quality which was ground with the cobs and husks, and in which whole grains of corn occasionally appeared. This inferior kind, they said, was "given to stock."

The only time in which they suffered any privation was on a forced march, when they were in advance of their supplies—a matter liable to occur in any army.

In winter they lived in cabins or tents, well warmed, and well supplied with fuel. None ever suffered from the cold. In summer they were sheltered by tents, but these they left behind when on a campaign. They were fully supplied with clothing and with blankets or oilcloths. A requisition on the quartermaster could always procure any article that was necessary. When engaged in active service, however, they carried as little as possible, only the clothes they had on and a single blanket, but no man was restricted as to the amount he might carry. It may be imagined what a condition they were in, under this system, as respects dirt, vermin, and rags, after a long campaign and a pitched battle.

They describe the hospitals, both in the city and in the field, as comfortable, and with sufficient medical attendance. The bedding and sheets in Hospital No. 4, in Richmond, was said by one of them to be fully as good as those on David's Island, New York. There were also the usual delicacies for the sick.

From all this, it appears that the Southern army has been, ever since its organization, completely equipped in all necessary respects, and that the men have been supplied with everything which would keep them in the best condition of mind and body, for the hard and desperate service in which they were engaged. They knew nothing of famine or freezing. Their wounded and sick were never neglected.

So do the few details of fact that could be

extracted, without suspicion of their object, from the soldiers of the Southern army, confirm the reasoning which accounts for its efficiency.

The conclusion is inevitable. It was in their power to feed sufficiently, and to clothe, whenever necessary, their prisoners of war. They were perfectly able to include them in their military establishment; but they chose to exclude them from the position always assigned to such, and in no respect to treat them like men taken in honorable warfare. Their commonest soldier was never compelled, by hunger, to eat the disgusting rations furnished at the Libby to United States officers. Their most exposed encampment, however temporary, never beheld the scenes of suffering which occurred daily and nightly among United States soldiers in the encampment on Belle Isle.

The excuse and explanation are swept away. There is nothing now between the Northern people and the dreadful reality.

VI.

The treatment of rebel prisoners at United States Stations—The humane orders of the Government—Scene at Lincoln Hospital—Interior of the Station at Fort Delaware—The Hospital on David's Island—Johnson's Island—Point Lookout—Tender care of sick and wounded Rebels at all these Stations—Kind treatment of the wounded prisoners—Abundant shelter, fuel, clothing, and food furnished them—Facilities for bathing and exercise—Small mortality—No robbing—No shooting—No abuse—Christian burial of the dead—The contrast of the Union and Rebel prisoners at the moment of exchange.

THE moment has now come for the reverse to this melancholy picture, and it will be as grateful to the American people at large, as it was to the Commissioners.

Early in the progress of their investigation, while in the midst of the sufferers taking their testimony, and occasionally hearing floating and irresponsible rumors of equal neglect and cruelty on our part toward the rebel prisoners in our hands, they determined to make a full inquiry into the conduct and management of United States Stations where they were confined.

A large proportion of the testimony will be found devoted to this department. The variety and the widely separate sources of the evidence, will only make more conspicuous its absolute unity and truth. It reveals an impressive contrast, point for point, with that which has just been narrated, and has turned out to be entirely confirmatory of what Quartermaster-General Meigs declares in his letter,* "that such prisoners are treated with all the consideration and kindness that might be expected of a humane and Christian people."

The design of the Government is fully exhibited in the circular orders issued by Colonel Hoffman, Commissary-General of Prisoners.†

The ration was to be generous and abundant; its elements of the fullest variety. The amount issued being greater than a man could consume, the excess over that which was given, was to go to the formation of a Prison fund, which was to be applied in various ways, (not expressly provided for in the army regulations,) that would promote the health and comfort of the prisoners.

Army clothing was to be furnished by requisition, whenever needed, the only difference being that the buttons and trimmings were to be taken from the coats, and the skirts cut so short that the captives should not be mistaken for United States soldiers.

Careful accounts were to be kept of the money and valuables taken from each prisoner, which accounts were to accompany him, if transferred from one post to another; and when paroled, the articles were to be returned. They were to be permitted to correspond with their friends. All articles that were sent to them were to be delivered, if not contraband.

The hospital had its separate provisions. The keepers in charge were to be "responsible to the commanding officer for its good order, *and the proper treatment of the sick.*" A fund for each hospital was to be created, as in other United States hospitals, and to be expended for the comfort of the sick, and "objects indispensably necessary to promote the sanitary condition of the hospital."

The minute directions of the entire order look equally to the security of the prisoners, and to all that is necessary for them in health or sickness.

The commissioners are able to testify that the order is fully carried out. They took pains not only to procure evidence as to the fact, but to see for themselves.

Two members of the Commission came, without previous notice, to the Lincoln hospital in Washington, where they had heard that several hundred of the rebels lay, having been wounded in the recent battles. The chief object of the visitors at the time has been already mentioned. But they were able also to observe how well the hospital was conducted.

Although arriving at an unseasonable

* See page 55.

† The whole document will be found on page 56.

hour, when the surgeons and nurses were examining and dressing the wounds, they were instantly admitted, with marked and cordial courtesy, by Chief Surgeon McKee, upon his learning the mission upon which they had come.

The wards were airy and neat, free from offensive odor, the beds so clean that the visitors sat upon them while taking testimony. The men themselves were cheerful and good-natured, the more slightly wounded crowding up curiously to know what was going on, until requested to retire. Some were sitting by their beds reading novels or odd numbers of periodicals, now and then a bible. They were always ready to converse, and answered the questions that were put to them without hesitation.

The visitors could see no difference in these two wards from the twenty or more others in the same hospital that were appropriated to the United States soldiers. The patients were mostly in clean, white underclothing, and if it had not been for a figure in butternut-colored uniform here and there, nothing would have suggested the presence of an enemy.

The wounds were being tenderly unbandaged and dressed by the surgeons and their assistants. Kindness and attention were visible everywhere. Female nurses and a white-hooded Sister of Charity were constantly moving from bed to bed. One of them was seen carrying a waiter of iced porter to the wounded, and holding the glass to the lips of the more helpless.

The spectacle was in remarkable contrast with that which had been described by Dr. Ferguson, only the evening before, as witnessed by him in Hospital No. 21, Richmond, where our soldiers lay amid the secretions of their body, and the purulent discharges of their wounds, dying of neglect, and for want of the commonest medical attention.

Some time after this, two members of the commission made an especial visit to Fort Delaware, for the express purpose of examining into the prison and hospital arrangements there, in order to give, in this narrative, their own direct testimony and description, as well as whatever evidence they might be able to collect.

They fixed upon Fort Delaware because it was one of the most extensive of the United States stations for prisoners of war, and because it had been the object of various rebel reports.*

The following description is from notes taken on the spot by one of the party, and written out immediately afterward:

"The prisoners numbering between eight and nine thousand were lodged outside the walls of the fort, (which is situated on an island,) in well built and ventilated barracks, and have free access at all hours to the adjoining enclosures for air and exercise. They were permitted, and, indeed, urged to bathe in squads in the river and to wash in sluices to which the tide had access twice in the twenty-four hours, and the facilities for these purposes were so great that any man might, if he chose, wash his whole person every day, and swim in the Delaware twice a week.

"Every man is furnished with a commodious bunk, with the head raised at a proper inclination above the feet, presenting a striking contrast to a Confederate prison, where prisoners sleep on the floor, or on the earth, and have not even a bunch of straw between them and the ground.

"The result of these precautions, and of the superior ventilation of the barracks was to render the quarters of the prisoners free from the unpleasant odor which generally exists where large number of men are brought together, and compelled to live in common. The same remark applies to the hospitals, which are spacious, clean, and in good order.

"When we went through the barracks, shortly before sunset, the men were generally out of doors walking about, talking, playing cards, washing, or occupying themselves in other ways. They appeared in general, contented and cheerful. Many of them had improvised sutler's shops, and were seated on the ground or boxes, selling coffee, broiled ham, bread, and other articles of food to their comrades, who were gathered around laughing and chatting.

"The means to prosecute this traffic came, we were told, from sympathizing friends in different parts of the Union, and from small sums of money paid as wages to such of the men as were willing to be detailed to perform various duties outside of the barracks at different points on the island. We tasted the coffee, which was sold for five cents a pint, and found it well made and palatable.

"Much good humor seemed to prevail, and there was not a little good-natured laughter while we were making the purchase. We were struck by the assured yet affable air with which General Schöpf moved through

* A recent specimen from the *Richmond Despatch*, July 14th. Speaking of some returned prisoners, the account runs: "They were subsequently imprisoned at Fort Delaware, where those who had money fared pretty well, but others, less fortunate, suffered many privations. They state, that the condition of the Confederate prisoners at that point is deplorable in the extreme, and strongly urge the adoption of some measures for their relief. Sickness is very prevalent among them, while the rations are meagre and of poor quality."

the dense throng that pressed to look at the visitors. He was unattended even by an orderly. His manner indicated a consciousness that he had nothing to fear from individual resentment.

"In addition to the water of the river which, as already stated, is accessible at all times for the purposes of cleanliness, thirty thousand gallons of drinking water are brought every day from the Brandywine, and distributed among the prisoners and the soldiers of the garrison, by means of large hose and a forcing pump worked by a steam engine. Health and comfort are therefore studied in this as in other particulars, but it was at first found difficult to prevent the prisoners from drinking from shallow wells dug by themselves, the water of which is brackish, and has a tendency to produce disease.

"The rations issued to the prisoners were the subject of an attentive examination. We tasted the bread, which is made of four parts of flour and one of Indian meal, and found it of superior quality, sweet and palatable; better indeed than is met with at hotels or places of resort in the country; quite as good as may be found in any well-ordered family. The meat was also sweet and of good quality. The diet is judiciously varied, potatoes and fresh vegetables being furnished in large quantities, wherever the health of the men appears to require it. The rations actually received by the prisoners until the 1st of June, 1864, were nearly three pounds of solid food for each man per day, besides coffee, sugar, molasses, etc. The quantity was then reduced to about thirty-four and a half ounces per diem.*

"The health of the prisoners is as carefully considered in the matter of clothing, as in other respects; those who require blankets or additional garments being supplied with them on proper application. Large numbers of coats, pantaloons, etc., were issued in this way during the past and previous winters. When a prisoner is placed on the sick list, and taken to the hospital, he is put in a warm bath, supplied with clean under-clothing, and then laid on a bed with clean sheets, in an airy apartment, where his condition is, so far as his disease will permit, one not only of comparative but absolute comfort.

"The percentage of deaths at Fort Delaware was, during some months of last autumn and winter, large. This result arose from a variety of causes originating before the prisoners were captured and brought to the island, and which the officers there could not at first remove or control. Among these may be enumerated the want of vaccination, which seems to be as rare among the poorer classes of the South as it is general at the North; the attempts made by the prisoners to vaccinate each other, which often caused disease of a dangerous type from the character of the virus employed; and the bad state of the body of many of the men taken at and near Vicksburg, who were broken down by hardships and fatigues sustained before their capture, as well as by the influence of the terrible malaria of the South.

"But while the ratio of mortality among the American soldiers in the hands of the rebels has continued to augment with time, the health of the Confederate prisoners at Fort Delaware has, on the contrary, improved under the influence of good food or kind treatment, until in May, 1864, but sixty-two died out of eight thousand one hundred and twenty-six confined at the island.

"The cruel and unusual rule by which an approach to the windows from inadvertence, or for the most innocent purpose, is made an offense punishable with death in the Confederate prisons, is, it need hardly be said, unknown in Fort Delaware. Few restraints are imposed, and those only such as are imperatively necessary for the preservation of order and cleanliness among a numerous and motley crowd, which necessarily contains some men of gross and filthy habits." *

Shooting was never resorted to unless a rule was grossly and persistently violated. Even then the direction was to order the prisoner "three distinct times to halt;" and if he "failed to halt, when so ordered, the sentinel must enforce his order by bayonet or ball." There were but five instances of shooting, under these instructions, and they were in every case in obedience to them.

It is hardly worth while to notice the question whether any were shot for looking out of the windows. No such order was ever given in this, or any other United States Station. Here the windows were seen filled with the prisoners.

The Commissioners are under great obligations to General Schöpf, Commander of the Post, for the courtesy shown them, in personally conducting them over the station, and to the surgeons and officers in attendance, who readily furnished all the evidence that was asked for. It was here that the documents, the general circular, the orders, and the schedules of rations and clothing were obtained.

* "The reduction recently made in the prisoner's rations," writes Quartermaster-General Meigs, June 6th, "was for the purpose of bringing it nearer to what the rebel authorities profess to allow their soldiers, and no complaint has been heard of its insufficiency."

* From notes by Judge Hare.

The testimony is exceedingly full and satisfactory on all points. It will be noticed that a prison fund was formed, in accordance with the regulations, from the excess of the ration *issued* over the ration *given*, and that the amount was spent for vegetables, and articles of convenience. But even with this withholding of part, so great was the abundance of food, that the prisoners hid loaves of bread, crackers and meat under the bunks. These were repeatedly found there in large quantities during an examination of the barracks.

Capt. Clark was able to save sometimes between two and three thousand dollars a month out of surplus rations, and yet every care was taken that too much was not withheld. The overseers were frequently asked if the prisoners complained of not having enough, and were ordered "to give them more, and let no man want." A complaint was scarcely ever heard.

It will be noticed what enormous quantities of clothing were issued, at this post alone, to the prisoners. In eight months over thirty-five thousand articles were distributed, comprising every species of clothing from shoes and stockings, shirts and drawers, to woollen blankets and great coats. Most of these were given on the approach of cold weather.

Every one without a blanket or overcoat of his own was provided with one. All had at least two blankets, and those who were delicate had more.

The barracks were made comfortable by stoves. Fuel was never wanting, and the fires were kept up by attendants. No less than thirteen hundred tons of coal were consumed last winter and spring by the prisoners.

In hot weather equal provision was made for their comfort, especially in the hospitals. The visitors noticed in the latter, even green shades covering the windows, and a water-cooler in every ward, filled with ice, for the free use of the patients.

Gen. Schöpf informed the visitors that in every case of death, the body was removed to a neat grave yard on the opposite shore, and the burial service of the Episcopal church was read over the grave.

It was found, by further investigation, that the arrangements of every other United States Prison Station and Hospital were the same as those of Fort Delaware. The same regulations were observed in all. The identical diet-table, containing the minute directions of the Surgeon-General at Washington, was hung up as conspicuously in the hospital for rebels as that for the United States soldier.

The De Camp General Hospital, on David's Island, New York, was a counterpart of that just described. The testimony taken by one of the commissioners, is almost a repetition of that taken at Fort Delaware. The only variations which occur are additions to the facts already recited.

None of the prisoners were ever deprived of money or valuables. Some of them had arrived in a filthy, horrible condition, ragged, barefooted and bareheaded, covered with vermin, (a condition easily accounted for by the peculiar and desperate style of Southern campaigning, where no tents or baggage were allowed to encumber, and the soldier had to wear the same unchanged suit through many days of forced marching and violent fighting.) Within a few hours the men, having been stripped of all their clothing, which was removed and burned, were washed, furnished with clean linen, and placed on clean, well-aired beds, Full suits of clothing were issued to them. When the weather became cold they were removed from tents to spacious pavilions, furnished with abundant fuel. No one was ever frostbitten. None were ever shot at. They were given the whole island inside the line of sentries for exercise. Formerly they had been allowed to go fishing and clamming, till several escaped, when the line of sentries was placed on the beach.

They had precisely the same rations as the Federal sick and wounded. Drinking water, cooled with ice, was furnished in profusion. Soap, towels, and combs were distributed for their private use. There was a nurse to every ten of them.*

It will not surprise the reader to hear of the small mortality, although nine-tenths were suffering from wounds.

One most pleasing feature of this hospital is developed in the testimony of Rev. Mr. Lowry, its chaplain. A library of two thousand volumes, formerly used by the United States soldiers, was even more used by the Confederates. They were furnished with Bibles, Prayer Books, and other religious publications. Religious services were held twice on Sunday, and two or three times during the week. The chapel, which would accommodate three hundred, was often crowded. Whenever a death occurred, the funeral was conducted according to the form of the Episcopal church.

Johnson's Island, in Ohio, has been an especial subject of rebel mis-statements. It is a pleasant, healthy spot, three hundred acres in extent, in Sandusky Bay, close in the neighborhood of Kelley's Island, which is a

* Each pavilion had from two to four water closets. Chairs and bed pans were provided for those unable to reach them. Ample structures were also erected on the beach.

favorite place of summer resort. The two Islands are much alike.

The climate is testified to be as favorable to health as that of Newport or Saratoga in summer, or Cincinnati and Dayton in winter. Like Fort Delaware it is a military prison and hospital. The buildings are spacious, new, and in good order. The sanitary and other regulations of similar stations are observed here in all particulars.

Although in winter the weather was so cold that the lake was frozen to the main land, three miles distant, and the government teams, conveying supplies, were able to cross upon the ice, yet so well warmed were the barracks, that not a single instance of treatment for exposure to cold was known, except in the case of some who attempted to escape.

A spacious square, enclosed by the buildings, was given up to the prisoners for exercise, and they were allowed to be in the open air all day.

The statistics of mortality will be astonishing to read, after hearing the rebel stories. In twenty-one months, out of an aggregate of six thousand four hundred and ten prisoners, there were only one hundred and thirty-four deaths. The number in prison at one time never exceeded two thousand seven hundred. In the months of May and June last, there were about two thousand three hundred prisoners. In May five died; in June only one!

Point Lookout was still another post which had been subjected to the rebel statement that the prisoners there suffered from cruelty and neglect. Miss Dix, who visited those very prisoners, sufficiently disposes of the slander. She says, "They were supplied with vegetables, with the best wheat bread, and fresh and salt meat three times daily in abundant measure — the full government ration.

"In the camp of about nine thousand rebel prisoners, there were but four hundred reported to the surgeon. Of these one hundred were confined to their beds, thirty were very sick, and perhaps fifteen or twenty would never recover.

"The hospital food consisted of beef-tea, beef-soup, rice, milk-punch, milk, gruel, lemonade, stewed fruits, beefsteak, vegetables, and mutton. White sugar was employed in cooking. The supplies were, in fact, more ample and abundant than in hospitals where our own men were under treatment."

The surgeons of the various hospitals, in several instances, allude to the excellent condition of the prisoners when discharged and exchanged, and in the statement of Miss Dix will be found a brief description of their appearance when leaving the flag-of-truce boat for their own lines: "All were in vigorous health, equipped in clothes furnished by the United States Government, many of them with blankets and haversacks."

And here terminates the contrast, which the reader has probably been drawing throughout, between the military stations for prisoners, North and South, Union and Rebel.

But the contrast must have been overwhelming at the point to which this narrative has now come. When the flag-of-truce boat landed within the rebel lines, the two systems confronted each other. On one side, hundreds of feeble, emaciated men, ragged, filthy, hungry, diseased, and dying; on the other an equal number of strong and hearty men, clad in the army clothing of the Government against which they had fought, having been humanely sheltered, fed, cleansed of dirt, cured of wounds and disease, and now honorably returned to fight that Government again.

The public sentiment of the North, outraged as it may have been, would never have permitted any other than this Christian and magnanimous course.

VII.

The three points now investigated — The conclusion of the Commissioners — These privations and sufferings were designedly inflicted — The late appeal to Divine and human judgment upon their cause by the rebel government — The spirit of that cause identical with the spirit which originated and defends it.

SUCH are the facts which have been brought to light by the inquiry of the Commissioners.

There were three points before them to be investigated. They were requested to ascertain "the true physical condition of the prisoners recently discharged by exchange from confinement at Richmond and elsewhere." They were also requested to ascertain whether these prisoners "did in fact, during such confinement, suffer materially for want of food, or from its defective quality, or from other privations and sources of disease."

This duty has been performed, and the result is now before the public.

There was one other point which the Commissioners were requested to make clear: "Whether the privations and sufferings of the prisoners were *designedly* inflicted on them by military or other authority of the rebel government, or were due to causes which such authorities could not control."

This question has already been alluded to digressively, but its full answer properly belongs to this stage of the narrative, when the whole field of the investigation is before the reader.

The feeling lingered in the minds of the Commissioners as the investigation went on, that this dreadful condition of things might be attributable to even other causes than the possible destitution of the rebel government. This latter consideration, it will be remembered, was, at an early moment, entirely disposed of. Any unconscious or unintentional form of crime is less reprehensible than that which is knowingly or deliberately committed. The question therefore suggested itself whether all this might not have been owing to the negligence and incompetence incident to an immature social system, or to the thoughtlessness of a reckless people, or to the mismanagement of an improvident government. This was the only alternative, and was sufficiently discreditable. But it was altogether more probable that a whole people and government could unite in being thoughtlessly and inconsiderately cruel, than consciously and purposely so. The latter was something too revolting to be entertained or believed. The whole current of public feeling and public principle generated by the spread of Christianity, and the progress of civilization, is so averse to anything of the kind that the majority of people are made almost incapable of comprehending, or even imagining such a state of mind in any community.

And yet it is to this very conclusion that every one must come who carefully weighs the testimony. Every doubt and misgiving successively disappears. No other theory will cover the immensity and variety of that system of abuse to which our soldiers are subjected. That abuse is, in all its forms, too general, too uniform, and too simultaneous to be otherwise than the result of a great arrangement. One prison-station is like another — one hospital resembles another hospital. This has been made especially apparent by intelligence that has reached the public just as this investigation is closing, and this report is being written. The remote prison at Tyler, in Texas, sends out a tale of suffering identical with that described in these pages. It was only a few weeks ago, that the streets of New Orleans beheld a regiment of half-starved and half-naked men, who had just been released from that station. Still more heart-rending is the later account, given in a memorial to the President, from Andersonville, Georgia, and in the full description, verified on oath, of what is now being suffered there by the imprisoned soldiers of our army. It would appear to be Belle-Isle five times enlarged, and ten-fold intensified. An enormous multitude of thirty-five thousand men are crowded together in a square enclosure or stockade of about twenty-five acres, with a noxious swamp at the centre, occupying one-fourth of the whole space. Here the prisoners suffer not only the privations already mentioned, but others peculiar to circumstances of a worse description.* In this pestilential prison they are dying at the rate of one hundred and thirty a day, *on an average!* The Commissioners allude to this station not as part of the evidence taken by themselves, but as an interesting, authentic, and corroborative illustration of the point now under consideration.

It is the same story everywhere; — prisoners of war treated worse than convicts, shut up either in suffocating buildings, or in outdoor enclosures, without even the shelter that is provided for the beasts of the field; unsupplied with sufficient food; supplied with food and water injurious and even poisonous; compelled to live in such personal uncleanliness as to generate vermin; compelled to sleep on floors often covered with human filth, or on ground saturated with it; compelled to breathe an air oppressed with an intolerable stench; hemmed in by a fatal dead-line, and in hourly danger of being shot by unrestrained and brutal guards; despondent even to madness, idiocy and suicide; sick of diseases (so congruous in character as to appear and spread like the plague) caused by the torrid sun, by decaying food, by filth, by vermin, by malaria, and by cold; removed at the last moment, and by hundreds at a time, to hospitals corrupt as a sepulchre, there, with few remedies, little care and no sympathy, to die in wretchedness and despair, not only among strangers, but among enemies too resentful either to have pity or to show mercy.

These are positive facts. Tens of thousands of helpless men have been and are now being disabled and destroyed by a process as certain as poison, and as cruel as the torture or burning at the stake, because nearly as agonizing and more prolonged. This spectacle is daily beheld and allowed by the rebel government.

No supposition of negligence, or thoughtlessness, or indifference, or accident, or inefficiency, or destitution, or necessity, can account for all this. So many and such positive forms of abuse and wrong cannot come from negative causes.

The conclusion is unavoidable, therefore, that "these privations and sufferings" have been "designedly inflicted by the military and other authority of the rebel government," and cannot have been "due to causes which such authorities could not control."

Further than this, the Commissioners are not required to express an opinion. Whether

* For the full account see Supplement, page 74.

or not they are the result of an infuriated and vindictive animosity against the Federal government and people, or the result of a pre-determined policy, deliberately formed, to discourage and affright our soldiers, to destroy them, or to disable them for further military service, or to compel our Government to an exchange on other than the terms to which it is in honor and by necessity committed, the public are in a position to decide.

The Commissioners have now performed their painful task. It has not been a grateful duty to narrate facts so unworthy of any people, especially of one heretofore so highly respected, so much admired, and in so many respects a credit to the American name. That name is shamed and dishonored by their exposure.

But there is one source of pride and congratulation; that, whatever abuses may have been developed on the Northern side of this war, none of them were originated or sanctioned by the government. In every case they have been the impulsive acts of subordinates here and there; and such are incident to any conflict. The noble and magnanimous manner in which the government treats the enemies to its peace and prosperity, when they have become helpless prisoners in its hands, is, alone, a sufficient manifestation of the spirit which animates it in waging this war. No sentiment of anger or resentment has actuated it from the beginning. The condition of its prison stations and hospitals is the best and proudest exponent of the cause of humanity which it seeks to maintain. This praise will be awarded it by the historian and by posterity, when the story of this stupendous struggle shall be written.

Can as much be said of the cause which stands in opposition to it? The facts of this narrative, and of others that will be yet more complete, will also enter into the future history of this conflict, but will form its most tragical chapter. It will in that day be known whether the spirit which animates the South is not also the spirit which has generated the cause of the South. The spirit which animates a cause gives the character to that cause. A people like an individual is estimated by its actions and by its motives.

Perhaps the world will yet discover a strange and reciprocal working of influences in the production of that which now opposes the republican progress of this government.

Perhaps the social theory, already so widely accepted, may yet be fully established, which attributes the alienation of the Southern people to a simple difference of feeling on a question of humanity. A too positive denial of humanity to another race, and a too positive contempt for a poorer class of their own race, have fostered those perverted principles, which would undermine a government filled with a more generous idea, and excite a hatred toward the people who would uphold it. As an exponent of the inhumanity of the Southern cause, it is not unjust, therefore, to point to its prisons and hospitals, where disregard of the sacredness of human life, and the cry of human suffering, has such an extraordinary manifestation.

And in the face of all this, the confederate congress, with the approval of the confederate president, issued, on the 14th of June last, a manifesto, of which the following is the concluding declaration:

"*We commit our cause to the enlightened judgment of the world, to the sober reflections of our adversaries themselves, and to the solemn and righteous arbitrament of Heaven.*"

Can this appeal, to both Divine and human judgment, be really sincere, or is it only a rounded and rhetorical termination of a state paper? Is the rebel government really so unconscious of this barbarous warfare, that it confidently expects the respect and sympathy of the civilized world? Is it really so unconscious of vindictive cruelty, that it confidently expects a revulsion in its favor from a community whose fathers and brothers and sons lie piled by thousands in pits and trenches, not on the battle-field but in the neighborhood of prisons and hospitals? Is it really so unconscious of crime that it claims even the favorable judgment of Him, unto whom all hearts are open, from whom no secrets are hid, and who requires of man to deal justly and to love mercy? Is it really anxious to stand before that bar whose final discrimination between good and evil it has been revealed, shall rest upon the single fact of humanity or inhumanity, whether the passions of anger and hate have been controlled, whether enemies have been forgiven, whether privation and suffering have been relieved? In view of the powerless captive, hungry, naked, sick and wounded, does it really await "the solemn and righteous arbitrament" of Him, to-day, who will hereafter say to the cruel and the unmerciful:

"I was an hungred, and ye gave Me no meat: I was thirsty, and ye gave Me no drink: I was a stranger, and ye took Me not in: naked and ye clothed Me not: sick and in prison, and ye visited Me not"?

Let the Southern conscience listen! Let it remember that the judgment of Heaven is on the side of humanity, and against cruelty and oppression; that a wrong done to a man is a wrong done to God, who will make the cause of the suffering His own, and will avenge Himself on His enemies:

"Verily, I say unto you, Inasmuch as ye

did it not to one of the least of these, ye did it not to Me!"

And here the Commissioners leave the subject. Their inquiry was originated, and has been pursued, in the hope that it might, by awakening further attention, be one of the means which would bring about an abandonment by the rebel government of its prison and hospital system. The many and simultaneous exposures which have been made, may possibly induce, at least, a prudence which may work the same result as a better motive. Already there are symptoms of some such movement, and of an admission, even at this late moment, of the misery that has been produced, a movement and admission whether made from necessity or self-interest does not yet appear.*

But whatever the event may be, this inquiry will have worked its best purpose, if its facts should ever reach that nobler portion of the Southern people, who are really chivalrous and really religious, who have not been committed to these abuses, who have been kept in ignorance of them, and lead to a protest and revulsion that will compel their government to a repudiation of the iniquity, and to a course more worthy of a civilized and christian people.

* It has not been thought necessary to allude to the subject of the suspension of the cartel of exchange, as it had but little bearing on the points to be investigated. But the lately published letter from Major General Butler, Commissioner of Exchange, to the Confederate Commissioner, Ould, is of interest and importance at the present juncture. It will be found printed entire in the supplement.

The following extract from General Butler's letter has a connection with the above remark in the report:

"I unite with you cordially, Sir, in desiring a speedy settlement of all these questions, in view of the great suffering endured by our prisoners in the hands of your authorities, of which you so feelingly speak. *Let me ask, in view of that suffering, why you have delayed eight months to answer a proposition, which, by now accepting, you admit to be right, just, and humane, allowing that suffering to continue so long?* One cannot help thinking, even at the risk of being deemed uncharitable, that the benevolent sympathies of the Confederate authorities have been lately stirred by the depleted condition of their armies, and a desire to get into the field, to effect the present campaign, the hale, hearty, and well-fed prisoners held by the United States, in exchange for the half-starved, sick, emaciated, and unserviceable soldiers of the United States now languishing in your prisons."

The following paper having been read before the Commission, by Dr. WALLACE, it was, on motion of Dr. DELAFIELD, adopted by the Commission, and ordered to be appended to their Report.

MEDICAL REPORT.

Food — Quantity of Food for a Man — Character of Food — Relation of Food to Temperature — Ration of the Soldiers — Treatment of Rebel Prisoners at U. S. Stations — Rations — Clothing, Shelter and Fuel — Condition of Rebel Prisoners — Treatment of Union Prisoners in Rebel Hands — Rations of Union Prisoners — Quantity of Ration — Character and Quality of the Ration — Ill Effects of the Rations — No Variety in rations of Union Prisoners — Comparison of rations of Union and of Rebel Prisoners — Consequence of Deficient Food — Diseases Produced by Insufficient Food — Insufficient nutriment is Starvation — Privations other than of Food — Crowd Poisoning — Uncleanliness Compelled — Condition of Union Prisoners — Clothing and Warmth *vs.* Starvation — The Sick and Feeble liable to Freeze — Men Frozen — Numbers diseased as above — Management of the Sick — Starvation in Flanders — Cause of condition and Mortality of returned Union Prisoners — Treatment of Sick Union Prisoners — Mortality in Rebel Hospitals for Union Prisoners — Mortality in U. S. A. Hospital — Mortality at Belle Isle — Mortality at Andersonville — Mortality at Fort Delaware — Mortality at Johnson's Island — Additional Mortality — Kindness of Rebel Surgeons.

To DR. VALENTINE MOTT, Chairman, etc.

MR. CHAIRMAN:—

According to the direction of the Commission, I lay before you certain considerations relating to the treatment adopted by the authorities of the States in rebellion towards United States soldiers held by them as prisoners of war, with the view of determining the influence of this treatment upon the hygiene and mortality of its subjects. I shall ground my remarks upon the evidence appended — upon the opinions of reliable scientific authorities — and to some, though slight degree, upon our own personal observation.

Food.

In investigating the subject before us, the question of *food* takes rank as of first importance; and, in considering this point, there are certain well established facts relating to the subject of alimentation, to which we must refer.

Quantity of Food for a man.

In deciding upon the quantity of food requisite for the due support of a man, Professor Dalton* says that "any estimate of the total quantity should state also the kind of food used," as the total quantity will necessarily vary with the quality, since some articles contain much more alimentary material than others." And Surgeon-General Hammond†

Character of Food.

says, "it is necessary that the food of man should consist of a *variety of substances*, in order that the several functions of the organism may be properly carried on; no fact in dietetics is better established than this." And Professor Dunglison‡ speaks to the same end thus: "man is so organized as to be adapted for living on both animal and vegetable substances, and if we lay aside our mixed nutriment, and restrict ourselves wholly to the products of the one or the other kingdom, scurvy supervenes.§

Dalton states that the amount of solid food required during twenty-four hours by a man in full health and taking free exercise in the open air, is, of bread, nineteen ounces; meat, sixteen ounces; and butter, three and a half ounces; in all, thirty-eight and a half ounces." Hammond places the amount of solid food "required to maintain the organism of a healthy adult American, up to the full measure of physical and mental capability, at about forty ounces, of which two-thirds should be vegetable, and one-third animal."

Moreover, due *variety in the food* is but second in importance to sufficient quantity. (See Pereira on food and diet.) In fact, the last named physiologist declares that "no matter how nutritious food may be, it is far better to exchange it for that even less nutritious, than to continue an unvarying sameness."

Relation of food to temperature.

And as to the relation of food to temperature: "In temperate climates, the seasons exercise an influence, not only over the quality, but the quantity of food taken into the system. Most persons eat more in winter than in summer. The cause is doubtless to be found in the fact, that, in cold weather a greater quantity of respiratory food is required in order to keep up the animal heat, than in hot weather, when the external temperature more nearly approaches the temperature of the body.‖ "He who is well fed," observes Sir John Ross, "resists cold better than the man who is stinted, while the starvation from cold follows but too soon a starvation in food.' And Sir John Franklin, in his narrative of a journey to the Polar sea, writes, "no quantity of clothing could keep us warm while we fasted." "In tropical climates and in hot seasons, the system requires a smaller quantity of food than in colder countries and in cold seasons."* Individuals whose business requires much bodily exertion, or that they should spend much of their time in the open air, eat more than those of sedentary habits. And we have, from the authority of Carpenter, in his work on Human Physiology, that "a considerable reduction in the amount of food sufficient for men in regular active exercise, is, of course, admissible where little bodily exertion is required, and where there is less exposure to low temperatures."

Ration of the soldier.

The ration of the British Soldier is, at home stations, sixteen ounces of bread and twelve ounces of uncooked meat; at foreign stations, four ounces more of meat are allowed. Any extras are bought by the soldier out of his own funds. The French soldier in the Crimea had forty-two and five-eighths ounces of solid food, about ten and a half ounces of which were animal, the rest vegetable. In time of peace his ration is less. "The American soldier is better fed than any other in the world. This is proved by the healthy condition of the troops. *Scurvy, one of the first diseases to make its appearance when the food is of inferior quality*, has prevailed to so slight an extent, &c."† His ration of solid food‡ is about fifty-two and a half ounces, with a fair range for *variety;* and extra issues of pickles, fruits, and special vegetables, are made, when the medical officers deem them necessary. This ration is more than the man is generally able to consume, and the surplus is resold to the government for his benefit.

Treatment of Rebel Prisoners at U. S. Stations.—Rations.

The rations *issued* for the rebel soldiers held by our government as prisoners of war, were the same as for the United States garrison troops and soldiers on active service, except the bread ration, which was four ounces less; and the amount *given*, was, of solid food, forty-three ounces, besides extra vegetables, etc., sometimes, which were (see Captain Clark's evidence) procured by sale of the surplus, as above noted in the case of the Federal troops. No material change was made until the first of June, 1864, since which date the amount *given* was reduced to

* Human Physiology.
† Treatise on Hygiene.
‡ Human Health.
§ Professor Wood, in his Treatise on Practice of Medicine, defines *Scurvy* to be a disease in which "the blood is depraved, and the system debilitated, with a tendency to hemorrhage and to local congestions."
‖ Hammond's Hygiene.

* Pereira, Food and Diet.
† Hammond's Hygiene.
‡ Assuming soft bread and fresh beef as the basis.

thirty-four and a half ounces, while the range for variety of articles remained unchanged, and from the excess of the rations issued, the surplus fund for the use of the prisoners was larger than before. That this amount will be sufficient for comfort and health in the warm weather, and under the inactive life of the prisoner, we must infer from the statements of Pereira, Hammond, and Carpenter (above), and may likewise consider proven by the fact, that at Fort Delaware, even in the cold weather of the past winters, the prisoners could not consume all that was given them, and that large quantities of food were secreted, and wasted by them.* By authority of the War Department, the same REGULATIONS as are observed at all stations, where prisoners of war are held,† and of course at all such stations, the same general condition of things must prevail.

Clothing, shelter, and fuel.

Our evidence exhibits that all needful *clothing* and *blankets*, in some cases even to excess, as well as good and adequate *shelter*, with sufficient *fuel* for comfortable warmth, were furnished by the United States Government to the rebel prisoners.

Condition of Rebel Prisoners.

In our visit to Fort Delaware we passed through the barracks and enclosures containing about eight thousand prisoners. We observed that these men were in good physical condition, and presented the aspect of health and strength; as was the case at other stations, as seen by the appended evidence. The careful attention to cleanliness urged, and sometimes even enforced, by the United States officers in charge, doubtless contributes to their general good condition in no small degree. We were unable to observe any difference between the treatment of the rebels and the United States soldiers in the hospital at Fort Delaware, or in Lincoln Hospital near Washington. The evidence proves the same arrangements of ward, and bed, and diet, to have been made, with all other necessary appliances, for the rebel as for the Union soldier, in the time of sickness, at all stations where prisoners of war are held by the United States Government.

Treatment of Union Prisoners in rebel hands.

When we come to investigate the testimony in relation to the treatment of United States soldiers while prisoners in the hands of the rebels, we find a most serious difference from the state of things above described.

Rations of Union prisoners.

We learn from those returned that the rations given them varied at different times and places, but their declarations all concur in this, that they had not *food* enough to sustain their strength, nor to satisfy their hunger; and though these men were held captive at various times, and for a varying period, and at various places, yet their average statements are the same with little limitation.

Quantity of ration.

Wheat bread was given to some of them for a short time, but the bread was generally made of corn meal. The largest daily ration of wheat bread, of which we have evidence, would weigh about eleven (11) ounces, and the smallest but little more than three (3) ounces. The largest daily ration of corn bread was in bulk from thirty-one (31) to thirty-two (32) cubic inches, representing rather more than twelve (12) ounces of corn meal, while the smallest represented but four (4) ounces. The ration of meat was, in a few instances, from four (4) to six (6) ounces, but generally about two ounces, though in some cases it was less than this.

The meat was irregularly given; not often daily, and to some, only at intervals of days, or even several weeks, and when meat was served, the bread was, in many instances, diminished.

About half a pint of soup, containing sweet potato, or generally beans or peas in amount about two ounces, was sometimes given, with or without meat in different cases. The beans and peas were occasionally given raw and dry.

The maximum amount of solid food for one day, described, was . .	10 oz. bread.
	6 oz. beef.
With half a pint of soup made of the water in which the beef was boiled, and containing about two ounces of beans or peas, and, therefore representing	2 oz.
Total, ...	18 oz.
The minimum amount was about	4 oz. bread.
. . . . .	1 oz. beef.
Total, ...	5 oz.

And so between five (5) and eighteen (18) ounces the rations varied, and in the article of meat, especially, was the great deficiency.

Character and Quality of the Ration.

But it is necessary to note the character also of the rations. The quality of the wheat bread appears to have been good, but that of the corn bread decidedly the reverse. It was made of meal which was

* See also letter from Quartermaster-General Meigs, appended.
† See Appendix.

coarsely ground and rough, contained all the hull (or bran), often whole grains of corn, with fragments of cob or of husk intermingled; frequently ill-baked, or overbaked, and sour and musty withal.

The soup was, by universal declaration of the witnesses, repulsive in odor and disgusting in flavor. It appears to have been made of the water in which the beef was boiled. Gravel and sand were the least objectionable of the impurites found in it.

The beans and peas issued were generally worm-eaten, and contained these insects in quantities, so that they would be floating on the surface, or intermixed throughout the mass of soup and beans.

Ill effects of the Rations.

Dunglison, in the work before quoted, says that "Corn bread, with those unaccustomed to its use, is apt to produce diarrhœa, in consequence *probably* of the presence of the husk,* with which it is always more or less mixed, &c.," and it is "but little adapted for those liable to bowel affections, &c. And Dr. Hassall says, "In those unaccustomed to its use, maize is considered to excite and to keep up a tendency to diarrhœa."

Every one is aware of the laxative influence of so-called bran bread,† which is due to the physical action of the hull of the grain upon the delicate lining membrane of the stomach and bowels, acting thereupon as an excitant or irritant, though tempered by the bland influence of the wheaten flour. Now what must be the result when the meal is of *corn*, and coarse, and intermixed with hull and grain entire, with husk and cob in fragments, among our Northern troops, who are, for the most part, "unaccustomed to the use of corn meal"? We see by the evidence, that some of the men observed the influence of this bread, in producing the diarrhœa with which so many were afflicted.

The character of the soup, as above described, would stamp it as entirely unfit for food, and upon men already suffering from diarrhœa, the evil influence of such a compound is but too plainly to be imagined. The evidence shows that some could not eat it, though hungry to starvation.

No variety in Rations of Union Prisoners.

The average amount of meat allowed was so small that it is not worthy of special consideration; and as to the *variety* and *change* of diet, upon which all physiologists lay so great stress,—it is not in the Record,—*there was none of it.*

* Prof. Dunglison informs me that by the word *husk*, he intends to imply that which is commonly denominated *bran*.

† See Pereira, Food and Diet.

Comparison of rations of Union and of Rebel prisoners.

How do these amounts and qualities compare with the maximum forty-three ounces, or the minimum thirty-four and a half ounces, of standard Government food, of excellent quality, and abundant room for variety, and extra issue of fresh vegetables according to necessity, which the United States Government allows its prisoners? The question may be answered by contrasting the exhausted, the attenuated, the melancholy, the imbecile, the dying, and the dead, Union soldiers, returning home from Richmond, with the cheerful, healthy, and vigorous Southerners, held at, or released from, the various United States stations referred to in the appended testimony.

Consequence of deficient food.

Let us look now at the consequence of deficiency of food, as explained by students and observers of the subject.

In the Medical and Surgical history of the British army which served in Turkey and the Crimea, we find that "during January, 1855, by the deficiency of food, the efficiency of the whole army was seriously compromised. Disease was simply the more overt manifestation of a pathological state of the system, which was all but universal, and merely indicated the worst grades of it. *Fever* and *affections of the bowels* represented the forms in which morbid actions were usually presented, while *gangrene* and *scurvy* indicated *those privations and that exposure* from which these diseases were mainly derived." Again, "in starvation the tissues of the body are consumed for the production of heat, and rapid loss of weight is the consequence. The other vital processes all involve decomposition of the substance of organs, and add to the loss which the body undergoes. From insufficient food *for a few*

Diseases produced by insufficient food.

weeks, disease is almost invariably induced; *typhus* and *typhoid fever*, *scurvy* and *anæmia* are the consequences." * Dr. Carpenter, in his Human Physiology, says, "the prisoners confined in Mill Bank Penitentiary, in 1823, who had previously received an allowance of from thirty-one to thirty-three ounces of dry nutriment daily, had this allowance suddenly reduced to twenty-one ounces,—animal food being almost entirely excluded from the diet scale. They were at the same time subjected to a low grade of temperature, and to considerable exertion; in the course of *a few weeks* the health of a large proportion of the inmates began to give way. The first symptoms were loss of color, and diminution of health and strength, subsequently *diar-*

* Hammond's Hygiene.

rhœa, dysentery, scurvy, and lastly *adynamic fevers*, or headache, vertigo, convulsions, maniacal delirium, apoplexy, &c. After death, ulcerations of the mucous lining of the alimentary canal were very commonly found; fifty-two per cent. were thus affected. That the reduction of the allowance of food was the main source of the epidemic, was proved, * * * &c."

Insufficient nutrition is starvation.

We appeal here to Chossat's Inquiries, resulting in the proof of this curious effect of *insufficient nutriment*, that it produces an incapability of digesting even the small amount consumed. "So that, in the end, the results are the same as those of *entire deprivation of food*, the total amount of loss being almost exactly identical, but its rate being less."

Privations other than of food.

But in addition to a starvation diet, our evidence furnishes proof of confinement to overcrowded rooms, without proper ventilation—of want of *clothing*—want of *shelter*—and denial of suitable means of warmth, whether by *blankets* or by *fuel*, and this even during the fall, winter, and spring just passed.

Crowd-Poisoning.

"*Overcrowding, imperfect ventilation*, and *want of cleanliness*, are three conditions usually associated, and may be designated by the single term *Crowd-Poisoning*." * The evidence exhibits that about twenty square feet was, in some instances, all the superficial space permitted to each man confined in prison. And, on Belle Isle, it would appear that for a time there was little variation from the same area. "The air of crowded camps and habitations becomes contaminated through emanations given off during respiration, through effluvia from the skin, and by the decomposition of the various excreta. The nitrogenized matter carried into the air from the skin, and the products arising from the decomposition of the excreta, are sources of deadly mischief. The effects of overcrowding are not only manifested by the increased violence and the adynamic character of all diseases occurring among those exposed, but the development and severity of the adynamic fevers appear particularly connected with this cause." † And again, "To the organic matters emanating from the human body, more than to any other cause, the injurious results of overcrowding are to be ascribed."

"The proofs are ample, that the emanations from the human body are of a decidedly deleterious character, when present in large amounts in the atmosphere inhaled. They are absorbed by the clothing, and even the walls of the room take them up and retain them for a long time." * "If animals be kept crowded together in ill-ventilated apartments, they speedily sicken." † "The continued respiration of an atmosphere charged with the exhalations of the lungs and skin is the most potent of all the predisposing causes of disease." ‡

Uncleanliness compelled.

Dut Dr. Woodward alludes to "want of cleanliness" as one of the elements of ordinary crowd-poisoning. Far more than ordinary was this "want" in the rebel prisons, especially on Belle Isle. A reference to the evidence will show that accumulation of filth of the most noisome character was compelled by prison discipline; that important accommodations were denied during the night hours, resulting in unavoidable soiling of the quarters of the prisoners, while the means of bathing, though convenient, were to so great an extent denied the prisoners, as to produce, in a large number of them, a condition of the skin, which is not only a disease in itself, but is also a cause of disorders various and grave. §

Condition of Union Prisoners.

We observed the surface of the bodies of a number who suffered thus; it was of most remarkable aspect, appearing as though it had been covered with a heavy coat of common varnish, which had dried, and cracked, and was pealing up in scales of every size. To the touch, it was as sand-paper of irregular quality. The cuticle—both effete and living—lay in masses, separated by fissures of varying extent and depth, through which watery and bloody fluids were seen exuding. The soles of the feet were like the sole of a plasterer's shoe—white, brown and yellow; the cuticle dried and broken, and laminated variously.

The functions of the skin, upon which physiologists lay so great stress, are here almost entirely unperformed, and hence we have "gastric disturbances, and diarrhœas," with suppression of that aeration of blood—that true respiration, which, physiologists tell us, takes place through the skin. Hence the lungs are overtaxed, and congestions are induced. And when to this we add the depraved state of the blood of the sufferers, and their exposures to cold, and wet, and storm, by day and night, we have, in full quantity, those general and special condi-

* Woodward; Camp Diseases.
† Woodward.

* Hammond.
† Dunglison.
‡ Carpenter.
§ See Surgeon Ely's evidence.

tions, which induce pulmonary diseases of every grade and character.

Clothing and warmth *vs.* starvation.

On the question of clothing and warmth; from what has been shown above, a corollary is directly deducible, viz.: That if food be in limited quantity, low temperature should be avoided, and external warmth duly maintained. "Artificial warmth may be made to take the place of nourishment otherwise required. And there is adequate ground for considering death by *starvation*, as really death from *cold*. The temperature of the body is maintained with little diminution till the fat is consumed, and then rapidly falls, unless it be kept up by heat externally applied." * Now not only was external heat not granted by the rebels to their prisoners, but their blankets were generally taken from them, as also some of their personal clothing.

The sick and feeble liable to freezing.

Further, "*the sick and feeble will not bear the low temperature, which, to those in good condition, acts as a healthful stimulant. In diseases attended with deficient power of circulation, congelation of the tissues* is liable to occur, from the effects of a temperature which could not give rise to it in a healthy subject." We see that diarrhœa, scurvy,—and these two disorders existing coincidently "in the majority of cases of diarrhœa,"—congestion of the lungs of atonic character, and "debilitas," (as the medical records of the hospital have it,) all stand out prominently in the evidence, as being an almost constant condition among those who have been prisoners in Danville, Va., Richmond, Va., and *especially on Belle Isle*. The authorities hereinbefore quoted show that these formidable disorders are the legitimate offspring of the treatment to which our men have been subjected while in the hands of the rebels. Shall we be surprised that diseases obey the laws of their production, or that they flourish, luxuriant and rank, in a soil specially prepared for their reception? And are not all these "diseases attended with deficient power of circulation"? Are not the subjects of the same "sick and feeble"? Is it all surprising that they cannot bear the low temperature of a winter on Belle Isle,—clad only in worn-out or scanty clothing,—with inadequate or with no shelter,—with little fire, or generally none at all,—and having no resting place but the ground, in mud and frost and snow? Nay, is it not a cause for wonder that "congelation of the tissues" was not even more common among them? Our evidence tells of many men freezing on Belle Isle, to loss of limb, and more, of life.

* Carpenter.

Men frozen.

We saw cases of "amputation by frost," at the United States Hospitals, at Baltimore, and Annapolis, and the "Quarterly Report of the hospitals for the Federal prisoners, Richmond, Va.," (appended,) shows that of two thousand seven hundred and seventy-nine patients admitted in January, February, and March, 1864, there were fifteen cases of gelatio, (or freezing,) and fifty of gangrene from frozen feet! And from the same

Numbers diseased as above.

document we find that two thousand one hundred and twenty-one, out of the two thousand seven hundred and seventy-nine, were affected with debility, adynamic fevers, diarrhœa, dysentery, diseases of the chest, and scurvy—the very effects proved above to be produced by starvation, cold, overcrowding, filth, and exposure; and, as already mentioned, the testimony of the United States surgeons at Annapolis and Baltimore shows that the great majority of our soldiers received from rebel prisons suffered under the same affections. These surgeons further

Management of the sick.

declare, that these diseases did not yield to ordinary medical treatment; that they were most successfully managed by "*nullifying the cause*," that is, by nutrition and stimulation, with especial attention to cleanliness and fresh air, medical agencies being only accessories, and sometimes not resorted to at all.

Starvation in Flanders.

M. Fleury (cours d'hygiene) says: "Sous le nom de *fièvre de famine*, M. de Meersman a tracé un tableau complet et méthodique de *l'état morbide que développe l'alimentation insuffisante*, et qu'il dit avoir observé en 1846 et 1847 dans les Flandres belges." He then recounts the article, which is too long to bear quotation here, but it is a most singularly accurate description of that which our soldiers returned from rebel prisons state in regard to their own feelings and sufferings,—of those conditions which the United States surgeons at the Baltimore and Annapolis hospitals have delineated to us,—and which we witnessed and observed in our visits to the institutions above mentioned.

Cause of condition and mortality of returned Union prisoners.

It is utterly incorrect to charge the bodily attenuation, the mental imbecility, and the startling mortality which prevail so largely among the men from the prisons of the South, upon the mere diseases of which they are the subjects. If a man swallow a poisonous dose of arsenic, he will suffer pain, vomiting, diarrhœa, hœmorrhages, and convulsions, even unto death; are these "more overt manifestations,"—these necessary consequen-

ces of the morbific agent applied,—to be considered as the causes of the death? Or shall we go to the true first cause direct, and say "the man died by poisoning by arsenic"?

So have our men died,—from cold and exposure, from crowd poisoning, from starvation and from privation, while the way to death was roughly paved with disease of body and of mind,—mere minor manifestations of those allied powers of evil.

Treatment of sick Union prisoners.

But we further find a similar treatment,—similar in kind, though modified in degree,—dealt out to the wounded and the sick on Belle Isle and in Richmond. The evidence of those who have been under the care of the surgeons at these stations is corroborated by the testimony of Colonel Farnsworth, and by that of Surgeons Ferguson and Richards. The latter lay stress upon the offensive, and "utterly unfit," character of the beds and bedding, and declare that the diet was "entirely insufficient to give them a proper chance of recovery," and state further that there was a deficiency of medical supplies in the hospital for Federal prisoners, while the evidence is before us that at General Hospital No. 4, Richmond, the *Confederate soldier* had "as much good food as he could eat, with good bedding and sheets;" and evidence to the same end appears in relation to "Confederate hospitals in the field."

Mortality in Rebel Hospitals for Union Prisoners.

On the subject of the mortality of Union prisoners in rebel hands, we find that the "Quarterly Report," above referred to, exhibits a record, which, though startling and fearful, is yet easily explained by the foregoing considerations. For what can be expected of men worn out, almost unto death, by the want of those things which are necessary for the body,—and then further reduced by disease,—when subjected to such privations and noxious influences as those described by Surgeons Ferguson and Richards? This "Report" shows a mortality among the sick of rather more than fifty per cent! * How does this compare with that at the United States General Hospital at Annapolis which is only eighteen per cent?

Mortality in U. S. A. Hospital.

Yet the cases at Annapolis were all brought by flag-of-truce boat from City Point, Virginia, and were of the same general class as those in the "Hospitals for the Federal Prisoners, Richmond, Virginia."

Mortality at Belle Isle.

Further, we find that "a Confederate official, whose evidence cannot be questioned, declared that of the numbers remaining at Belle Isle, then about eight thousand (8,000), about twenty-five died daily, and that it would be but a few weeks before the deaths would count fifty a day." From this, we have a mortality at Belle Island in a ratio of *one hundred and fourteen per cent. per year*, with double this amount in prospect.

Mortality at Andersonville.

Again; the *Macon Journal and Messenger* says that "there are now over twenty-seven thousand (27,000) prisoners at Andersonville, Georgia, among whom the deaths are from fifty to sixty a day," or in a ratio of about from *sixty-eight to eighty-one per cent. per year.**

Mortality at Fort Delaware.

Turn now to the mortality among the rebel prisoners at Fort Delaware, where, in addition to the more ordinary causes of sickness and death among soldier-prisoners, we find "small-pox, the majority of the prisoners not having been vaccinated before they came here." Also, a "prostrated condition of the prisoners from Vicksburg, a great many of whom had to be carried, on their arrival here, from the boat to the hospital, and many of whom represented that they had been limited to half and quarter rations during the siege of Vicksburg;" and "prisoners from Vicksburg and the Mississippi Valley laboring under miasmatic influences, under which a great number of them died." Yet with all these extra causes of death, the mortality for the entire year just closed, amounts to less than *twenty-nine per cent.*, and when these special causes ceased to exist, it diminished rapidly, and during the three months of April, May, and June, it had fallen to *below a ratio of ten and a half per cent. per year*, and was still diminishing, while the sum total of prisoners was yet increasing.

Mortality at Johnson's Island.

Again; at Johnson's Island, Sandusky bay, Ohio,—the climate of which station has been stigmatized by our enemies as insalubrious, and in high degree pernicious to the constitution of the Southerner,—the deaths among the rebel prisoners during the year 1863, with the prevalence of measles and small-pox, amounted to *less than nine per cent.;* and during May and June of this year, there were but six deaths, that is, in the *ratio of less than two per cent. per year.*

By such contrasts of mortality at United States stations, and at rebel stations, argument and comment are struck dumb.

* Four deaths only occurred from wounds.

* Since this was written a sworn statement has come to our hands, (a copy of which will be found in the Supplement,) whence it appears that the mortality at Andersonville had increased rapidly, and had advanced in fact to a ratio from *one hundred and thirty-five to one hundred and fifty-two per cent. per year.*

Additional Mortality.

There are still others, who are destined to fall victims to what we are compelled by the evidence to consider a carefully devised plan for the destruction of Union soldiers, by weapons as surely, though not so mercifully, fatal, as shot and shell and bayonet. We refer to such, as, being broken down in mind and intellect, and vitiated in bodily vigor, and diseased beyond hope of recovery, by all the morbific causes which the rebel authorities have arrayed against them during their imprisonment,—and who being discharged from their country's service for disability,—will, in weeks and months to come, swell the local lists of mortality in the districts of their own homes.

Kindness of Rebel Surgeons.

We have been much gratified to find, not only from the sworn testimony, but from private conversation with a very large number of our returned prisoners, that the treatment and attention they received at the hands of the rebel surgeons was kind and sympathizing; their necessities were evidently as faithfully ministered to by these medical officers, (with one exception only), as the provision made by the authorities of the rebel government would allow.

Respectfully submitted,

ELLERSLIE WALLACE.

July, 1864.

TO THE READERS OF THE LIVING AGE,

AFTER THEY SHALL HAVE PERUSED THE REPORT OF THE SANITARY COMMITTEE

Now that you have read — with a sorrow and indignation which words cannot speak, and which can only be expressed by tears, and sobs, and teeth closely set together — the record of cruelties inflicted upon your fathers, and brothers, and sons who went forth at the call of their country to uphold her Constitution and Laws, — it is important that you should have a clear knowledge of the origin of these horrors.

They seem to have been prompted by fiendish malignity and ingenuity. But the perpetrators did not arise from the bottomless pit. They were born of women. They were originally like yourselves. And if subjected to the same temptations, you would become even as they are, and as many Northern men have already become.

These human beings (for such they are) have had their worst propensities magnified and inflamed by the possession of despotic and irresponsible power. Cut off, by their own intolerance and fierceness, from the society of all who believe in the Declaration of Independence, and from the influence of the public opinion of Christendom (of which they heard only enough to irritate them), they have herded together, and have "bred in and in" their defiance of the laws of God and man, and their hatred and cruelty, until they seem to have been delivered over to believe that they have a Divine right to do as they please, not only to their slaves, but to all mankind who differ from them.

These effects have legitimately flowed from Slavery. You must remove the cause, if you wish to have peace and union.

But this cause removed, by the blessing of Almighty God upon our armies, we shall dwell together in safety. The Capital and Industry of the Free States will make the South the Garden of America; will make her production an hundred-fold; and once more,

"As a band of brothers joined,
Peace and safety we shall find."

APPENDIX

TO THE

REPORT OF THE SANITARY COMMITTEE:

BEING THE

EVIDENCE TAKEN BY THE COMMISSION

RELATING TO

TREATMENT OF UNION PRISONERS BY THE REBELS.

EVIDENCE OF OFFICERS AND SOLDIERS OF THE UNITED STATES ARMY* RETURNED AFTER CONFINEMENT IN REBEL PRISONS.

Testimony taken at Annapolis, Maryland, at United States Army General Hospital, Division No. 1, *May* 31, *A.D.* 1864.

COMMISSIONERS PRESENT.—Dr. Valentine Mott, Dr. Edward Delafield, Gouverneur M. Wilkins, Esq., Dr. Ellerslie Wallace, Hon. J. I. Clarke Hare, Rev. Treadwell Walden.

TESTIMONY OF PRIVATES AND NON-COMMISSIONED OFFICERS.

Private JOSEPH GRIDER, *sworn and examined:—*

I come from East Tennessee, near Knoxville; enlisted in the 3d East Tennessee infantry. I was taken prisoner near home, betrayed by a citizen, 30th October, 1863. I was taken to Atlanta, Georgia, and then taken to Richmond. I am fifty-eight years of age; my health was pretty good when I was last captured. The first time I was balled and chained at Macon, Georgia. I escaped from Macon, Georgia; was taken as a spy; some papers found on me — recruiting papers. Was put in Libby Prison first, kept there about three weeks, then was removed to Danville. I first escaped August 31st, and afterwards was retaken. I then had my uniform on as I had before when I was taken as a spy. When I reached Richmond my health was only tolerable good, which was occasioned by the treatment I had previously received. During while I was escaping I lived on stolen corn and stolen pigs; I broiled the meat in the mountains; I was in Libby about three weeks; was in Danville over five months. Left Danville 16th of April to come here.

In Libby my daily ration was corn bread — very rough. It was not sieved — plenty of whole grains in it; (witness gives the measure, which amounts to about 31† cubic inches). There were corn husks also in the bread as large as my two fingers. I kept a journal, but it was taken from me; it was in the haversack. Had meat sometimes, about every other day, about two ounces. The bread weighed from a half pound to three-quarters — for two men — as some of our men weighed it. I could have eat up my rations and my partner's and not had enough at that, when I was well. It was just the diet that made me sick; the bread was not done half the time.

Everything was taken from me but my dress coat, shirt, pants and boots; slept on the floor; walked many a night to keep warm; there were two hundred and fourteen men in the room I staid in; we laid close together, about a foot apart.

Rations at Libby not the same as at Danville; at Danville we got black bread, which we drew until it gave out, then we had corn bread. There were lots of men who walked

* The term "United States Army" is used here and elsewhere for convenience, and includes both the regular and volunteer service.

† Representing a fraction more than twelve ounces of raw corn meal.

all night to keep warm. At Danville we got bigger of the black bread than common; I threw it up, I couldn't eat it. It is made of cane seed; I never knew it to be eaten before. I was in Danville about four weeks before the diarrhœa came on me; I had lost flesh before and since my capture. My healthy weight is from two hundred and twelve to two hundred and fourteen pounds.

I went into the hospital when I had the diarrhœa; there got pea-soup and a slice of white bread, size of half my hand. I found bugs in the soup, that was boiled out of the peas. I was there twelve days before they gave me any medicine, or told me what was the matter with me.

My diarrhœa had stopped some time before I was exchanged; I afterwards had the pleurisy. I have gained flesh since I came here. They abuse the Tennesseans worse than other prisoners. Our food was about the same.

They would not let you look out the windows. They shot seven men for looking out; one was shot on my floor; his name was Robert McGill; he got well; he had just put his hand out to throw out some water.

It was warm enough in the day-time when we were stirring about. Sometimes we were allowed to go to the privy and sometimes we were not. We have been kept from it so much as three days, until we fouled the floor — this was for punishment for taking a little slat or such thing, by those who were on the lower floor. I can eat two such corn cakes as I got.

JOSEPH GRIDER.

Sworn to and subscribed before me,
May 31st, 1864.
D. P. Brown, Jr.,
United States Commissioner.

Private Jackson O. Broshers, *sworn and examined:—*

Age, twenty years; height, six feet one inch; ordinary weight from one hundred and seventy to one hundred and seventy-five pounds. I have weighed but one hundred and sixty pounds; improved for a while in weight in the army. I enlisted from Spencer county, Indiana, in the 65th Indiana; captured December 16th; in prison at Belle Isle, and at Pemberton buildings in Richmond.

Was clad with great coat and blanket when taken. They were taken from me; they gave me no blankets or covering. I wore a jacket, shirt, drawers, &c., while in prison. The prison was not a very good place to stay; it was a tent; I staid in it at Belle Isle; the rain came in; suffered from the cold; it was cold weather; had some little fire part of the time; I had a Sibley tent very much torn; the fire was in the centre.

I saw a good many men — over three hundred — without shelter for some weeks; I slept on an old coat I got from a rebel; no man ever said he was comfortable in prison; our men would sleep upon what they could get; I have a chronic diarrhœa; had corn bread in prison; before I came away they gave us more; I had enough for a while of such as was given us; no whole grains in my bread; it was white corn bread; had pork once; don't know how often I had beef; don't think seven times; was in Belle Isle about two and a half months; got a piece of meat about the size of my two fingers. I judge it had worms in it by the holes I saw; before I came away, I got enough of such as it was, but at first I did not.

I lost my strength I think for the want of food; it was a month and a half that we had no meat; had not been sick before I entered the army; most of the men complained of being hungry; they appeared ravenous when the rations were brought in.

I have gained strength since I have been here; I have the diarrhœa; had it about two weeks before I came from prison; I think I lost my strength before the diarrhœa began; lost my flesh afterward; the worst of my weakness was after the diarrhœa commenced; could not have walked three miles without resting before the diarrhœa came on.

I did not suffer from the want of air, but the want of room; I suffered from cold a great deal; about fourteen to fifteen men sleep in a Sibley tent in our army.

I got some crackers that they said came from the Sanitary Commission, a cap, overcoat and canteen; the other men got some clothing, too, that they said came from the Sanitary Commission.

My rations were somewhat less than this bible.*

JACKSON O. BROSHERS.

Sworn to and subscribed before me,
May 31st, 1864.
D. P. Brown, Jr.,
United States Commissioner.

Corporal William M. Smith, *sworn and examined:—*

I am twenty-two years old; from Kentucky; enlisted in the 8th Kentucky regiment September 24th, 1861; was captured September 20th, 1863; taken to Richmond, Virginia; was captured at the battle of Chattanooga.

I was put in Smith's building, after being

* Which being measured, contains 31¼ cubic inches.

some six days at Belle Isle; in Smith's building about two months.

Had on good clothes when taken in; they took blankets and oil cloth, extra shirt and drawers, &c., from me; while we were in Richmond, there were some Sanitary clothes sent there; they were needed mighty bad; the rebels have taken a heap of Sanitary clothing, I think.

At Belle Isle, laid out on the naked ground; it rained some two days.

I took the small-pox in Danville; I was then taken to the hospital; I wore the same clothing I had before I got it; I wore the same clothes when I came on here; I believe I had a shirt and my dress coat washed; I washed my drawers myself.

I came here the second of May.

My health was pretty good when taken prisoner; when I left I was taken out of the hospital; I guess it was the small-pox, erysipelas and diarrhœa which brought me down.

When I was in prison, before I was taken sick, got a piece of corn bread about the size of this bible, (the same referred to by the other witness;) got meat three or four days in the week; when sick, got a small piece of wheat bread — as much as I could eat then — a piece of beef with it, about two ounces; sometimes a little beef soup, with red peas in it, and rice; we had coffee made out of rye — sometimes, once a day — most every day; I took the small-pox first; I was there about a week before I took it; felt pretty well before; did not get enough to eat before; hungry all the time.

WILLIAM M. SMITH.

Sworn to and subscribed before me,
May 31st, 1864.

D. P. Brown, Jr.,
United States Commissioner.

Sergeant Alfred P. Jones, *sworn and examined:—*

I am twenty-seven years of age; am from Worcester, Massachusetts; I enlisted September 14th, 1861, in Boston, in the 1st Massachusetts cavalry; was taken prisoner in Virginia, at Aldie, June 17th, 1863; was taken to Libby prison June 24th, 1863.

Was in prison two days and one night; then taken to Belle Isle, and remained there some thirty days when I was exchanged; I was protected from the weather by a tent — it was full of holes; some were as well off and others were not — some laid on the bare ground — some four hundred; had no blanket or overcoat when I went there.

I sold my India rubber cover to a rebel to buy bread with.

A good many who went to the prison when I did, had their blankets taken from them; the men said they wanted the clothes for their own soldiers; I used to see the rebel officers dressed in our uniforms.

Most of the men seemed to have coughs, and were very weak.

The prisoners complained of a want of food; it was a general complaint; I walked the streets many a night; I could not sleep from hunger; all complained.

At the time I was there in June and July, 1863, the food was very fair, but in small quantities; received one-fourth of a loaf in the morning of wheat bread, which was three inches by three and three-fourths, by one and three-fourths. We had this twice a day; about two small mouthfuls of meat. For supper we had a half pint of bean soup; don't remember finding any worms in it; there would be sand or gravel in it; there was no deficiency in water. We were allowed to go out in squads to bathe. There were squads let out to bathe and wash their clothes.

I had nothing to sleep on; it was warm in the day time, cool at night.

I heard many complain of cramp and pains. I lost flesh and strength, and so did the others, from want of food.

ALFRED P. JONES,
Sergeant Co. C., 1st Massachusetts Cavalry.

Sworn to and subscribed before me,
May 31st, 1864.

D. P. Brown, Jr.
United States Commissioner.

Private William D. Foote, *sworn and examined:—*

I was born in Canada, and enlisted in Buffalo, New York, on 31st October, 1862, in the 9th New York Cavalry; I am twenty-eight years of age; have been in the army about a year and eight months.

Was in the hands of the rebels about nine months; was at Belle Isle, and in the hospital at Richmond; was well when I was captured; I was taken with diarrhœa.

For first two or three months at Belle Isle the quality of rations was very good; hardly sufficient to sustain life in quantity. It was wheat bread, almost four inches square, not exceeding half an inch in thickness, a small portion of beef — call it two mouthfuls. We had this quantity of bread twice a day, and a small tincupful of bean soup, which had black bugs in it, which would float on the top. We then got corn bread, about half the size of this Bible, (the same one previously referred to,) twice a day.

I was seven weeks I had no shelter at all; the latter part of the time had a tent full of holes.

The latter part of October received blankets, &c., from our Government; my blankets and clothes had been taken from me.

I lost flesh. Out of seven hundred that came to Belle Isle with me, I think there were about two hundred got shelter; we were exposed to the weather.

There was no name for our hunger. When a bone would be thrown away by some, it would be taken up often by others, and boiled to get something out of it.

All who were there failed in strength and flesh as I did, from starvation, I think.

There were no sheds put up for us.

I should judge it was the corn bread which caused the diarrhœa. It appeared to disagree with me, for when I had wheat bread, I kept my health perfect. The corn bread gave me pain in my bowels; often got whole grains and husks in the bread, I am positive, as I am on my oath; the proportion would be small; after that, we got rye and corn mixed, of a better quality of bread.

WILLIAM D. FOOTE.

Sworn to and subscribed before me,
May 31st, 1864.

D. P. BROWN, JR.,
United States Commissioner.

Private ROBERT MORRISON, *sworn and examined:* —

I was enlisted from the northwest part of Ohio, in Pendleton, Putnam county, Riley township, in the 21st Ohio Volunteers; I was taken prisoner at Chattanooga, September 20th, 1863; I was removed to Richmond; was two or three days on our way; I was stout and healthy when I reached Richmond; I forget the name of the prison into which I was put — I remember, it was Pemberton; I remained there about a month, was then removed to Danville, Virginia, remained there till I was brought here; was placed in buildings at Danville.

Our blankets were taken from us; our other clothing was left to us: had no overcoat; had no watch; we saved our money; I put it in the sole of my boot; they searched us for it; we had a stove — got wood once in a while; it was not very comfortable.

My health was first-rate before I entered the service; I was in the army about nineteen months before I was captured; had no bowel complaint or any other sickness while in our army; when I went into the army my weight was one hundred and twenty-five pounds.

I got a chunk of corn bread daily, the size of this Bible*; it satisfied me and more too, because I couldn't eat it; sometimes it was but about half baked; it was of a yellow color; it was of a musty taste; had a very small ration of meat about as large as three of my fingers in breadth, and about two inches in thickness.

* The same before referred to.

I was about two months in prison before I took sick; my first sickness was fever and ague; I had not had it before for some years; I have a little bowel complaint now, it does not trouble me much; I had the lung fever afterwards. I got some eggs then; when I got so as to be up and around I was sent back to the prison; I then took the diarrhœa; that came on in about three weeks after my return to the prison; it reduced me down — was sent back to the hospital; got wheat bread then, an egg, small piece of meat, potatoes, salt meat, some soup not very good; there was rice in the soup; was in a bed when I had the lung fever; I could go into corn bread pretty fast at first; the meat was pretty good — fresh meat; I was there about six months; if the corn bread had been good, with the meat, it would have been plenty; had not been in the habit of eating corn bread; it was kind of musty. In the corn bread there were some grains of corn.

A hundred and fifty men in the room where I was. In a warm evening the room was very close; we had brooms to sweep the room; the privy was handy; the room we were in was about sixty by sixty feet; we had as much food as we wanted, such as it was.

There was about a foot between each man as we lay; we had a small yard we could walk around, about fifteen or sixteen feet wide, by one hundred and fifty feet long; I think it was the corn bread and fresh meat that gave me the bowel complaint; I was not used to the corn bread.

I am twenty-three years of age.

ROBERT MORRISON.

Sworn to and subscribed before me,
May 31, 1864.

D. P. BROWN, JR.,
United States Commissioner.

Testimony taken at United States Army General Hospital, Division No. 2, Annapolis, Maryland, May 31, 1864.

ALL THE COMMISSIONERS PRESENT.

Private GEORGE DINGMAN, *sworn and examined:* —

I am fifty-four years of age; I am from Michigan; enlisted in the 27th Regiment in 1862; I had always good health till captured; was taken at Strawberry Plain; taken to Richmond, thence to Belle Island about the 26th of January; had no shelter but the heavens; was taken by some one into a tent; had the rheumatism.

No shelter was provided by the authorities; some hundreds had no shelter, some had; no fire; had nothing to sleep on but them blankets I brought; had blankets when taken prisoner.

(A ration produced); this was the rations I got; sometimes we got this twice and sometimes three times a day (the ration weighs two ounces of bread and three-sixteenths of an ounce of meat; both are now perfectly dry which causes a loss of weight); have had meat more than once a day.

Was at Belle Isle two weeks; think the prisoners got a little more bread on the island than at the hospital; my ration was two inches in length by two and a half inches wide, and about one inch thick, three times a day, or twice a day sometimes; suffered from hunger; could not lay in bed from rheumatism; when the hungry feeling came I got so weak I could not walk; once and a while had a little soup or beans raw; no man could eat the soup unless he was starving; it tasted nasty and briny; I could walk when I came here, but had no strength.

I saw the rations the rebel guards got; they were four times as much as ours: they got the same kind of bread and meat, but they could help themselves out of the bag.

There were complaints; the doctor was very kind, and did all he could.

During January the men would run all night to keep warm, and in the morning I would see men lying dead; from three to six or seven; they were frozen; this was nearly every morning I was there; the men would run to keep warm, and then lie down and freeze to death; we made an estimate and found that seventeen men died a night from starvation and cold, on an average.

If I were to sit here a week I couldn't tell you half our suffering.

GEORGE DINGMAN.

Sworn to and subscribed before me,
May 31st, 1864.

D. P. BROWN, JR.,
United States Commissioner.

Private CHARLES H. ALLEN, *sworn and examined:* —

My home is in New York; enlisted in the 16th New York Regiment last fourth of July; was sickly then; don't know when I was captured; it was in Virginia; was taken to Belle Isle.

They took my clothes away; my extra clothing, my overcoat and blanket; it was at the end of the winter; slept on the ground; remained about two months without shelter, then went to the hospital.

It was cold; suffered a great deal with cold; some froze to death; I only saw dead men once.

We got corn bread and sometimes soup; corn bread twice a day; meat three or four times a week; I got a quarter of a loaf of corn bread for each ration about as wide as my four fingers, and about four fingers thick.

I was hungry, pretty nearly starved to death all the time.

Rations not as good at the hospital; not so large.

Had a frozen foot and diarrhœa when I went to the hospital; think it was the beans and water which gave me the diarrhœa; I relished the bread at first, then I lost my relish for it; was in Belle Isle about three months; from the last of the winter.

Was in Belle Isle two months before I froze my feet; I heard that a good many more were frozen to death; about sixty I suppose; I did not go round the tents, and therefore did not see them; I have lost the end of my little toe (witness exhibits his frozen toe to the Commission).

CHAS. H. his ⋈ ALLEN.
mark.

Sworn to and subscribed before me,
May 31st, 1864.

D. P. BROWN, JR.,
United States Commissioner.

Private FRANK EICHELBERGER, *sworn and examined:* —

I am from Baltimore; enlisted August, 1861, in the 8th Kansas, Company A; captured at Chattanooga; health good up to that time; taken to Richmond and placed in a tobacco warehouse; I am twenty-two years of age; got to Richmond 21st of October; went into prison in December, and remained till March.

They took our blankets and coats away from us; laid on planks; on the floor; it was warm when we were crowded.

Got corn bread, rice, sweet potatoes; meat once a week; got rice and sweet potatoes every other day: corn bread three inches square, one and a half inches thick, twice a day: teacupful of rice; sometimes soup, two-thirds of a pint; we got soup about as often as we got meat.

It did not satisfy hunger; my appetite was never satisfied; my health declined rapidly.

I got a heavy cold; and then went to the hospital, when I had the pneumonia; the condition of the other men was about the same with regard to their food and accommodations; they complained of their treatment while at the hospital; got dried apples and coffee sent to us from the North.

I had no pain when I suffered from hunger; could not sleep on account of hunger; did not suffer from cold a great deal; the loaf shown to me is just like what we got; about one-third of it (loaf weighs fifteen ounces, and measured about thirty-one and a half cubic inches), twice a day.

The rebel guards got the same kind of bread; a great deal more; enough to satisfy any man's hunger; sometimes their bread

was better than this; the bread was made of corn meal not sifted; no grains or cob in it that I saw; I believe some of our men did complain; haven't heard any reason why we were not better fed.

FRANK EICHELBERGER.

Sworn to and subscribed before me,
May 31st, 1864.

D. P. Brown, Jr.,
United States Commissioner.

Private Daniel McMann, *sworn and examined:* —

I am from New York; enlisted in the 43d New York; captured at Gettysburg; was sickly when captured; taken to Richmond; placed in Belle Isle.

Took my coat and blanket away; gave us no covering: some laid out on a bank; reached Belle Isle in July; a number of men had to lie out on the bare ground — two hundred; I was there till after Christmas.

I suffered from cold very much, and so did the men more than I; we had cold rain storms; some men froze to death in a ditch.

It was not much better in the tents; I saw men carried out of the tents in blankets, dead; saw this more than once; I suppose they died mostly from hunger and cold.

We got about one-third the loaf shown, of corn bread (loaf weighed, and weighs fifteen ounces) twice a day; sometimes but once; meat once regularly; a small piece about as big as my four fingers together.

Went into the hospital after Christmas, and remained till last of March; rations worse in hospital; as much bread, meat and soup given to us the same day at the hospital; they were bad and we could not eat them; a hungry man could not eat the meat and soup; there is but one man here who was in the ward with me at the hospital.

Suffered from hunger at Belle Isle; heard others complain; had the measles and a touch of the diarrhœa; my strength did not keep up till I got the diarrhœa; when I would go down to the river to get a drink, I could hardly stand or get back; river about fifty yards off.

My guards were not hungry, for they would sometimes throw bread in to the prisoners; have picked it up myself; it was better bread than ours; not so coarse.

I saw a man kill a dog and eat part of it, and he sold the rest of it; I got some.

his
DANIEL ⋊ McMANN.
mark.

Sworn to and subscribed before me,
May 31st, 1864.

D. P. Brown, Jr.,
United States Commissioner.

Private Walter S. Smith, *sworn and examined:* —

Am from New York; enlisted August 27th, 1861, in the 48th New York; captured at Morris Island, July 18th taken to Columbia, S. C.; never had any blanket; rations were corn bread—enough— small piece of meat and rice; done very well there; from there taken to Richmond — Libby Prison.

Was put on Belle Isle in two days after. tents torn, holes in them; about half of our men slept outside—fifty; it rained through the tents.

Some laid out in the snow and frost; I laid on the ground; the men that laid out, some had blankets and some had none; some froze to death; many had their feet frozen; all that slept out suffered from cold some in tents suffered from cold.

I saw men that had frozen to death in the night; I saw this seven or eight times.

We had wheat bread when we first went there; about eight inches by four and a-half, by an inch and a half or more thick; meat ration four or five times a week, as big as my three fingers, each time, for three or four months; after that got none, except once in a while: I had a chronic diarrhœa; kept my strength pretty well till then; lost flesh before.

The corn bread was very poor—ground with cob; on the days they gave us meat, they gave us less bread; when we had meat, the bread ration was about one-half the size of the loaf produced here, (same as before referred to, weighing fifteen ounces); we got half of this loaf (for the whole day) when we got meat; two-thirds when we had no meat; we never got as much as the whole loaf; when we came away, they gave us rations to last through the day—one loaf; we got soup four or five times a week at first; soup and meat same day; latter part of time, scarce any soup.

The guards fared better; they got meat when we did not; they got a third more bread; our rations not sufficient to keep down hunger; suffered the last three months; had the diarrhœa twice; got it the last time, three or four days before I came away; the men suffered very much who had been on the island for some time; felt no pain when hungry; never kept from sleeping from hunger; left Belle Isle, 17th of March; think thirty or forty died while I was there.

I have heard the men running round the tents to keep warm at all hours of the night; the river was frozen a little while I was there; the current is rapid.

The water would freeze two or three inches in the bucket at night; the main street of the camp would be very much filled with men lying there.

From the general talk from the men in the camp, I think that the statement, that seventeen men would die on an average a night, is likely to be correct.

WALTER S. SMITH.

Sworn to and subscribed before me,
May 31st, 1864.

D. P. BROWN, JR.,
United States Commissioner.

Testimony taken at United States Army General Hospital, Division No. 1, Annapolis, Maryland, June 1st, 1864.

ALL THE COMMISSIONERS PRESENT.

Private WM. W. WILCOX, of Cleveland, Ohio, *sworn and examined:*—

I enlisted August, 1862, in the 124th Ohio Volunteers.

Taken prisoner at the battle of Chickamauga, Ga., September, 1863; taken to Tunnel Hill, Ga.; was in good health at the time of capture; thence to Richmond, Va.; placed on Belle Isle.

They took everything except the natural clothing, even to knife, on body; no blankets given us; I hid my money and they did not get that.

No shelter provided; slept on bare ground; no covering in the least; was put on the Isle the last day of September, or first of October; staid there eleven days; men came when I did; had no shelter; were turned into an enclosure in which there was no shelter; I suppose there were two thousand without shelter.

Removed to the city of Richmond; we were all removed there; placed in Smith's tobacco factory; no covering nor bed until the blankets were sent to us by the United States; received the blankets about the 1st of December.

Removed to Danville, and placed in tobacco warehouse; windows broken out; miserable cold place; we took the blankets with us from Richmond; so cold, we suffered; no means to keep warm, except by walking around; the cold prevented sleeping to a great extent; a man could not sleep alone comfortable with one blanket.

There was a great deal of stealing of blankets by the guards; the men traded their blankets for rice; the guards would bring rice to the window, from fifteen to twenty pounds, and offer to exchange for our blankets; they would come to the windows and say, "stick your blanket out so I can get hold of the end of it;" then two or more of the guards would jerk the blanket away and not give the rice; this was not a general thing, though it was often done; the motive of the men for doing this, was, they were so near starved out that they were ready to take anything; the guard would pass in bags of sand in place of rice and take blankets.

When we first came there, our bread was made from middlings, shorts and bran, such as we feed our cattle; it was a combination of most everything, corn-hulls, bran, and refuse flour; got about half pound: the bulk was only one-quarter larger than the loaf shown, but was lighter than this; I should say from two to three ounces lighter.

Our beef, when we first went there, would range from four to six ounces a day.

Our soup was made from sweet potatoes; about half pint in quantity, and the liquor the beef was boiled in; some days we would not get any soup; the soup was hardly palatable.

There was a difference in our rations; we drew this black bread for about a week, then drew corn bread; the corn bread was about the size for a ration as the loaf shown here; I should judge our rations were heavier than that loaf, about two to three ounces, (loaf weighs now twelve ounces and a fraction).

In every ration there was cobs, whole corn, as hard as on the cobs, sometimes husks as long as my finger; the loaf was sweet when we first got it; not sufficient to satisfy hunger.

The way it affected me was to make me so weak I would become blind; if I'd get up to move as far as across this room, I would become blind and everything would get dark, and I would fall from weakness; my strength kept declining all the time before I got the diarrhœa; did not have much diarrhœa until the first of March.

I was removed to the hospital about the middle of December, from Danville; I had no disease I know of but weakness, swelling of the legs, with purple and inflamed and yellow spots; the skin cracked and water ran out of my legs; rations better at the hospital, when I first went there, than they were in prison; we were allowed no privilege at all in prison.

After we tunnelled out, we were only allowed to go to the privy six at a time; the floor was in one mess—filthy; an ordinary one-horse wagon load of human excrement on the floor every morning.

Not allowed to look out the window; was shot at twice for looking out; a man was shot alongside of me, while standing at the window; he was standing two feet from the window, with his hand on the casement; the sentry could not see him from the sentry's beat; I presume the sentry saw his shadow; he stepped out of his position to shoot at him, perhaps twenty to twenty-five feet; the sentry shot him in the head and killed him instantly; I suppose I have seen five hundred men shot at· our orders were not to put our

heads out the windows; this man had not put his head out at that time; he had rolled up his blanket and was standing over the place where he slept on the floor; his name was Alexander Opes, of the 101st Indiana.

With one exception, we were treated very well by the physicians; never heard any fault found of any physician but Dr. Moses, of Charlestown; don't know his first name; when once we had mouldy bread given to us in the hospital, Dr. Fontleroy made a fuss about it and had it changed.

WM. W. WILCOX.

Sworn to and subscribed before me,
June 1st, 1864.

D. P. BROWN, JR.,
United States Commissioner.

Private WILLIAM D. FOOTE, *recalled:—*

The first case of death I remember, was a Massachusetts man, who died from frozen feet; from the looks of them you could hardly tell they were feet; he laid in the next bed to me; they first took off the toes of one of the feet, and then took off the foot; in a few days he died from amputation; he was in the same ward; brought in the middle of November. Saw no man frozen to death on Belle Isle; saw any number of men brought in with frozen feet, who afterwards suffered amputation; ten or twelve persons were so brought in; two or three of the amputated cases died; I speak of what occurred in my ward.

WILLIAM D. FOOTE.

Sworn to and subscribed before me,
June 1st, 1864.

D. P. BROWN, JR.,
United States Commissioner.

Private HIRAM J. NEAL *sworn and examined: —*

I am from Maine; enlisted in the 4th Maine Regiment; taken prisoner at Bristow Station, in October, 1863; taken to the Pemberton prison, from there to Belle Island, which I reached 24th February; remained until January 18th, blankets taken from me; nothing given in their place; after eight days, we had tents at Belle Island.

At first the men had to lay out till they could find tents; had nothing to sleep upon.

About one-fifth of the men were permitted by the rebels to retain their blankets; had no straw or board to lie on; tents old and rotten —full of holes; those in the tents managed to keep warm, though they couldn't sleep; those out of the tents, from three to six hundred, tried to run about to keep warm.

Saw many with frozen feet carried off; in one morning saw eleven corpses, three frozen stiff. Near first of January, deaths occurred eight or ten in twenty-four hours, principally in the night; I deem the causes of those deaths to have been exposure and starvation.

When I left, January 18th, there were about five thousand men there; I was transferred to the hospital for diarrhœa and disability.

Rations not sufficient to satisfy hunger; waked up one night and found myself gnawing my coat sleeve; used to dream of having something good to eat.

I had a pain in my chest and bowels; had the diarrhœa when I was captured; had a pain in my bowels then; had about four movements of the bowels a day before captured; not able to do duty all the time; I had been thirty-six hours on the march with one night's rest just before I was captured; was in the fight about an hour.

HIRAM J. NEAL.

Sworn to and subscribed before me,
June 1st, 1864.

D. P. BROWN, JR.,
United States Commissioner.

Private CHARLES F. PFOUNSTIEL, *sworn and examined:—*

I am a German; enlisted in 2d Maryland, September 24, 1862; captured in Tennessee; imprisoned in Belle Island; reached there January 21st; remained till 6th of March.

They took my blankets, sixty dollars in money, and a watch worth thirty dollars.

For two days had no shelter; then I got in the tents; air came in on every side; many men without tents; two hundred men went in with me; the greater part had no tents; some had a blanket or old coat.

Some froze to death; could not keep warm; one out of my regiment froze to death; he reported to the doctor that he was sick but he paid him no attention, perhaps because the man could not speak English.

Every morning we carried out some men froze to death, and from starvation some four or five men.

We did not get enough to eat; ten or twelve ounces of corn bread and two spoons of beans almost rotten; sometimes we had soup—not fit to eat, yet had to eat it; had meat only three or four times while I was there; two or three ounces each time; I was hungry all the time.

I could not sleep for hunger and cold, dirt and lice; I washed twice a day in the James river; strength kept up till last eight days; then I felt sick in my bowels; had no diarrhœa; did not go to the hospital; left with the 9th Maryland.

I saw a good many cases carried in a blanket to the doctor, and when they got there many of them were dead; had my feet frozen.

There might be many deaths I did not see; I have reason to believe there was. I have stated what I saw—three or four a night.

The men would dig holes in the ground to lie in at night to protect them from the air.

CHAS. F. PFOUNSTIEL.

Sworn to and subscribed before me,
June 1st, 1864.

D. P. Brown, Jr.,
United States Commissioner.

TESTIMONY OF COMMISSIONED AND MEDICAL OFFICERS.

Captain A. R. Calhoun, *sworn and examined:—*

I am from Kentucky; was not mustered in at the time of capture: was captured at North Eastern Georgia; was taken to Libby Prison; captured in October, 1863, and reached Libby in November.

We were taken from Atlanta in open box cars, without shelter; we lay on the floor, wounded men and all; men with the diarrhœa had no accommodations, and had to perform the operations of nature in the cars; all packed closely; there was about fifty wounded; some amputations.

Just before we left Atlanta, one of our men with diarrhœa went to the back house, which was beyond the line our prisoners were allowed to go; there was a bunch of dried leaves at the corner of the back house; they could not have been a foot beyond the line, and when the man went to pick them up, the guard fired and killed him.

On entering Libby it was thirty-six hours before we had any rations given us, and would have suffered, if the officers already there had not shared with us; I mean our officers.

We were packed in a room of one hundred and forty feet long by forty-five feet wide, and already occupied by nearly three hundred men.

We had no clothing or bedding given to us; there were eleven men of us; what we had was taken from us by our captors; it was very cold; the windows were broken at each end of the room; our comrades also shared their blankets and continued to do so until we were supplied by blankets from the Sanitary Committee; even then they would not average over a blanket to a man, in my room.

It was so filthy that our clothing and blankets soon became covered with vermin; the floors of the prison were washed late in the afternoon nearly every day, so that when we came to lie down it was very damp; we had nothing but our clothing and blanket to lie on; the result was that nearly every man had a cough.

We were wormed and dove-tailed together like fish in a basket; in this room was the sink and privy; we did our washing and dried our clothes in the same room; two stoves in the room, one at each end, and two or three armfuls of wood for each per day.

We were not allowed to go within three feet of the windows to look out; but men could not help this, and were repeatedly fired upon; in this firing they wounded four officers; there was hardly a day passed without firing; any one whe hung clothes near or on the windows, had the clothes confiscated and were put in the cells.

Twice each day the men were crowded into two rooms for roll call; in this room were the sick and weak who could hardly stand; the crowd was immense; our men were counted out one by one; the officers—there were one thousand officers; any one not attending this roll call was compelled to stand in ranks four hours on the floor.

When I first entered Libby in November, we received a small loaf of corn bread, about two ounces of poor beef and a little boiled rice each day; the loaf was about an inch and a half longer, thicker and heavier than this.* The crust was very thick; we used to call it iron-clad, and grate it and make mush out of it, as the most palatable way; we could not grate the crusts.

After November we received about two ounces of beef once in four weeks on an average; from the 25th of March till the 6th of May, not a bit of meat was issued in officers' quarters.

For the three months of Feburary, March, and April, there was a pint of black peas issued to each man every week, and a little vinegar; these peas were full of bugs, nearly every ration; they called them bugs, but they were little white maggots in a chrysalis state; we pounded the peas so as to mash them, and let the bugs flow to the surface; there was about an ounce of soap and a little salt given each man.

This was inadequate to satisfy hunger, and for two months I have had a burning sensation, when in prison, in my intestines. I used to dream of food, and foolishly would blame myself for not having eaten more when at home; the subject of food engrossed my entire thoughts; not all suffered as I did; the majority did; some were fortunate enough to receive boxes from home.

We were allowed to write letters once each week, not to exceed six lines.

Boxes sent us from the North were stored in a warehouse near the prison; we could see them in the windows; the contents of the boxes were being stolen or ruined by keeping, and when issued I think would have

* The same loaf before referred to.

been eaten by none but starving men; every package and can was broken open, and the contents were poured promiscuously into a blanket, so that everything ran in together; they stole a great many of our boxes: one of the guards told me that they saw our men escaping through the tunnel, and that they did not prevent them, supposing it was their own men stealing our boxes; the Sanitary supply sent us, we received but little of; we were allowed to send out and buy at extravagant prices; they sold us the Sanitary hams, butter, and stationery. Marks of the Sanitary Commission were on the cases and on the paper.

For trivial offences, officers were sent to the cells; there had been about eighty-five men in; many of those men were innocent that were placed there as hostages; they said the cells were damp, walls green, no stoves; they were about twelve feet by twenty; at one time there were sixteen men in those cells; some had to stand all night; I believe this fully. I was in the hospital with pneumonia.

Just before I left, Capt. Stevens received a small box from home, sat down and ate to excess, as any man would under the circumstances, and died a few hours afterwards.

The surgeon was very kind to us. The hospital food was just like the quarter food, with the exception of a little rye coffee and sugar; not quite so much bread.

I had a burning sensation on the inside, with a general failing in strength. A man had a piece of ham which I looked at for hours.

When I came away on the 16th of May, and saw the pale faces of the men through the bars, I cried. They begged me for God's sake to appeal to the Government and write to the papers—to do anything in the world to get them relieved. I am confident that if they remain long in that situation, they will never be fit for anything. The men never blame our Government for their suffering.

I know the Rebels have plenty, for we went down into the cellar, and brought up corn meal, flour, potatoes and turnips, which we divided with our fellows; the flour was excellent; I ate about a quart of it. I am a communicant in the church, and was studying for the ministry when the war broke out. I am a member of the Reformed Church.

A. R. CALHOUN.

Sworn to and subscribed before me,
June 1st, 1864.

D. P. Brown, Jr.,
United States Commissioner.

I certify that the foregoing testimony was taken and reduced to writing in the presence of the respective witnesses, and by them sworn to in my presence, at the times, places, and in the manner set forth.

D. P. Brown, Jr.,
United States Commissioner.

Testimony, by letter, of Lieut.-Col. Farnsworth, 1st Conn. Cavalry.

Norwich, June 29th, 1864.

Gentlemen:—In reply to a letter from one of your Committee, I have the honor to make the following statement of what I saw, heard and felt of the treatment of prisoners of war by the Confederate authorities, at Richmond, Virginia:

I entered service October, 1861; was captured on the 14th of July, 1863, in a cavalry skirmish near Halltown, Va.; was conveyed to Richmond, and confined in Libby prison; was paroled and sent North on the 14th of March, 1864.

My treatment by my immediate captors was gentlemanly in the extreme; even going so far as to assist me in concealing money, so as to prevent the Richmond authorities from robbing me.

Upon reaching the Libby, we were rigidly searched, and all moneys and attractive jack-knives, nice overcoats and meerschaum pipes were kindly appropriated by the prison authorities; rubber blankets, canteens, spurs and haversacks were taken from us. Lieut. Moran, for complaining of this treatment, was knocked down by Richard Turner, inspector of the prison clothing.

There was never an issue of clothing or blankets made by the Confederate authorities during the time I was there confined. We did receive one hundred (100) each of tin plates, cups, knives, forks, (mostly damaged by bayonet-thrusts, they having been picked up from battle-fields), for the use of one thousand (1000) officers.

Accommodations—In six (6) rooms, one hundred by forty, there were confined as many as twelve hundred (1200) officers of all ranks, from Brigadier-General to Second Lieutenant. This space was all that was allowed us in which to cook, eat, wash, sleep and exercise. You can see that soldierly muscle must fast deteriorate when confined to twenty (20) superficial feet of plank; we were not allowed benches, chairs or stools, nor even to fold our blankets and sit upon them; but were forced to sit like so many slaves upon the middle passage.

This continued until the appointment of General Butler, Commissioner of Exchange, after which time we were allowed chairs and stools, which we made from the boxes and barrels sent us from the North.

There was plenty of water allowed us, and a tank for bathing in four (4) of the rooms.

There were seventy-six (76) windows in the six (6) rooms, from which in winter there was no protection.

SUBSISTENCE.—Our rations consisted of one-quarter (¼) of a pound of beef, nine (9) ounces of bread of variable quality, generally of wheat flour, though sometimes of weat flour and corn meal, a gill of rice, and a modicum of salt and vinegar per day. This continued until the 11th of November, which was the first day that meat was not issued, and bread made entirely of corn meal was substituted for wheat bread; this meal was composed of cob and grain ground together, and when mixed with cold water, without salt or any raising, made the bread. Meat was next issued on the 14th, and the issue suspended on the 21st. On the 26th we received salt pork, sent to the prisoners by the United States Government; from this time out, meat was like angels' visits; sometimes it was issued at intervals of ten days, and sometimes not in thirty (30); the longest interval was thirty-four (34) days.

The amount of rations first issued will undoubtedly sustain life; but their long continuance without exercise will produce disease of a scorbutic nature.

The rations issued after the 11th of November will not sustain life, and without the aid sent to us from the North the mortality would have been great. Nine ounces of such corn bread and a cup of water per day, are poorer rations than those issued to the vilest criminal in the meanest States prison in the Union; yet this was considered fit treatment by the *hospitable* chivalry of the South to be extended to men taken in honorable warfare, any one of them the peer of the arch traitor, Jeff. Davis.

BOXES.—We began to receive boxes in October. These came in good order, were inspected in our presence, and delivered to us entire; they came regularly, and were delivered in good order up to about the first of January; after this time boxes were sent regularly from the North, and were received by Col. Ould, Commissioner of Exchange, but they were *not* issued to us; they were stored in a building within sight of the prison, and at the time of my leaving, three thousand (3000) had been received there and not delivered to us; what was the cause of this non-delivery of boxes we were never informed. They keep up a semblance of delivery, however, by the issue of five (5) or six (6) a week, they receiving from the North about three hundred (300) a week.

The contents of these boxes were, undoubtedly, appropriated to the private use of the officials in and about Richmond. Here is simply one instance: Lieut. Maginnis, of the 18th Reg., Conn., since killed in battle, recognized a suit of citizen's clothes which had been sent to him from the North, on the person of one of the prison officials, and accused him of the theft, and showed his name on the watch pocket of the pants. Such cases were numerous.

BELLE ISLE.—Upon the 26th day of January, 1864, I visited Belle Island, as an assistant in the distribution of clothing sent by the Government, and by the Sanitary Commissions of the North; this was my first time outside of the prison walls in six months. The island is situated just opposite the Tredegar Iron Works in the James river. The space occupied by prisoners is about six acres, enclosed by an earthwork three (3) feet in height; within this space were confined as many as ten thousand (10,000) prisoners. The part occupied by the prisoners is a low, sandy, barren waste, exposed in summer to a burning sun, without the shadow of a single tree; and in winter, to the damp and cold winds up the river, with a few miserable tents, in which, perhaps, one-half (½) the number were protected from the night fogs of a malarious region; the others lay upon the ground in the open air. One of them said to me: "We lay in rows, like hogs in winter, and take turns who has the outside of the row."

In the morning, the row of the previous night was plainly marked by the bodies of those who were sleeping on in their last sleep.

Fed upon corn bread and water, scantily clothed, with but few blankets, our patriotic soldiers here suffered the severest misfortunes of this war. Here, by hundreds, they offered up their lives in their country's cause, victims of disease, starvation and exposure,—sufferings a thousand times more dreadful than the wounds of the battle-field. As many as fourteen (14) have been known to freeze to death in one night. This I have from men of my own regiment, and it is perfectly reliable.

The hospitals upon the island are Sibley tents, without floors, the ground covered with straw, and logs of wood placed around for pillows, to which, when about to die, he men were carried; and here, with logs for their pillows, the hard, cold ground for their bed, death came to their relief, and the grave closed over the victims of rebel barbarity.

The officer in charge of the island was well spoken of by the men. He deprecated the condition they were in, but said he could do no more, for the authorities gave him no more to do with; and yet it is a fact that the men were stimulated to work at their trades, as blacksmiths, etc., for the benefit of the Con-

federate Government, by the offer of double the quantity of rations they were then receiving; thus acting out, in their treatment of Northern soldiers, the great principle of Slavery and of the South, that the lives of the poor and helpless are in their eyes of no more value than the amount of interest they will produce on capital.

The facilities for washing were good, a sandy beach all around the island, and the whole number of prisoners could have washed in the course of the day; but, under the management of the authorities, only a limited number (say 75 men per day) were able to wash, being conducted under guard to the water, in squads of five (5) or six (6).

The sickness caused by the above treatment was of the respiratory organs, pneumonia, &c., and chronic diarrhœa.

Men were without medical treatment on the island until disease was so far advanced that when taken away in ambulances to the hospital, in squads of twenty (20), one-half (½) of them have died within five (5) hours — some of them while their names were being taken at the hospital.

Men were returned from the hospital to the island when so weak that they have been obliged to crawl upon their hands and knees a part of the way.

On the 20th of November, 1863, a squad were passing the prison (Libby) in this condition, going from the hospital to the island; among them was George Ward, a schoolmate of mine and of Col. Ely, of the 18th Conn. Vols. Col. Ely threw a ham to him from the window. As the poor fellow crawled to get it, the rebel guard charged bayonets on him, called him a damned Yankee, and appropriated the ham.

The bodies of the dead were placed in the cellar of the prison, to which there was free access for animals from the street. I have known of bodies being partially devoured by dogs, and hogs, and rats, during the night. Every morning the bodies were placed in rude coffins and taken away for burial. Officers have marked the coffins thus taken away, and have seen them returned twenty (20) times for bodies. You may draw your own inference as to the rites of burial extended to a Yankee prisoner in the Capital of the Southern Confederacy.

Officers dying, their brother officers procured metallic coffins and a vault, in which they were placed until they could be removed North. An officer, (Major Morris, of the 6th Pennsylvania Cavalry, I think,) who had in the hands of the Confederate authorities several hundred dollars, taken from him when he entered the prison, died in the hospital, and the authorities refused to use his money for a decent burial, and we raised it in the prison.

Libby Mined. — Upon the approach of Kilpatrick on his grand raid on Richmond, about the 1st March, the greatest consternation was produced among the inhabitants. The authorities felt sure of his ability to enter the city and free the prisoners.

We were informed one morning by the negroes who labor around the prison, that during the night they had been engaged in excavating a large hole under the centre of the building, and that a quantity of powder had been placed therein. Upon inquiring of certain of the guards, we found it the general impression among them that the prison was mined.

Richard Turner, inspector of the prison, told officers there confined, that "should Kilpatrick succeed in entering Richmond, it would not help us, as the prison authorities would blow up the prison and all its inmates."

The adjutant of the prison, Lieutenant Latouche, was heard by an officer (Lieutenant Jones, 55th Ohio) to use the following words to a rebel officer with whom he had entered and examined the cellar where the powder was reported as placed: "There is enough there to send every damned Yankee to hell."

Major Turner said in my presence the day we were paroled, in answer to the question, "Was the prison mined?" "Yes, and I would have blown you all to Hades before I would have suffered you to be rescued."

Bishop Johns said in the prison, when asked if he thought it was a Christian mode of warfare to blow up defenceless prisoners: "He supposed the authorities were satisfied on that point, though he did not mean to justify it."

I am very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
CHAS. FARNSWORTH,
Late Lieutenant-Colonel 1st Connecticut Cavalry.

Norwich, June 30th, 1864.

State of Connecticut, }
County of New London, }

Personally appeared Charles Farnsworth, signer of the foregoing instrument and statement, and made solemn oath that the facts stated therein are true, before me.

David Young,
Justice of the Peace.

Additional Testimony by Letter of Lieutenant-Colonel Farnsworth.

Norwich, Conn., July 16th, 1864.

Rev. Treadwell Walden, Philadelphia:

Sir: — Your favor of the 14th inst. received. In answer to your request for a

written statement of facts, related to you by myself in conversation, in regard to the conduct of the guards at Richmond, Virginia, and the provision made for the sick upon Belle Isle, I submit the following:

In what is known as the "Pemberton buildings," nearly opposite the "Libby," there were confined a large number of enlisted men. Hardly a day went by that the guards did not fire upon the prisoners. I have known as many as fourteen shots to be fired in one day. They were thus subject to death if they merely came near the window to obtain fresh air. It was a very common occurrence to hear the report of a musket and then see the sergeant of the guard bring out a wounded or dead soldier.

The guards would watch for an opportunity to fire upon their prisoners, and, without warning the prisoner to leave the vicinity of the window, fire.

Lieutenant Hammond, of the Ringgold cavalry, (better known to Libbians as "Old Imboden,") was at the sink, which is constructed upon the outside of the building. From the upper part of the sides, boards are removed for the purpose of light or ventilation. The guard below caught sight of Lieutenant Hammond's hat, through this opening, and fired. The ball entered the side, far below the opening, showing that the guard was intent upon striking his man; but a nail gave the bullet an upward turn and it passed through Hammond's ear and hat-brim. From the position he was in, there is little doubt that but for the ball striking the nail he would have been struck in the breast.

The attention of Major Turner was called to it, but he only laughed and said, "The boys were in want of practice." The guard, when spoken to about it, said "He had made a bet that he would kill a damned Yankee before he came off guard." There was not the least attention paid by the commander of the Libby prison to this deliberate attempt at *murder*.

Lieutenant Thomas Huggins, of a New York regiment, was standing at least eight feet from a window on the second floor; the guard could just see the top of his hat. To be sure of his man, the guard left his beat and stepped into the street. Being seen, a warning cry was uttered, and Huggins stooped and the bullet buried itself in the beams above. This was the same guard that fired at Hammond.

Richard, or as usually called, Dick Turner was the inspector of the prison, and acted under the orders of the commander. There was nothing too mean for him to do. He searched you when you entered, knocked you down if you grumbled, took your blanket from you if found lying upon it after morning roll-call, never spoke of you except as damned Yankees — told you "you were better treated than you deserved."

This "high-toned Southron" was employed as the negro-whipper of the prison.

Colonel Powell, 2d Virginia cavalry, (Union,) Colonel Streight and Captain Reed, 51st Indiana, and others who had been confined in the cells, used to witness the whippings, (the cells were at one end of the cellar where the whipping-block was,) and they could hear,— even if they shut their eyes to the horrid exhibition.

Colonels Powell and Streight told me of as many as six negro women having been stripped and whipped, at one time, for having passed bread to our soldiers as they marched through the street.

The flogging of the negroes that worked at the Libby was an every-day occurrence.

These blacks were free negroes from the North, who were employed as servants, but fell into the hands of the enemy. He flogged one of them so severely that he was unable to move for two weeks, and walked lame months after. His offence was resisting a white negro-driver.

The hospital tents on Belle Isle were old Sibleys. These were not temporary hospitals, for many died in them each day; but when they could not contain all the sick some sick were removed to Richmond hospitals. These tents were awful places for human beings to be placed in — without floors, a heap of straw for a bed, logs of wood for pillows — men died with less attention than many a man pays to a favorite dog. The hospitals in Richmond were much better, being in buildings, and were furnished with bunks and straw beds — some of them with sheets. But though treated with kindness, compared with Belle Island, the want of proper medicines was visible, and many died for the want of the most simple remedies.

Upon the 25th of October, 1863, two officers, (Major Hewsten, 132d New York, and a Lieutenant 4th New York Cavalry,) escaped from the hospital. Immediately, upon its being known, all the sick who were well enough to sit up or stand, were removed from the room and placed in an empty room under our prison. Here they were kept for twenty-four hours, without food or blankets, as a punishment, it was said, for not reporting the contemplated escape of the officers named. From this treatment, Surgeon Pierce of the 5th Maryland died.

The officers in the room above, removed a portion of the floor and furnished the sick with food and drink, and shared their blankets with them. This coming to the knowledge of Major Turner, we were deprived of rations for one day — October 29th, 1863.

This was not the action of the surgeons of the Libby, for, with one exception, they were kind and attentive, and did all in their power for our comfort, but of the commander of the department, Brigadier-General Winder, and of Major Turner, commander of the prison, who, I am informed, was dismissed from West Point, by orders from the Secretary of War, having been convicted of forgery.

I was informed by men whom I knew — Ward and Winship of the 18th Connecticut and Ferris and Stone of the 1st Connecticut — that the enclosure in Belle Isle was a mass of filth every morning, from the inability of the men to proceed to the sinks after evening.

Many of the guards would fire upon the prisoners for the least violation of the rules. The men were in a miserable condition and looked sickly, worn out — starvation and exposure was expressed upon their features.

Trusting that the above will assist you in your report,

I am respectfully yours,
CHARLES FARNSWORTH,

Sworn to and subscribed before me, this 18th day, of July, A. D. 1864,

DAVID YOUNG,
Justice of the Peace.

Testimony taken at Washington, D. C., June 2d, 1864.

COMMISSIONERS PRESENT.—Mr. Wilkins, Dr. Wallace, Mr. Walden.

Surgeon Nelson D. Ferguson, *sworn and examined:* —

Surgeon 8th New York Cavalry; residence, Jefferson county, N. Y.; captured 12th May, 1863; taken to Libby Prison same day; remained there twelve days; found Union officers there; my treatment same as officers received; daily rations, when first entered, were four inches by four inches by two of unbolted bread, which was coarse and sour about half the time; a ration of beans, worm-eaten, once a day; about seven quarts to fifty-three or fifty-four men, or a gill to each man was served; no other food was furnished by the Confederates; what other they had was bought with their own money.

(The ration of light bread of a common soldier in the United States Army is twenty-two ounces, and twelve ounces of pork or twenty of beef; besides that, our soldiers have thirty pound of potatoes for one hundred rations, or nearly a third of a pound per day to each man, besides coffee and sugar, &c., &c.)

The food furnished us was insufficient for healthful support of life.

When I reached the Libby Prison there were say twenty-five Union officers, no more, in the prison, recently captured; all the former occupants had been removed, as I am informed (and believe) by the rebels, to the number of seven hundred or over; when I left the prison on the 28th, there were sixty-nine Union officers there.

I spent four days in Hospital No. 21, where *wounded* Union prisoners (very few *sick*) were under treatment; I was there partly as a visitor, and also did partial duty as a surgeon in the ward; I was too ill to do full duty; I had better rations in the hospital than in prison, for I had rye coffee and a little meat, say two ounces daily, very poor bacon; the wounded men had the same ration of bread, no beans, two ounces of meat, rye coffee, occasionally a little sugar, and one gallon milk and one gallon whiskey, divided among two hundred and sixty men, or about a tablespoonful of whiskey and milk per man; they had no other nutriment or stimulation.

I consider the nourishment and stimulation they received entirely insufficient to give them a proper chance for recovery. I am surprised that more do not die. There were many bad cases among them that must inevitably sink under this treatment after a few days, and therefore I cannot state the true proportion of deaths. The condition of these men was such that any medical observer would impute it to insufficient stimulation and nutrition. The condition of the wounds generally was very unhealthy, not tending to heal, pale and flabby, and the tissues lax — just such a condition as we expect to see where the patient is improperly nourished by deficient nutrition. These wounded have all been brought there since the battle of Spottsylvania Court House.

When I was captured, I was brought into a rebel fort. It was raining. I had on a rubber blanket; the blanket was taken from my shoulders by a lieutenant, by the authority and consent of the commanding officer. I remonstrated against his taking my private property, and appealed to the commanding officer for protection, and to protect my rights. He replied, "Damn you, you have no rights." It was not possible for him to have been ignorant of the fact that I was a medical officer. Some two or three hours afterwards, when I was about to leave the fort for Libby Prison, the lieutenant remarked to me, "I hope I have treated you kindly." I replied, "I have always treated your men and officers with kindness and consideration, but you have treated me harshly." I don't think he made any reply. The Provost-Marshal took away my sabre. I told him it was my private property, and that he ought not to take it away, and his answer was, "It

don't make any difference, I have a friend to whom I intend to give it."

I have had wounded rebels under my hand for treatment on various occasions. The course I have always adopted is, to take care of my own men first, then the rebels, giving them equal care and attention of every kind. I have taken my own private rations and given them repeatedly to wounded rebels. All other medical officers of our army have done likewise, as far as my observation has extended.

I have been in the service two years and eight months, and I have been in all the cavalry fights of the Army of the Potomac since I entered the service.

The buildings in Richmond occupied for hospital purposes are well suited for such purposes, being large, convenient, and well ventilated. The wards are well supplied with water, and tolerably cleanly. The prison (Libby) had just been thoroughly cleaned and was well white-washed. In the prison, we had one blanket as bed, and one as cover.

No one can appreciate, without experience, the condition of the officers in the prison during the twelve days of my stay. Their faces were pinched with hunger. I have seen an officer, standing by the window, gnawing a bone like a dog. I asked him "what do you do it for?" His reply was, "It will help fill up." They were constantly complaining of hunger. There was a sad and insatiable expression of the face impossible to describe.

The bedding in Hospital No. 21, where the privates were confined by wounds, was very dirty. The covering was entirely old dirty quilts. The beds were offensive from the discharges from wounds and secretion of the body, and were utterly unfit to place a sick or wounded man on. On the faces of the wounded there was an anxious, haggard expression of countenance, such as I have never seen before. I attribute it to want of care, want of nourishment and encouragement. There is a deficiency of medical supplies, such as bandages, lint, sticking-plaster, and medicines generally in this hospital, whether from actual want of these articles, or from unwillingness to supply them, I do not know.

N. D. FURGUSON,
Surgeon 8th N. Y. Cavalry

Sworn and subscribed before me, at Washington, D. C., this 3d day of June, A. D. 1864.

M. H. KENDIG,
Notary Public.

D. W. Richards, M. D., *sworn and examined:*—

Residence, Northampton County, Pa.; employment, Assistant Surgeon in 145th Pennsylvania Volunteers; taken prisoner May 10th, 1863; taken near Spottsylvania Court House, and conveyed to Prison Hospital No. 21, in Richmond, on the 20th of May, and left there 28th May.

I have heard Dr. Furguson's deposition, as made before this Committee. I corroborate that testimony as relating to the condition and treatment of wounded prisoners. I know nothing further in regard to this matter.

D. W. RICHARDS,
Assistant Surgeon 145th P. V.

Sworn and subscribed before me, at Washington, D. C., this 3d day of June, A. D. 1864.

M. H. N. KENDIG,
Notary Public.

EVIDENCE OF UNITED STATES ARMY SURGEONS, IN CHARGE OF THE FOUR HOSPITALS AT ANNAPOLIS AND BALTIMORE, MD., TO WHICH RETURNED UNION PRISONERS WERE BROUGHT FROM RICHMOND, VA.

ALSO, EVIDENCE OBTAINED FROM EYE-WITNESSES.

Testimony of Surgeon B. A. VanderKieft, in charge of United States Army General Hospital Division No. 1, Annapolis, Maryland. Taken at the Hospital, May 31st, 1864.

COMMISSIONERS PRESENT.—Mr. Wilkins, Dr. Wallace, Mr. Walden.

I have been the recipient of all the prisoners returned from Richmond since the 1st of June, 1863, except one steamboat load which were four hundred to five hundred. I have received, I should judge, nearly (2000) three thousand; these are in a debilitated condition, badly clad, and down-spirited, on account of ill-treatment by starvation and exposure, as they all on inquiry agree in stating, and as I am convinced is the case by their actual condition on their arrival, and by rations shown to me, which they unanimously state are the only ones given them.

They unanimously state that their blankets, overcoats, watches, and jewelry and money have been taken from them, partially by their immediate captors, but also in a quasi-official way, telling them that they will be restored

when they are released, which, as far as I know, and have been informed, have never been done.

The returned prisoners state that the officials, such as guards and nurses, often receive money from them, such as they may have been able to secrete, with the promise that they shall have the equivalent returned in food, which promise is not performed.

Colonel Palmer de Cesinola (4th New York Cavalry) told me that while acting as distributing commissary of articles of food and clothing sent by United States Government and United States Sanitary Commission, he observed that some of our prisoners at Richmond and Belle Isle, in order to receive a less cruel treatment and to obtain larger rations, were acting as shoemakers for the Rebel Government. He at once told those men that such action was disloyal, as by so doing they indirectly assisted the rebellion. The result of this remark induced the rebel authorities to deprive him of the privilege of being longer a distributing commissary.

Almost in all cases I find that our men state that when they were captured, they were in very good condition as to general physical health; but I do not even need such a statement, as I am well acquainted with the regulations which govern the medical department of our army, "to send to the rear every man who is not perfectly able to bear arms," and if a few feeble men have fallen into the hands of the rebels, they belong to the class called "stragglers," which certainly belong to the minority.

From my experience of fifteen years of constant medical and military service in Northern Europe, the East Indies, and Mediterranean, as well as in our own army since September, 1861, I affirm that the treatment to which our men have been subjected while prisoners of war in the hands of the enemy, is against all rules of civilized warfare, and that I would prefer to fall into the hands of the Chinese of Borneo, called "Anack Baba," who murder their prisoners, than to fall into the hands of the rebels, where the lives and comfort of prisoners of war is a matter of such cruel indifference, to say the least, if not indeed, as one might almost be justified in supposing, a matter of determined policy.

If I may believe the statements of our returned prisoners, the diseases under which they are suffering when they come into my hands, are attributable to the following causes, one or more: deprivation of clothing, deficiency of food in quantity and quality, want of fresh air, on account of overcrowding in prison buildings and consequent unavoidable uncleanliness, and mental depression, the result of the above causes, and want of adequate shelter, exposure during the fall and winter.

The diseases most common among these returned prisoners are scurvy, diarrhœa, and congestion of the lungs, which are not amenable to the ordinary treatment in use in civil life or in hospitals of our own army

They are most successfully mastered by high nutrition and stimulation, with cleanliness and fresh air — medicinal treatment being of small assistance in the recovery of the sufferers, and often being entirely dispensed with.

The medical records in my office show that this system is the only valid and effective mode of management, thus proving by the counteracting effect of good food, air, cleanliness, and stimulants, that these disorders are the result of the causes above stated.

I swear the above statement to be true.

B. A. VANDERKIEFT,
Surgeon U. S. Volunteers in Charge.

Sworn and subscribed before me,
this sixth day of June, in the
year of our Lord one thousand
eight hundred and sixty-four,
(June 6th, 1864.)

[SEAL.] H. P. LESLIE,
Notary Public for and in the County
of Anne Arundel, Maryland.

Testimony, by Letter, of Surgeon William S. Ely, Executive Officer U. S. A. General Hospital Division, No. 1, Annapolis, Maryland, June 6th, 1864.

Dr. ELLERSLIE WALLACE, Philadelphia, Penn.

DOCTOR:—I am in receipt of your communication of the 2nd inst., and would reply as follows:—

I am an Assistant Surgeon of Volunteers in the service of the United States, and have been on duty in this hospital since October 3d, 1863, as executive officer and medical officer in charge of a ward. I have been present on the arrival of nearly every boat-load of paroled prisoners since my connection with this hospital commenced.

I remember distinctly the arrival of the flag-of-truce steamer "New York," November 18th, 1863, and was present and assisted in unloading the men. I went on board the boat and saw bodies of six (6) men who had died during the passage of the steamer from City Point, Va., to this place. No words can describe their appearance. In each case the sunken eye, the gaping mouth, the filthy skin, the clothes and head alive with vermin, the repelling, bony contour — all conspired to lead to the conclusion that we were looking upon the victims of starvation, cruelty and exposure, to a degree unparalleled in the history of humanity.

I have never seen more than the above number of dead in any single arrival; but at other dates, and on several occasions, I have seen two (2) and three (3) dead on board the boat, and have repeatedly known four (4) or six (6) to die within twelve (12) hours of their reception into hospital. The same condition evidenced in the cases of the six (6) referred to above, has characterized nearly every instance, and leads us irresistibly to the conclusion that death has been owing to a long series of exposure and hardships, with a deprivation of the barest necessities for existence.

I have known paroled prisoners of war to be admitted to this hospital with barely sufficient clothing to cover their nakedness. I cannot say that I have seen any single case where a patient was admitted without *either* hat, coat, shoes, shirt, or stockings, but I have repeatedly seen men without one (1), two (2), or three (3) of these articles, and think that I can say, that when they possessed all, it was an exceptional case. It is our *rule* to strip each patient to his skin, and provide all with entirely new clothing, because rags, filth and vermin preponderate so largely as to render any further use of the various articles of apparel upon the bodies of patients reaching this point from Richmond, Va., unhealthy, and in opposition to the simplest principles of hygiene.

Patients, when asked the manner in which they lost their clothing, reply that they were robbed of what they had when captured, *or else*, that during their imprisonment, oftentimes extending over many months, their clothing, piece by piece, wore out, and that they had no opportunity to procure a change.

It is impossible for any, save those who have seen the condition of paroled men soon after their release from captivity, to have any idea of the *state of the skin* covering their bodies. In many cases that I have observed, the dirt incrustation has been so thick as to require months of constant ablution to recover the normal condition and function of the integument. Patients have repeatedly stated, in answer to my interrogations, "that they had been unable to wash their bodies once in *six* (6) *months*;" that all that time they had lain in the dirt, and, as might naturally be expected, the filth accumulation was constantly increasing. Frequently, the entire cuticle must die and be detached before any healthy action can be recovered.

I know not how to better compare the cutaneous condition of these men in its different morbid states, than to liken it, in feeling, to the effect produced upon the fingers by passing them over sand-paper from the coarsest quality down to that moderately fine.

Diaphoretic action in many such cases, I have found almost unattainable. When we consider the importance of the cutaneous secretion, relative to a state of health, it cannot be denied that, in many instances under attention, this is the prime exciting cause of the diseases of the pulmonary and abdominal organs, which are so constantly found among our Richmond patients.

A great many post-mortem examinations of paroled prisoners who have died in our hospitals, have been made by myself and others. The thoracic organs are seldom found healthy. The pectoral muscles are so much wasted as to render the walls of the chest, to a certain extent, transparent. The lungs frequently are found filling but half the pulmonary cavities. Old pleuritic adhesions, in all degrees of extent, are generally seen; almost invariably there is a local stasis or congestion of blood, posteriorly and about the roots of the lungs; the heart is found flaccid, and often its walls are attenuated; when taken out and laid down, it flattens from its own weight, is seldom filled with a substantial clot, and generally contains but a very little dark, thin blood. Tubercular deposit is sometimes very extensive, and in cases where there is no external appearance favoring the scrofulous diathesis, leading me to the conclusion that it has been engendered ofttimes, in a previously healthy subject, by the deprivation of good, wholesome food, and the combination of unhealthy influences, to which so many of our prisoners of war succumb. The liver is unusually pale in color, and of anæmic aspect; the intestines are sometimes much diseased, but frequently healthy. I have known many instances of marked *chronic diarrhœa*, resulting fatally, yet disclosing no *organic* intestinal changes or morbid appearances,—favoring the supposition that the diarrhœa is often only a *symptom* of a want of tonicity, not of organic disease.

I consider the frequency of pulmonary congestions among our patients from Richmond owing to the altered condition of the fluids of the system, especially the blood: its fibrinous portion becomes diminished, and stagnation takes place in the most depending portions of the lungs, giving us what we term *a hypostatic pneumonia*, depending on the want of tone in the vessels and consequent enfeebled circulation.

The treatment which I have found most effective in aiding the restoration to health of our reduced Richmond patients, is, very briefly, as follows: — Quinine, iron, and cod-liver oil, (in their different preparations and combinations), in *small* doses; liquid concen-

trated nourishment, a rigid enforcement of cleanliness, and regularity in eating and drinking, and, if possible, the hygienic advantages of a *tent* ward.

Our records exhibit a mortality among our patients from Richmond of 18 per cent.

I am, Doctor, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

WILLIAM S. ELY,

Assistant Surgeon U. S. Volunteers.

Personally appeared before me this sixth day of June, 1864, William S. Ely, Assistant Surgeon U. S. Volunteers, and took oath that the statements above made are true to the best of his knowledge and belief.

[SEAL.] HENRY P. LESLIE,

Notary Public, Anne Arundel Co., Md.

Testimony of Surgeon G. B. Parker, in charge of United States Army General Hospital, Division No. 2, Annapolis, Maryland. Taken at the Hospital, May 31st, 1864.

ALL THE COMMISSIONERS PRESENT.

Surgeon G. B. PARKER, *sworn and examined:* —

I have been in charge of this hospital one year. During this time I have received a large number of prisoners in exchange. Their condition has been very low, very feeble, since last June. The large proportion of the cases received here are marked "Debilitas." It was not specific disease with them; where it was, it was coupled with debility.

The majority of the diseased cases were diarrhœa caused by bad diet — of insufficient and bad quality; they have resulted from the want of variety of diet. This will produce scurvy.

I have seen an hundred of the rations served to the men. I do not consider the rations I have seen sufficient for the support of life for any long time.

We give our men twenty ounces of beef on a march, per day, and twenty-two ounces of bread. Fourteen ounces of meat and ten ounces of bread will keep any man from starving; less than twelve ounces of bread and ten ounces of meat per diem would produce disease, and, if long continued, would fail to keep life up to the standard in a great majority of men. Lower than this would end in debility and decline; in proportion as you vary a man's diet, so is his general health.*

The majority of the men did walk from the landing here. We did not receive the worst cases. In the main, the diseases were produced by insufficient and a bad quality of diet. Their stomachs were not able to retain a sufficient quantity of solid food when the men first got here. I was led to the belief that the diarrhœa was produced by bad diet.

I found nutrition was the most successful treatment.

Have had cases of frost bite here resulting in mortification of the ends of the toes. Those were cases from Richmond — eight or ten cases.

Though the men would be strong enough to walk from the dock up here, at the same time they were in that debilitated condition that a slight change of air would cause congestion of the lungs, and death. Stimulants and tonics are largely used.

There were a good many cases of scurvy. In the majority of cases of diarrhœa, there would be scorbutic symptoms. I had at one time eight returned prisoners who lost their teeth. I suppose this was owing to the treatment these men had received, and their diet.

At the hospital we give each man twenty ounces of bread per day, and one pound of meat, including bone; could not give the percentage of bone; we also give vegetables. In the winter we give cabbage, potatoes, rice and beans, molasses, tea, butter. A healthy soldier would get no butter. Twelve ounces of meat and twelve ounces of bread per day, rejecting the other articles, would be insufficient to preserve good health.

G. B. PARKER.

Sworn to and subscribed before me, May 31st, 1864.

D. P. BROWN, JR.,

United States Commissioner.

JUNE 1st, 1864.

COMMISSIONER PRESENT. — Hon. J. L. Clark Hare.

Surgeon G. B. PARKER, *who was before sworn, recalled:* —

A great many of those whom I mentioned yesterday as suffering from debility and no specific disease, afterwards recovered. Several cases where their appearance was really favorable died very suddenly. On examination, post mortem, they were found exsanguinated to a wonderful degree; the evidence of which was in large white fibrinous clots in the left side of the heart, and extending into the aorta. This was found to be the case with the majority of those who died. In other cases, as I mentioned yesterday, they would take on acute disease, generally congestion of the lungs, and die within twenty-four hours after the attack.

G. B. PARKER,

Assistant Surgeon U. S. Army.

* A ration which had been given to one of the men, produced and weighed: — weight two ounces of bread, and three-sixteenths of an ounce of meat in its dry state.

Testimony of Surgeon De Witt C. Peters, in charge of Jarvis General, Hospital, Baltimore, Md., taken at Baltimore June 1st, 1864.

COMMISSIONERS PRESENT:—Dr. Mott, Dr. Delafield, Judge Hare.

DE WITT C. PETERS, *sworn and examined:*—

I am an Assistant-Surgeon of the United States Army, stationed at Jarvis General Hospital, Baltimore. On or about the 16th of April, 1864, I received at the hospital over which I had charge, some two hundred and fifty paroled prisoners of war, recently returned from Belle Island and Richmond.

The greater majority of these men were in a semi-state of nudity. They were laboring under such diseases as chronic diarrhœa, phthisis pulmonalis, scurvy, frost bites, general debility, caused by starvation, neglect, and exposure. Many of them had partially lost their reason, forgetting even the date of their capture and every thing connected with their antecedent history. They resemble, in many respects, patients laboring under cretinism.

They were filthy in the extreme, covered with vermin. Some had extensive bed sores caused by laying in the sand and dirt, and nearly all were extremely emaciated; so much so that they had to be cared for even like infants. Their hair had not been cut, nor the men shaved in many instances for months. On inquiry of these men as to what was the matter with them, the invariable answer was starvation, exposure, and neglect, while prisoners on Belle Island. They informed me, that while on Belle Island during the inclement months of the past winter, there were congregated at one time in a space less than three acres, one hundred and ten squads of prisoners, each numbering one hundred persons. Less than half of these had old worn-out Sibley and other tents for shelter. The remainder were obliged to accommodate themselves as best they could. But a few of them had blankets. These were issued to them by our Government under flag of truce. Some had overcoats. Many had no shoes except patches that they had contrived themselves.

Those that escaped freezing to death during the cold nights, did so by exercising and by huddling together in heaps like hogs, alternating places with those more exposed in the heaps, and with those in the tents, until at last they were obliged to go to the hospital.

They informed me, that each morning, numbers were found frozen to death, who had probably died from other causes—exhaustion. They stated to me further, that they believed this system of slow starvation was carried on to prevent other men from enlisting in our army.

The ration allowed them was a small piece of corn bread, the meal of which contained also the cob, a little rice soup very rarely, and sometimes, but rarely, a small quantity of meat—a few ounces; they confessed that they had eaten dog meat whenever they were so fortunate as to capture a dog.

In the hospitals, according to the statement made to me by Hospital Steward James, United States Army, they fared a little better, although, even there, they had an insufficiency of food, and the beds were filthy and covered with vermin. He states that at hospital No. 21, where he was serving as one of the apothecaries during three months, January, February and March, there were admitted two thousand seven hundred of our men, of whom nearly fourteen hundred and fifty died.* They lacked medicines and all appliances needed for the sick. The patients in the hospital had one advantage over prisoners of war on Belle Island: that was, they were allowed to buy a loaf of bread the size of a man's fist, for which they paid five or six dollars Confederate money.

Out of the two hundred and fifty men received by me, so far, fifteen have died; the post-mortems of which have made apparent diseases of nearly all the viscera to a remarkable extent.

I received one man incurably insane, caused, as I was informed and believe, by joy, produced by the news that he was to be exchanged. I found, from excess of habit, they had become like savages in their habits, and lost the decencies of life, and had to be taught like children the decencies of society.

The health and constitutions of the majority of these men are permanently undermined. Under proper care and treatment, which consisted in their not eating too much, a spare but concentrated diet, may have rallied. In one instance a boy gained forty pounds in two weeks; he still has phthisis and can hardly stand exposure or active exercise. A case of scurvy occurred among others which is the worst I ever saw or read of; a man turning red or nearly black from head to foot; he died in twenty-four hours.

I think nine-tenths of the men weighed under one hundred pounds; they appeared to be articulated skeletons; covered with simply integument; had dropsy and œdema

* The quarterly report from which these figures are taken, was obtained and brought home by a returned Union prisoner. It will be found on pages 68—9.

in the feet, caused by weakness; and were the most pitiable objects to behold. They had an uncontrollable appetite.

DE WITT C. PETERS,
Assist. Surgeon United States Army, in charge of Jarvis Hospital, Baltimore, Md.

Sworn to and subscribed before me, June 1st, 1864.
D. P. BROWN, JR.,
United States Commissioner.

Testimony of Surgeon A. Chapel, in charge of West's Buildings Hospital, Baltimore, Md., taken at Baltimore, June 2, 1864.

COMMISSIONERS PRESENT: — Dr. Mott, Dr. Delafield, Judge Hare.

Surgeon A. CHAPEL, *affirmed and examined*: —

I am Surgeon in charge of West's Buildings Hospital, Baltimore. On the 18th of April, 1864, I received at the hospital one hundred and five of the paroled prisoners from Richmond, brought to this point on the flag-of-truce boat "New York." These were the worst cases received at this point by that boat; none of them being able to stand alone. All were brought into the hospital upon stretchers.

Nearly all were in an extreme state of emaciation, filthy in the extreme, and covered with vermin. Some of them so eaten by the vermin as to very nearly resemble a case of scabbing from small-pox, being covered with sores from head to foot, so as scarcely to be able to touch a well portion of the skin with the point of the finger.

Their appearance was such in the way of filth and dirt, as to convince any one that they had not had an opportunity for ablution for weeks and months. Several were in a state of semi-insanity, and all seemed, and acted, and talked, like children, in their desires for food, &c. Very few of them had blankets or clothing, some in a state of semi-nudity.

Upon being questioned upon the causes of their condition, the testimony was universal: — starvation, exposure, and neglect, while prisoners at Richmond and Belle Isle.

Their universal declaration was, in reference to their living, that they were provided with only one small portion of corn-bread per day, which was made simply from corn-meal and water, without salt, not larger than a man's hand; it was about an inch and a quarter thick. This was the portion for the day. They sometimes got small portions of meat once a day, two days in a week. Several of them told me that they had been able to get occasionally a small piece of the flesh of a dog, which they had cooked and eaten with great relish, and that they had caught rats and eaten them in the same way. Many of them believed that the meat issued to them was cut from the bodies of mules.

They said, while on Belle Isle they had no means of shelter, but were obliged to huddle together in heaps, to protect themselves from the inclement weather; — often one or two blankets in thickness covering five or six persons; — often lying one upon another in tiers, and changing places as they became tired out. They state that they had little or no shelter while prisoners at Belle Isle.

We were obliged to treat them as children, in regulating their diet in the hospital, having to restrain their over-eating, and confine them to a concentrated but nourishing and generous diet.

Several cases had no disease whatever, but suffered from extreme emaciation and starvation. The limb of one of these men could be spanned with the thumb and finger, just above the knee. This patient, a boy of nineteen years old, would not weigh over fifty pounds then, though in health probably one hundred and thirty-five pounds. This was not a solitary instance, many others being extremely emaciated. Many presenting the appearance of mere living skeletons, with the skin drawn tightly over the bones.

Many of them were laboring under such diseases as dropsy, pulmonary consumption, scurvy, mortification from cold, several having lost one-half of both feet from this cause.

Several were afflicted with very severe bed-sores, caused by lying in the sand without shelter. One man, unable to lie in any other way but on his face, and lived about four weeks in this way.

Up to the present time, of the number received, (one hundred and five), forty-two have died. All gave evidence of extensive visceral disease, of which starvation, cold, and neglect, were undoubtedly the primary cause. Some of the cases sank from extreme debility, without any evidence of disease as the cause of death.

A. CHAPEL,
Surgeon U. S. A.

Affirmed to and subscribed before me, June 2d, 1864.
D. P. BROWN, JR.,
United States Commissioner.

Testimony of Miss D. L. Dix, taken at Baltimore, Maryland, June 1st, 1864.

Miss D. L. DIX *sworn and examined*: —

Last winter I was at Annapolis and examined many hundred returned prisoners. I inquired of these men exactly the manner in which they were fed and treated on Belle

Island, examined them individually, and by sixes and sevens. I saw no disposition on the part of these men to exaggerate their sufferings.

Inquiring from what causes they had suffered most severely, whether rapid marches, exposure to inclement weather, lack of apparel, or hunger, — the answer was invariably, "From hunger while at Belle Island." I inquired the amount of animal food allowed a day, when they had any at all; they replied that an iron-bound bucket, filled with packed meat, was the allowance for one hundred men; the weight of bucket and meat would be twenty-five pounds. When cooked this afforded a very small quantity for each man.

As Winter and Spring advanced, the only food supplied was corn-meal mixed with water and roughly baked. This bucket of meat I speak of was allowed them about twice a week, with a very little rice in the autumn. I understand that in the hospitals they occasionally had a little boiled rice, to which was sometimes added a very small quantity of brown sugar or molasses.

I gather from Confederate authority as well as from our returned prisoners, — and a Confederate official whose evidence cannot be questioned in that matter, declared, that the sole sustenance at Belle Island was corn-meal and water, — that of the numbers remaining at Belle Island, then about eight thousand, about twenty-five died daily; that the mortality in Georgia was still greater, and that it would be but a few weeks before the deaths would count fifty a day.

Another fact which he affirmed as a reason for withholding so much from our prisoners, sent by their friends and the Government, was the cruel and severe restrictions imposed on their men in our hands.

I had visited those very prisoners to whom he referred at Point Lookout; they were supplied with vegetables, with the best wheat bread, and fresh or salt meat three times daily in abundant measure — the full Government ration.

In the camp of about nine thousand rebel prisoners, there were but four hundred reported to the surgeon; of these, one hundred were confined to their beds, thirty were very sick, and perhaps fifteen or twenty would never recover.

The hospital food consisted of beef tea, beef soup, rice, milk, milk punch, milk gruel, lemonade, stewed fruits, beef-steak, vegetables and mutton; white sugar was employed in cooking. The supplies were, in fact, more ample and abundant than in hospitals where our own men were under treatment.

To return to the condition of the Federal prisoners on Belle Island, there was at no time adequate shelter for the entire number till late in spring, when the number had been greatly reduced by transfer to Georgia, exchanges and death.

I was told that in the morning it was not uncommon to find men dead from exposure and rain.

I have repeatedly seen the exchanged prisoners reduced to the lowest extremity through want of food. Of more than four hundred landed in Baltimore, some little time since, nearly, if not the entire number, were suffering from the effects of hunger; more than one hundred of these were taken a few yards across the wharf, to the hospital, on stretchers; seven died before they could be taken into the building, and seven more that same night. Their clothing was filthy to the last degree; they were covered with vermin; they were the merest bundles of bones and skin, and some bones piercing the flesh. The cries of these poor men for food were pitiful in the extreme.

In addition to their other sufferings, many had lost portions of their feet by frost. The minds showed the weakness of the body. Some were reduced to idiocy. They would entreat for an apple or a bit of meat to look at, if they could not be allowed solid food. Many of these poor creatures died, and others, I understand from surgeons, are enfeebled for life.

Many of these prisoners when brought on the flag-of-truce boat, were observed to clasp their hands and fix their gaze upon the American flag: "It is enough, thank God, we are at home." A remarkable trial of disinterestedness: Rev. M. Hall said, "What can I do for you, my boys?" "Hasten exchanges and bring away our comrades."

A gentleman of Washington, who had been permitted to convey a body for burial to the South, on board the flag-of-truce boat, remarked that all the rebel prisoners were in vigorous health, equipped in clothes furnished by the United States Government; many of them with blankets and haversacks, while we received in return not one able-bodied man at that time. I have witnessed this fact myself, on other occasions on the flag-of-truce boats.

The rations served to the prisoners on Belle Island, whether drawn from supplies furnished by the Federal Government, or through the individual liberality of Northern citizens, were never dispensed in sufficient quantities by the Confederate authorities to satisfy hunger.

I have seen tons of provisions shipped on the flag-of-truce boat from the North, for the relief of our prisoners at Richmond. Little or nothing came from the South for rebel prisoners at the North. Clothing and blank-

ets were sent by our Government to the prisoners in quantities, but not fully distributed.

One reason why our men were so wholly destitute of clothing at a late season, was the temptation they were under to give them away for a biscuit, or a small quantity of food, to save them from starvation.

D. L. DIX.

Sworn to and subscribed before me,
June 1, 1864.

D. P. BROWN, JR.,
United States Commissioner.

I certify that the foregoing testimony was taken and reduced to writing in presence of the respective witnesses, and by them sworn or affirmed to in my presence, at the times, places, and in the manner set forth.

D. P. BROWN, JR.,
United States Commissioner.

Testimony of Joseph B. Abbott, Special Relief Agent United States Sanitary Commission, taken at Washington, D. C., June 3rd, 1864.

COMMISSIONERS PRESENT.—Mr. Wilkins, Dr. Wallace, Mr. Walden.

Joseph B. Abbott, aged twenty-eight years, Agent of Special Relief Department, United States Sanitary Commission. Holds his commission as Chief Assistant, Special Relief Department, United States Sanitary Commission. Is a native of New Hampshire, has been a resident of North Carolina, resided in North Carolina nearly four years, prior to the war. Has been engaged with the United States Sanitary Commission since March 12th, 1862.

During the past Spring, since February, my position has given me means of observation of returned prisoners from Richmond, Belle Island, Danville, Salisbury, and Columbia, but directly from Richmond. I first came in contact at Fortress Monroe with prisoners on flag-of-truce boats, from City Point to Annapolis. The men had no blankets, but what were said to have been furnished them at City Point by the United States Government. Very few had coats; many had no shirts; pants, poor, ragged and dirty; clothing all dirty; skin very filthy, and covered with vermin. One man had convulsions all the time during the trip. Assistant Surgeon Dr. Fry told me that they were caused by vermin. The man was much emaciated; vermin very thick upon his body — common body lice. He was scratching as at lice, and throwing them off him and slapping them with his blanket.

This is a general statement of all my observation.

My experience extended over three boat loads. No difference in the condition of the prisoners' clothing. The condition of the men on the last boat as to physical state, was worse than all previous. Two or three boat loads have arrived since my services ceased. Mr. Thompson, one of the United States Sanitary Commission Agents, accompanied the men on these boats. Mr. Thompson is now at White House, Virginia, on the Pamunky river. Cannot communicate with him by telegraph.

In general aspect and condition of returned prisoners, all were more or less emaciated. Of the first boat load, three-fifths very much so. Of second and third boats, four-fifths very much so. The condition of some of those who were less emaciated than others was owing to their having money with which they purchased provisions. I believe the fact from statements made by them on my inquiry. My attention was drawn to the fact by the Assistant Surgeon. I could pick out the men that had money by their physical condition.

Clothing was usually taken from them by their captors before their arrival at Richmond. Money was taken from them officially just before entering prison, except those that had succeeded in secreting it. I believe these facts from statements made by the men. They were also credited with the amounts, and were told that when released the amounts would be returned. I heard of no soldier who had it returned to him. In case of officers it was sometimes returned in Confederate currency,

On the first boat load there was about one hundred and fifty on cots sick,— with diarrhœa generally. Many of these one hundred and fifty men had the scurvy; great many suffering from pneumonia. Often heard the physician say that these disorders were due to confinement, exposure, and bad food. In all I saw some ten or twelve dying on the boats. From the last boat I saw five come off on shore in a dying state. I saw one man die on the boat; the Doctor said his death was caused by starvation. Saw one already dead on the boat at Fortress Monroe. The Doctor said his death was caused by eating. He died from eating too much after he had been starved. He obtained this over amount of food after having come into our hands.

The Doctor said that he had to be very cautious in giving them their rations, or they would injure themselves by getting too much; that several had died in consequence of eating too much, which they obtained from their comrades, who were too feeble and too far gone to eat the rations which were given them. Some would secrete their rations and

try to get a second ration. The Assistant Surgeon told me that the one I had seen dead had eaten three rations which he had obtained from his comrades.

The prisoners on board the boats stated that their diseases and sufferings, such as I witnessed, were caused by want of protection from wet and cold, and by insufficient and bad food; this was their invariable statement.

The Union prisoners were not at all vindictive, and expressed a desire to have the rebel prisoners well clothed and fed; this was the case with all the men I spoke to on the subject on the three boats.

My reason for making this inquiry was the remark of the Union prisoners in regard to the healthy condition of the rebel prisoners who were exchanged. Some of them remarked that it would make the condition of the Union prisoners worse if they attempted to retaliate, and would do no good. The general idea as expressed by the men was, that they did not wish to see the rebel prisoners treated as they had been.

I have been on the battle-field and in hospitals and witnessed much suffering, but never did I experience so sad and deplorable a condition of human beings, as that of the paroled Union prisoners just from Belle Island, and the rebel prisons of the South, emaciated by starvation, with impaired minds, vision, powers of speech and hearing, occasioned by want of sufficiency of wholesome food, exposure to the cold and inclement storms of wind and rain. I believe from what I have seen and experienced among our unfortunate prisoners on board the flag-of-truce boats, that their barbarous treatment and sufferings which they endured while confined in the military prisons of the South can hardly be exaggerated. J. B. ABBOTT.

Sworn and subscribed before me at Washington, D. C., this 3d day of June, A. D. 1864.

M. H. N. KENDIG,
Notary Public.

QUARTERLY REPORT

Of the Hospitals for the Federal prisoners, Richmond, Va., furnished by Surgeon-General, C. S. A., April 1, 1864. *Obtained by a paroled and returned Federal prisoner.*

DISEASES.	JAN.		FEB.		MAR.	
	Cases.	Deaths.	Cases.	Deaths.	Cases.	Deaths.
Febris Cont. Communis	5		3	1	10	2
" Int. Quart.	6		23		20	5
" " Tertiana	4		20			
" Remittent	10		20		11	4
" Typhoides	18	12	35	28	35	29
Erysipelas	11	1	3	1	1	1
Rubeola	14	1	15	7	6	4
Variola } Convales-						
Varioloides } cents					77	
Diarrhœa Acuta	31	18	100	13	27	13
" Chronica	229	193	337	265	283	250
Dysentery Acuta	36	4	23	6	9	3
" Chronica	18	12	34	24	27	20
Dyspepsia	4	1	1		2	1
Enteritis			1			
Gastritis						
Hepatitis Chronica	4		2	1	4	3
Icterus	4		1		4	3
Parotitis			3		3	
Tonsillitis			7	3		
Asthma	1	1	1	1		
Bronchitis Acuta	21	1	46	7	12	3
" Chronica	20	6	45	16	50	39
Catarrhus Epidemicus			1			
"	10	1	35	4	17	9
Laryngitis			2		1	1
Phthisis Pulmonalis	6	2	8	5	1	1
Pleuritis	9	1	10	5	12	9
Pneumonia	63	38	207	97	120	109
Anæmia			1			
Cerebritis			1			
Epilepsia	1		1			
Meningitis	1	1	1			
Neuralgia	1		3		1	
Paralysis	1				1	1
Tetanus	4	2				
Bubo Syphiliticum	1					
Cystitis			1			
Gonorrhœa	5	1			1	
Nephritis	1		4		6	
Orchitis	1		1			
Syphilitis Primitiva	2				1	
" Consect	2		2			

DISEASES.	JAN.		FEB.		MAR.	
	Cases.	Deaths.	Cases.	Deaths.	Cases.	Deaths.
Anasarca	6	4	7	2	8	7
Ascites	1		2	1		
Hydrothorax					1	
Rheumatism Acute	11		23		12	1
" Chronica	40	4	42	12	14	3
Abscessus	2		2			
Anthrax					1	
Ulcus			4		1	
Contusio					1	1
Gelatio					15	6
Vulnus Incisum			1			
Lumbago	1					
Vulnus Sclopiticum	20	1	27		20	3
Otitis	1					
Debilitas	15	4	107	17	33	21
Hæmorrhois			2	1	6	2
Morbi Cutis			6		9	
Scorbutus	7		7	3	17	7
Tumores			1			
Dry Gangrene from frozen Feet	27	3	23	4		
	646	311	1252	524	881	561
Total						2779
Total Deaths						1396

A true copy.

(Signed) A. R. ROOT,
Colonel Commanding, Camp Parole.

A true copy.

B. A. VANDERKIEFT,
Surgeon U. S. Vols. in charge U. S. General Hospital, Division No. 1, Annapolis, Md.

The Commission have received a letter from Col. A. R. ROOT, Commanding, &c., stating that he has satisfactory evidence of the authenticity and reliableness of this "Quarterly Report."

EVIDENCE RELATING TO UNITED STATES STATIONS FOR REBEL PRISONERS.

Letter from Quartermaster-General, M. C. Meigs, United States Army.

QUARTERMASTER-GENERAL'S OFFICE,
WASHINGTON, D. C., July 6th, 1864.

Dr. ELLESLIE WALLACE, Philadelphia.

SIR, — I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 20th ult., in which, in behalf of a Committee of the United States Sanitary Commission, you make inquiry in relation to the condition and treatment of rebel prisoners of war in our hands.

In reply, you are respectfully informed that such prisoners are treated with all the consideration and kindness that might be expected of a humane and Christian people. The rations allowed to them are ample and of good quality. The reduction recently made in the prisoner's ration was for the purpose of bringing it nearer to what the rebel authorities profess to allow their soldiers, and no complaint has been heard of its insufficiency.

Suitable provision has been made by the Government for supplying the prisoners with all necessary clothing and blankets; and at each depot there is a sutler, authorized to sell to them, at reasonable rates, certain prescribed articles of comfort and convenience, such as our soldiers desire to purchase.

Fuel is provided by the army regulations, and is liberally furnished.

Shelter is not denied to any "during the inclement and cold season," and for those who require them, comfortable hospital accommodations, and skilful medical and surgical attention are provided.

The Commissary-General of Prisoners informs me that he has heard of no order to shoot prisoners for being at the windows or near them, and he does not believe that orders of that character have any where been given. He has heard of no prisoners being shot under such circustances.

General Butler did, in the early part of this year, offer to exchange prisoners, grade for grade, and man for man, of those at Point Lookout, and two other places, but the proposition was not acceded to by the rebel authorities.

Your inquiries are thus substantially answered.

I enclose copies of the orders of the Commissary-General of Prisoners, regulating the conduct and treatment of prisoners of war, and the rations they now receive.*

I am, very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
M. C. MEIGS,
Quartermaster-General.

* Printed in this Appendix.

Testimony taken at Fort Delaware, June 21st, 1864.

COMMISSIONERS PRESENT. — Dr. Wallace, Judge Hare.

Captain GILBERT S. CLARK, *sworn and examined:—*

I came to this post 18th March, 1862, and the Subsistence Department at this post has been under my charge since May, 1862.

The rations were as follow:

Bread — 18 onnces per ration; or,
Corn Meal — 20 ounces per ration.
Beef — 1 pound per ration; or,
Bacon or Pork — $\frac{3}{4}$ pound per ration.
Beans — 8 quarts per one hundred men; or,
Hominy or Rice — 10 pounds per one hundred men.
Sugar — 14 pounds per one hundred men.
Rio Coffee — 7 or 9 pounds per hundred men.
Adamantine Candles — 5 per one hundred men; or,
Tallow Candles — 6 per one hundred men.
Soap — 4 pounds per one hundred men.
Salt — 2 quarts per one hundred men.
Molasses — 4 quarts per one hundred men, twice per week.
Potatoes — 1 pound per man, three times per week.

When beans were issued, hominy or rice not issued.

These were the rations to which the prisoners were entitled. Bread was issued, in point of fact, and not corn meal. Fresh beef was issued, during this time, four times a week. When we had to give them hard bread they received a pound. When fresh beef was given, a pound and a quarter was given, and a less proportion of salt meat.

This was done by orders of the commanding officer, with a view to the sanitary condition of the men.

According to instructions for the Commissary-General of Prisoners, a fund was created by selling all surplus rations, under regulations, and with this fund were purchased vegetables in addition to the regular rations. The order referred to, under which this course was adopted, was as follows:

CIRCULAR.

* * * * * * *

"V. A general fund, for the benefit of the prisoner, will be made by withholding from their rations all that can be spared without inconvenience to them, and selling this surplus, under existing regulations, to the Commissary, who will hold the funds in his hands,

and be acountable for them, subject to the commanding officer's order to cover purchases. The purchases with the fund will be made by or through the Quartermaster, with the approval or order of the commanding officer, the bills being paid by the Commissary, who will keep an account book, in which will be carefully entered all receipts and payments, with the vouchers; and he will keep the commanding officer advised, from time to time, of the amount of this fund. At the end of the month he will furnish the commanding officer with an account of the fund for the month, showing the receipts and disbursements, which account will be forwarded to the Commissary-General of Prisoners, with the remarks of the commanding officer. With this fund will be purchased all such articles as may be necessary for the health and comfort of the prisoners, and which would otherwise have to be purchased by the Government: among these articles are all table furniture and cooking utensils, articles for policing purposes, bedticks and straw, the means of improving or enlarging the barracks accommodation, extra pay to clerks who have charge of the camp, post-office, and who keep the accounts of moneys deposited with the commanding officer, &c., &c."

The provisions, according to my return, actually issued, were the same as for the garrison troops. The rations detailed above were the rations actually given to the men. The amount drawn on the books, for their account, was larger — and as large as that issued to the garrison, with the exception of flour or bread, which was eighteen ounces instead of twenty-two ounces. When I say actually issued, I mean when entered on my returns as issued. The difference between the amount thus issued, and the amount given as above, was sold and converted into a fund for the benefit of the prisoners, as I have stated, according to the order of which I have given an extract.

This fund was expended and applied for their use in the purchase of extra vegetables and articles of comfort.

This course is pursued towards our own troops in camp and garrison; the surplus which they do not use being sold for their benefit to the Commissary of Subsistence, and regularly entered, and the proceeds applied to their use.

The surplus rations sold for the prisoners were about the same as those sold for the garrison at the same time, showing that the amount actually consumed by the prisoners was about the same, per man, as that consumed by the garrison. When hard bread is issued, prisoners not unfrequently leave a portion of it on the table. A large amount of bread has been found stowed away by them in the barracks. The rations are precisely the same as that used for garrison, and of very good quality.

My expenditures for vegetables alone, for the use of the prisoners, out of the fund arising from the sale of the surplus rations, amounted, at times, as high as from $2,000 to $3,000 a month. For instance, I would buy extra quantities of potatoes and onions, turnips, cabbage, pickles, carrots.

I have frequently asked my overseers if the prisoners complained of not having enough, and if they did, to give them more, and to let no man want, as I could afford to do from the savings. During all the time I have been here, I have scarcely heard a complaint. No material change was made in the rations given to the prisoners till the first of this month, (June '64); since this date, the following has been the ration given the prisoners:

The rations *issued* on the returns remained the same as before. The amount *given* was reduced to the following quantity, by order of the Secretary of War:

"B."

"RATION:

"Pork or Bacon, . .	10 ozs.	(in lieu of fresh beef.)
Fresh Beef, ...	14 "	
Flour, or Soft Bread,	16 "	
Hard Bread, . . .	14 "	(in lieu of Flour or Soft Bread.)
Corn Meal, ...	16 "	(in lieu of Flour or Bread.)
Beans or Peas, . . .	12½ lbs.	to 100 rations.
or, Rice, or Hominy, .	8 "	
Soap, ...	4 "	
Vinegar, ...	3 qts.	
Salt, ...	3¾ lbs.	
Potatoes, ...	15 "	

Sugar and coffee, or tea, will be issued only to the sick and wounded, on the recommendation of the surgeon in charge, at the rate of twelve (12) pounds of sugar, five (5) pounds of ground or seven (7) pounds of green coffee, or one (1) pound of tea, to the one hundred rations. This part of the ration will be allowed only for every other day."

The difference between the ration given and the ration issued continues to be sold, and the proceeds applied to the benefit of the prisoners, as before. The consequence is that the surplus fund for their use is larger.

I refer to the circulars issued by the War Department, April 20th, 1864, and June 1st, 1864, as containing the regulations under

which I am now acting, hereto appended, marked "A" and "B."

The bread, as now issued, is made one-fifth of corn meal and four-fifths of flour. This change was made at the request of the prisoners. I use the same quality of bread.

GILBERT S. CLARK,
Captain and C. S. Vol.

Sworn to and subscribed before me,
June 21st, 1864.

D. P. BROWN, JR.,
United States Commissioner.

"A."

"OFFICE OF COMMISSARY-GENERAL OF PRISONERS, WASHINGTON, *April* 20, 1864.

"[CIRCULAR.]

"By authority of the War Department, the following Regulations will be observed at all stations where prisoners of war and political or State prisoners are held. The regulations will supersede those issued from this office July 7, 1861:

I. The Commanding Officer at each station is held accountable for the discipline and good order of his command, and for the security of the prisoners, and will take such measures, with the means placed at his disposal, as will best secure these results. He will divide the prisoners into companies, and will cause written reports to be made to him of their condition every morning, showing the changes made during the preceding twenty-four hours, giving the names of the "joined," "transferred," "deaths," &c. At the end of every month Commanders will send to the Commissary-General of Prisoners a Return of Prisoners, giving names and details to explain "alterations." If rolls of "joined" or "transferred" have been forwarded during the month, it will be sufficient to refer to them on the return according to forms furnished.

II. On the arrival of any prisoners at any station, a careful comparison of them with the rolls which accompany them will be made, and all errors on the rolls will be corrected. When no roll accompanies the prisoners, one will immediately be made out, containing all the information required, as correct as can be, from the statements of prisoners themselves. When the prisoners are citizens, the town, county and State from which they come will be given on the rolls under the headings — Rank, Regiment, and Company. At stations where prisoners are received frequently, and in small parties, a list will be furnished every fifth day — the last one in the month may be for six days — of all prisoners received during the preceding five days. Immediately on their arrival, prisoners will be required to give up all arms and weapons of every description, of which the Commanding Officer will require an accurate list to be made. When prisoners are forwarded for exchange, duplicate parole rolls, signed by the prisoners, will be sent with them, and an ordinary roll will be sent to the Commissary-General of Prisoners. When they are transferred from one station to another, an ordinary roll will be sent with them, and a copy of it to the Commissary-General of Prisoners. In all cases, the officer charged with conducting prisoners will report to the officer under whose orders he acts, the execution of his service, furnishing a receipt for the prisoners delivered, and accounting by name for those not delivered; which report will be forwarded, without delay, to the Commissary-General of Prisoners.

III. The hospital will be under the immediate charge of the senior Medical Officer present, who will be held responsible to the Commanding Officer for its good order and the proper treatment of the sick. A fund for this hospital will be created as for other hospitals. It will be kept separate from the fund of the hospital for the troops, and will be expended for the objects specified, and in the manner prescribed in paragraph 1212, Revised Regulations for the Army of 1863, except that the requisition of the Medical Officer in charge, and the bill of purchase, before payment, shall be approved by the Commanding Officer. When this "fund" is sufficiently large, it may be expended also for shirts and drawers for the sick, the expense of washing clothes, articles for policing purposes, and all articles and objects indispensably necessary to promote the sanitary condition of the hospital.

IV. Surgeons in charge of hospitals where there are prisoners of war will make to the Commissary-General of Prisoners, through the Commanding Officer, semi-monthly reports of deaths, giving names, rank, regiment, and company; date and place of capture; date and cause of death; place of interment, and No. of grave. Effects of deceased prisoners will be taken possession of by the Commanding Officer, the money and valuables to be reported to this office (see note on blank reports), the clothing of any value to be given to such prisoners as require it. Money left by deceased prisoners, or accruing from the sale of their effects, will be placed in the Prison Fund.

V. A fund to be called "The Prison Fund," and to be applied in procuring such articles as may be necessary for the health and convenience of the prisoners, not expressly provided for by General Army Regulations, 1863, will be made by withholding from their rations such parts thereof as can be conveniently dispensed with. The Ab-

stract of Issues to Prisoners, and Statement of the Prison Fund, shall be made out, commencing with the month of May, 1864, in the same manner as is prescribed for the Abstract of Issues to Hospital and Statement of the Hospital Fund, (see paragraphs 1209, 1215, and 1246, and Form 5, Subsistence Department, Army Regulations, 1863), with such modifications in language as may be necessary. The ration for issue to prisoners will be composed as follows, viz.:

Hard Bread,	14 oz. per one ration, or 18 oz. Soft Bread, one ration.
Corn Meal,	18 oz. per one ration.
Beef,	14 " " "
Bacon or Pork,	10 " " "
Beans,	6 qts. per 100 men.
Hominy or Rice,	8 lbs. " "
Sugar,	14 " " "
R. Coffee, or	5 lbs. ground, or 7 lbs. raw, per 100 men.
Tea,	18 oz. per 100 men.
Soap,	4 " " "
Adamantine Candles,	5 candles per 100 men.
Tallow Candles,	6 " " "
Salt,	2 qts. " "
Molasses,	1 qt. " "
Potatoes,	30 lbs. " "

When beans are issued, hominy or rice will not be. If at any time it should seem advisable to make any change in this scale, the circumstances will be reported to the Commissary-General of Prisoners for his consideration.

VI. Disbursements to be charged against the Prison Fund will be made by the Commissary of Subsistence, on the order of the Commanding Officer; and all such expenditures of funds will be accounted for by the Commissary, in the manner prescribed for the disbursements of the Hospital Fund. When in any month the items of expenditures on account of the Prison Fund cannot be conveniently entered on the Abstract of Issues to Prisoners, a list of the articles and quantities purchased, prices paid, statement of services rendered, &c., certified by the Commissary as correct, and approved by the Commanding Officer, will accompany the Abstract. In such cases it will only be necessary to enter on the Abstract of Issues the total amount of funds thus expended.

VII. At the end of each calendar month, the Commanding Officer will transmit to the Commissary-General of Prisoners a copy of the "Statement of the Prison Fund," as shown in the Abstract of Issues for that month, with a copy of the list of expenditures specified in preceding paragraph, accompanied by vouchers, and will endorse thereon, or convey in letter of transmittal, such remarks as the matter may seem to require.

VIII. The Prison Fund is a credit with the Subsistence Department, and at the request of the Commissary-General of Prisoners, may be transferred by the Commissary-General of Subsistence in manner prescribed by existing Regulations for the transfer of Hospital Fund.

IX. With the Prison Fund may be purchased such articles not provided for by regulations as may be necessary for the health and proper condition of the prisoners, such as table furniture, cooking utensils, articles for policing, straw, the means for improving or enlarging the barracks or hospitals, &c. It will also be used to pay clerks, and other employees engaged in labors connected with prisoners. No barracks or other structures will be erected or enlarged, and no alterations made, without first submitting a plan and estimate of the cost to the Commissary-General of Prisoners, to be laid before the Secretary of War for his approval; and in no case will the services of clerks or of other employees be paid for without the sanction of the Commissary-General of Prisoners. Soldiers employed with such sanction will be allowed 40 cents per day when employed as clerks, stewards, or mechanics; 25 cents a day when employed as laborers.

X. It is made the duty of the Quartermaster, or, when there is none, the Commissary, under the orders of the Commanding Officer, to procure all articles required for the prisoners, and to hire clerks or other employees. All bills for service, or for articles purchased, will be certified by the Quartermaster, and will be paid by the Commissary on the order of the Commanding Officer, who is held responsible that all expenditures are for authorized purposes.

XI. The Quartermaster will be held accountable for all property purchased with the Prison Fund, and he will make a return of it to the Commissary-General of Prisoners at the end of each calendar month, which will show the articles on hand on the first day of the month; the articles purchased, issued and expended during the month; and the articles remaining on hand. The return will be supported by abstracts of the articles purchased, issued, and expended, certified by the Quartermaster, and approved by the Commanding Officer.

XII. The Commanding Officer will cause requisitions to be made by his Quartermaster for such clothing as may be absolutely necessary for the prisoners, which requisition will be approved by him, after a careful in-

quiry as to the necessity, and submitted for the approval of the Commissary-General of Prisoners. The clothing will be issued by the Quartermaster to the prisoners, with the assistance and under the supervision of an officer detailed for the purpose, whose certificate that the issue has been made in his presence will be the Quartermaster's voucher for the clothing issued. From the 30th of April to the 1st of October, neither drawers nor socks will be allowed, except to the sick. When army clothing is issued, buttons and trimmings will be taken off the coats, and the skirts will be cut so short that the prisoners who wear them will not be mistaken for United States soldiers.

XIII. The Sutler for the prisoners is entirely under the control of the Commanding Officer, who will require him to furnish the prescribed articles, and at reasonable rates. For this privilege the Sutler will be taxed a small amount by the Commanding Officer, according to the amount of his trade, which tax will be placed in the hands of the Commissary to make part of the Prison Fund.

XIV. All money in possession of prisoners, or received by them, will be taken charge of by the Commanding Officer, who will give receipts for it to those to whom it belongs. Sales will be made to prisoners by the Sutler on orders on the Commanding Officer, which orders will be kept as vouchers in the settlement of the individual accounts. The Commanding Officer will procure proper books in which to keep an account of all moneys deposited in his hands, these accounts to be always subject to inspection by the Commissary-General of Prisoners, or other inspecting officer. When prisoners are transferred from the post, the moneys belonging to them, with a statement of the amount due each, will be sent with them, to be turned over by the officer in charge to the officer to whom the prisoners are delivered, who will give receipts for the money. When prisoners are paroled, their money will be returned to them.

XV. All articles sent by friends to prisoners, if proper to be delivered, will be carefully distributed as the donors may request; such as are intended for the sick passing through the hands of the Surgeon, who will be responsible for their proper use. Contributions must be received by an officer, who will be held responsible that they are delivered to the person for whom they are intended. All uniform, clothing, boots, or equipments of any kind for military service, weapons of all kinds, and intoxicating liquors, including malt liquors, are among the contraband articles. The material for outer clothing should be gray, or some dark mixed color, and of inferior quality. Any excess of clothing, over what is required for immediate use, is contraband.

XVI. When prisoners are seriously ill, their nearest relatives, being loyal, may be permitted to make them short visits; but under no other circumstances will visitors be admitted without the authority of the Commissary-General of Prisoners. At those places where the guard is inside the enclosure, persons having official business to transact with the Commander or other officer will be admitted for such purposes, but will not be allowed to have any communication with the prisoners.

XVII. Prisoners will be permitted to write and to receive letters, not to exceed one page of common letter paper each, provided the matter is strictly of a private nature. Such letters must be examined by a reliable non-commissioned officer, appointed for that purpose by the Commanding Officer, before they are forwarded or delivered to the prisoners.

XVIII. Prisoners who have been reported to the Commissary-General of Prisoners will not be paroled or released except by authority of the Secretary of War.

W. HOFFMAN,
Col. 3d Infantry, Commissary-General of Prisoners.

OFFICIAL:
W. T. HART,
Assistant Adjutant General.

S. R. CRAIGE *sworn and examined:* —

I have been Quartermaster here since August, 1863. The amount of clothing issued to the prisoners from September 1st, 1863, to May 1st, 1864, by the Quartermaster's Department, will appear from the following statement prepared by me from the books:

QUARTERMASTER'S OFFICE, FORT DELAWARE,
June 21st, 1864.

CAPT. S. R. CRAIGE,
A. Q. M. Volunteers.

Statement of Clothing issued to Prisoners of War, from Sept. 1st, 1863, to May 1st, 1864:

7175 Pairs Drawers (Canton flannel).
6260 Shirts (Flannel).
8807 Pairs Woolen Stockings.
1094 Jackets and Coats.
3840 Pairs Bootees.
1310 Pairs Trowsers.
4378 Woolen Blankets.
2680 Great Coats.

The principal part of the clothing was issued in October and November, 1863, and every prisoner not having an overcoat and blanket of his own was provided with one.

All that were in want of clothing received it.

The barracks were kept comfortable by stoves; no stint in fuel that I know of; the attendants kept the fires up. Three hundred tons of coal provided by me, were consumed by the prisoners in the winter and spring. This, in addition to wood used for baking, and to the coal supplied by Capt. Clark. I am satisfied the prisoners were as comfortable as could be.

S. R. CRAIGE,
Captain and A. Q. M.

Sworn to and subscribed before me,
June 21st, 1864.

D. P. BROWN, JR.,
United States Commissioner.

Captain G. S. CLARKE, *recalled:*—

I have purchased and used for the prisoners about one thousand tons of coal during the winter. I would say, in my judgment, that the barracks were sufficiently warm during the season requiring fires. I was Quartermaster here, as well as Commissary, until Captain Craige assumed the Quartermaster's Department.

The desitute prisoners were supplied with sufficient clothing during the time I acted as Quartermaster.

GILBERT S. CLARK.

Attest:

D. P. BROWN, JR.,
United States Commissioner.

Captain GEORGE W. AHL, *sworn and examined:*—

My rank is Captain; Acting Assistant Adjutant-General for six months, and Commissary of Prisoners for about a year and a half.

Q. Can you state whether the rations issued to prisoners at this post were actually given them in full?

A. To the best of my knowledge and belief they were.

Q. Were the rations issued sufficient for their subsistence? had they at any time saved any rations, and was there any waste of their rations at any time?

A. The rations issued to them were at all times sufficient for their subsistence; and sometimes greatly in excess of what they could eat. In policing their barracks sometime ago we tore up the lower bunk boards, under which we found about eight (8) barrels of hard bread and meat, which they had secreted there, because there was more than they could eat. At that time we had only about three thousand prisoners here.

According to official monthly reports made to the Commissary-General of prisoners, there were at this post in July, 1863, 8,982 prisoners, of whom 111 died during the month.

August,	1863,	8,822	prisoners, of whom	169	died.
September,	1863,	6,490	" "	327	"
October,	1863,	2,987	" "	377	"
November,	1863,	2,822	" "	156	"
December,	1863,	2,765	" "	82	"
January,	1864,	2,600	" "	78	"
February,	1864,	2,655	" "	42	"
March,	1864,	5,712	" "	62	"
April,	1864,	6,149	" "	74	"
May,	1864,	8,126	" "	62	"
To June 21,	1864,	8,536	" "	42	"

The greater mortality during the summer and fall months of 1863, was attributable to the following causes: Small-pox; the majority of the prisoners not having been vaccinated before they came here, and those who were vaccinated had been vaccinated with impure matter; at all events, the vaccination resulted in breaking out over their body in sores; and from the prostrated condition of the prisoners from Vicksburg, a great many of whom had to be carried, on their arrival here, from the boat to the hospital, and many of whom represented that they had been limited to half and quarter rations of an inferior quality during the siege of Vicksburg. Many died also from wounds received in different engagements. Many, when brought here, were suffering from chronic diarrhœa and other diseases. The general effect of our treatment of the prisoners at this post has resulted in great benefit to their physical condition. In reference to vaccination, being desirous of obtaining the true cause of its bad effects on their system, I inquired of them (the prisoners) the cause of it; they stated that they had been vaccinated by their own men with impure matter.

GEORGE W. AHL,
Captain and A. A. A. G. and
Commissary of Prisoners.

Sworn to and subscribed before me,
June 21st, 1864.

D. P. BROWN, JR.,
U. S. Commissioner.

Lieutenant A. G. WOLF, *sworn and examined:*—

I am a Lieutenant in charge of prisoners at Fort Delaware; have been here since 23d September, 1862; have had charge of the prisoners about eight months.

The order is that the men shall be sent out every day for air. The barracks are then entirely cleansed out. At one time we turned the prisoners out, and found enough of crackers to have paved the barracks two crackers deep, and they are an average of five hundred feet. They had stowed and concealed them away in various places. As a general thing, when the barracks were cleaned out, there were always a number of rations, bread and meat, found stowed away. We have always found a quantity of blan-

kets and clothing stowed away under the floor during the winter season. We have allowed men two blankets apiece, and when they were delicate, three blankets and an overcoat.

They are allowed to bathe in the river twice a week. We have to take a guard to get some of them to go out to bathe. We issue a regular prisoner's ration of soap; we have found as much as ten pounds secreted in their haversacks.

They had five stoves within five hundred feet during winter, and were warm enough in their barracks.

There has never been an order to fire at any man looking out the windows, and no man has ever been fired at for looking out; there have been five men shot; three killed and two wounded here, since this has been a prison. One killed while in the river making his escape, about one hundred yards from the shore, at night; one killed for attempting to climb over the fence towards the river; one man was wounded—he died since—for committing a nuisance on the bank contrary to rule, and was ordered by the sentry to stop. He called the sentry "a Yankee son of a bitch," and would not stop. The ball wounded two men. The other one said that he deserved all he got. Another was killed accidentally, by the sentry shooting at one who was committing a nuisance, and who would not obey the order. These orders are to prevent nuisances occurring in the barracks, which would be destructive of health and cleanliness. Even with these rules, nuisances are not unfrequently committed.

Special orders No. 157 are the same as those I refer to, and are as follow:

SPECIAL ORDER No. 157.

HEADQUARTERS, FORT DELAWARE,
June 1, 1864.

The officer of the Guard must read and explain these orders to each *relief* of his Guard regularly before having it posted.

I. No sentinel must communicate with nor allow any person to communicate with any of the prisoners, nor permit any of the prisoners to go outside of the limits of their barracks, without the permission of the Commanding General or the officers in charge of the prisoners.

II. It is the duty of the sentinel to prevent the prisoners from *escapiny*, or *cutting, defacing, or in any way damaging any of the Government property*, or from *committing any "Nuisance" in or about their barracks*, or from *using any abusive or insolent* LANGUAGE towards them, and from any violation of good order.

Should the sentinel detect any prisoner in violating these instructions, he must order him *three distinct times to halt!* and if the prisoner obeys the order, the sentinel must call for the Corporal of the Guard, and have the prisoner placed in arrest—but *should the prisoner fail to halt, when so ordered, the sentinel must enforce his order by bayonet or ball.*

III. The sentinels are required to exercise the utmost vigilance, and to exact from prisoners a strict compliance with these instructions, and must always be duly impressed with the nature and extent of their responsibility.

By command of BRIG. GEN'L SCHOEPF.
(Signed) GEO. W. AHL,
Captain and A. A. A. G.

They exist in all prisons.
A. G. WOLF,
Lieutenant and Commissary of Prisoners.

Sworn to and subscribed before me,
June 21st, 1864.
D. P. BROWN, JR.,
United States Commissioner.

Surgeon H. R. SILLIMAN, *sworn and examined:*—

I have been in charge here as Surgeon-in-Charge of the books since July, 1863. The condition of the prisoners, upon arriving here, was that generally of men suffering from over-exertion and bad diet; chronic diarrhœa and scurvy prevalent among them; they improved very materially shortly after their arrival here.

The sanitary conditions here were such as to be conducive to their health. Prisoners who arrived here from Vicksburg and the Mississippi Valley were laboring under miasmetic influences, under which a great number of them died. From their condition, I should judge they had been on a diet of salt meat. Some of the men arrived here in a good condition of health. The men from Gettysburg were generally in good health, though they soon broke down, showing the effect of their violent exertions; they rallied again under good food and good clothing. The condition of the men brought here within the last few months, captured in Virginia, has been better than that of those brought here heretofore. A large number of the men had never been vaccinated, and many others imperfectly so. The scars were imperfect, in my judgment. They vaccinated themselves in the barracks with pen-knives, after their arrival here, producing diseases of the blood and skin. In my experience, the proportion of the unvaccinated men, among the prisoners, is far greater than in our own army, for I have never known of an unvaccinated man in our army.

I consider the amount of food and clothing allowed to prisoners here, during the past winter, reasonably sufficient for the preservation of life and health.

I don't know of any man who has suffered from a want of food or clothing, and unable to procure them, on proper representations.

I do know of one man who was brought into the hospital last winter, during a severe spell, severely frost-bitten. I don't know how this occurred. This is the only instance that has come to my knowledge.

The men sent away from here were sometimes sick and sometimes well; they were in general well; and the physical condition of the well men was good. The sick were sent away under special orders, going as sick.

The order was from Surgeon-General Hammond; it was not an order to send away any who could not bear the journey; it was left to my discretion who to send away, and I sent none who I believed would die on the passage; I was careful about that.

I think the treatment of the sick prisoners here is equal to the treatment of our own sick men anywhere.

I expend as much as $1,700 per month, saved from the surplus rations, on delicacies for the sick.

H. R. SILLIMAN,
Assistant Surgeon U. S. A.

Sworn to and subscribed before me,
June 21st, 1864.
D. P. BROWN, JR.,
United States Commissioner.

Lieutenant A. G. WOLF, *recalled:* —

I am acquainted with the case of frost-bite spoken of by Dr. Silliman. The prisoners reported to me that the man was taken with cramps in the barracks; they exposed his person and rubbed him to ease the pain, and found that they could do no good, and then brought him to the hospital in that condition of exposure. I attributed the frost-bite to these circumstances.

A. G. WOLF,
Lieutenant and Commanding Prison.

Attest,
D. P. BROWN, JR.,
United States Commissioner.

Surgeon Colin ARROTT, *sworn and examined:* —

I am acting assistant-surgeon at this place; have been here over two years. When I first came here the water used for drinking was rain water; and after I came here the water was brought from the Brandywine, in casks by sloops. I cautioned all the prisoners that came here against drinking the water of the Island, as it was unhealthy. They would frequently persist in doing it, although there was fresh water provided for them. They did this to save themselves from the trouble of going about a hundred yards for fresh water. They would dig little wells for the water, a few inches deep; I think that water produced sickness, though I frequently cautioned them, and at different times. This was two years ago.

For a year the water has been brought here in large quantities by boats. There are 30,000 gallons of water brought here now a day, besides what rain water is caught. There is now, and always has been, as far as I know, a full supply of water on the Island.

COLIN ARROTT,
Acting Assistant Surgeon.

Sworn to and subscribed before me,
June 21st, 1864.
D. P. BROWN, JR.,
United States Commissioner.

I certify that the foregoing testimony, taken at Fort Delaware, June 21st, 1864, was taken and reduced to writing by me, in the presence of the respective witnesses, and by them sworn to and subscribed in my presence, at the time and in the manner set forth.

D. P. BROWN, JR.,
U. S. Commissioner.

DAVID'S ISLAND, N. Y.

Testimony taken at De Camp General Hospital, U. S. A., David's Island, June 16th, 1864.

COMMISSIONER PRESENT.—Mr. Wilkins.

Deposition of Augustus Van Cortlandt, Acting Assistant Surgeon U. S. A.

I was on duty in this hospital when the last load of rebel prisoners arrived, during the latter part of July, 1863. Some were lodged in pavilions, and some in tents, which were in excellent order.

The prisoners had not been robbed or deprived of any of their private property, so far as my knowledge extends; on the contrary, the majority of patients under my charge possessed money, brought with them from the South to the hospital, and were never deprived of it.

They came in a filthy, horrible condition. Their dirty garments were removed and burned, and new hospital clothing furnished them at the expense of the United States Government, after they had been thoroughly cleansed and washed.

Their physical condition was bad in the extreme when they arrived; they were run down, and were the worst body of wounded men it has ever been my lot to see.

I had ten tents under my charge, which contained ninety-four rebel patients and

nurses. The tents were twenty-eight by fifteen feet. The pavilions were one hundred and ninety-six feet in length, twenty-three feet in breadth, and twelve feet in height to the plate, and contained not more than eighty patients.

During the ensuing cold weather the prisoners were removed to the pavilions, and had all necessary fuel and warm clothing. I have never heard of any of the prisoners suffering from cold or exposure, so as to require medical treatment, nor of any having been frozen to death.

They were allowed, for exercise and recreation, the whole island inside of the line of sentries, having the same liberty, rations, diet and medical treatment, as the Federal sick and wounded have always had.

No rebel prisoners were ever fired upon, shot, or wounded, when on the Island, from any apprehension of their escaping, or from any other cause.

The supply of drinking water was of a good quality and abundant; and ice was supplied with liberal profusion, and sufficiency of water for washing, with plentiful allowances of soap, as well as combs, for their own private use.

The physical condition of the rebel prisoners, upon leaving the island, was very good, except a few cases of unhealed wounds.

AUG. VAN CORTLANDT, M. D.

Sworn to before me,
WARREN WEBSTER,
Assistant Surgeon U. S. A., in charge of Hospital.

Deposition of GEORGE W. EDWARDS, Acting Assistant Surgeon U. S. A.

I was stationed at this hospital when the rebel prisoners arrived, about the middle of July, 1863. They were placed in tents and pavilions, which had just been vacated by Union soldiers to make room for them. The dimension of the tents were twenty-eight feet by fifteen feet; the pavilions were one hundred and ninety-six feet in length, twenty-three feet in breadth, and twelve feet in height to the plate; not sealed over, and with numerous ventilators on the ridges. The tents were arranged to contain ten patients each, the pavilions to contain eighty; the number of patients never exceeded these numbers in either.

The prisoners had not been robbed by our men, as most of them had money, some had gold, greenbacks, and Confederate paper.

They were in rags, barefooted and bareheaded when they came, were frightfully filthy, and covered with vermin. Within three or four hours after their arrival, they had all been stripped of their rags, washed, and after being supplied with clean linen, placed in clean and well-aired beds.

Full suits of clothing, consisting of coats, pants, drawers, shirts, shoes and stockings, were subsequently issued to them by the United States Quartermaster. To distinguish them from our own soldiers, the buttons and six inches of the skirt of the coat were cut off.

Those who remained during the cold weather were abundantly supplied with fuel and warm clothing, and none required medical or surgical treatment in consequence of exposure to the cold; none were frozen to death.

They were allowed to go fishing or clamming, as they pleased, when they first came, till several escaped, when a line of sentinels was placed around the island upon the beach, inside of which they enjoyed all the privileges allowed to the Federal patients in the hospital.

None of the rebels were ever shot at, wounded or killed in any way while upon the island.

They receive medical and surgical treatment in all respects equal to that of Union soldiers. Nine-tenths of them were suffering from wounds. The mortality was not large, most of the deaths occurring from the severity of the wounds. They received the same rations and diet as our own patients.

The paper hereto attached, marked (A,)* formed the Diet Table during the time which the rebel prisoners were on the island. They had an abundance of good drinking water, with ice, an unlimited supply for bathing, plenty of soap, towels, combs, &c., &c., for their own comfort and cleanliness.

When the prisoners were removed, they were in excellent bodily condition, though many had not entirely recovered from their wounds; the majority of the prisoners left the island during the month of October, 1863. At one time there were about two thousand five hundred rebel prisoners upon the island.

I have been upon the medical staff of this hospital since its opening, in May, 1862, and it has been occupied by Union patients, both prior and subsequent to its occupation by rebel prisoners. G. W. EDWARDS.

Sworn to before me,
WARREN WEBSTER,
Assistant Surgeon U. S. A., in charge of Hospital.

DE CAMP GENERAL HOSPITAL,
DAVID'S ISLAND, NEW YORK,
June 17th, 1864.

We, the undersigned, Acting Assistant Surgeons U. S. A., employed in De Camp General Hospital, depose and say, that we

* The paper (A) here referred to, is the "DIET TABLE FOR GENERAL HOSPITALS, UNITED STATES ARMY."

have heard read the depositions of Augustus Van Cortlandt and George W. Edwards, Acting Assistant Surgeons U. S. A., of this date, and from our personal knowledge and actual experience confirm all that the said affidavits set forth as to the treatment of rebels, sick and wounded, during their confinement in this hospital.

We further depose that we have been members of the Medical Staff in this hospital, during and subsequent to its occupation by the rebel prisoners.

The Medical Staff numbered twenty-three Acting Assistant Surgeons, while the prisoners were on the island.

We would further depose that there were ample provisions of nurses; one nurse to every ten patients in the hospitals; and that the following provisions were made for the calls of nature: each pavilion was furnished with from two to four water-closets, and chairs and bed-pans were furnished for patients unable to reach the water-closet. The tents were furnished with bed-pans and chairs. Ample structures were made upon the beach for those able to walk.

JOHN HOWE, M. D., Acting Assistant Surgeon, U. S. A., further deposes and says, that on or about the first day of August 1863, while attending his duties in Pavilion 14, there was then and there present, the Rev. —— Brooks, Alabama Chaplain in the Confederate service, and prisoner of war, who addressed the rebel prisoners and said to them, "Well, boys, keep up your spirits, for you are getting a great deal better treatment here than you would get at home."

JOHN HOWE, M. D.,
Acting Assistant Surgeon, U. S. A.

WILLIAM BADGER,
GEORGE BADGER,
A. N. BROCKWAY,
WM. C. PRYER.

Sworn to before me,

WARREN WEBSTER,
Assistant Surgeon U. S. A., in charge of Hospital.

Deposition of the Rev. ROBERT LOWRY, Chaplin, U. S. A., Minister of Protestant Episcopal Church, Diocese of New York, under Bishop Potter.

Entered upon my duties here July 4, 1862, and have continued here until this time.

In my intercourse with the prisoners, I was guided systematically by the same rules with which I visited Union soldiers. The prisoners were equally well lodged with our own men. I remarked at the time of their arrival how neat and comfortable a provision had been made in the tents and pavilions for their comfort, with an ample supply of beds and bedding.

I met the first transport at Philadelphia, and returned on the same with them to Dat vid's Island. The prisoners were in a mos filthy condition, miserably clad, and covered with vermin. Each man received a bath and was immediately furnished with clean clothing, the old clothing being removed and burned. In the prosecution of my duties I was frequently present at their dinners, which were ample, superior, both as respects quantity and quality, to anything I have ever seen in hospital diet. The diet furnished to them was superior even to that of our own patients. This resulted from the fact that many little luxuries were furnished by private donation. There were other comforts and conveniences afforded them beyond those of food, clothing, and shelter.

A library of two thousand volumes, that had been previously used by our own soldiers, was at once thrown open to them, and every facility afforded for the use of the volumes. Being present as librarian, and taking each man's name as he received his book, the library was used by them far more than by our own people. As had been my practice, I went through the tents and pavilions with bibles and prayer books, making the special inquiry to every man, "Are you supplied?" And furnishing books in all cases where they were required.

Religious services were held in the chapel twice every Sunday, and two or three times during the week, at which they were invited to be present, and attended in such numbers that the chapel was always crowded, the capacity of the chapel being three hundred, and some occasions numbers stood at the windows during the entire service.

I was supervisor of the post office, and officially appointed to examine the contents of letters, which were mailed and forwarded on my approval. Paper and envelopes were furnished gratuitously, and post stamps, when needed, were supplied to the extent of one hundred and fifty dollars, to my knowledge, gratuitously. From three to five hundred letters were forwarded daily after the first arrival of prisoners.

The common expression in their letters as to their condition was that "we have everything we need, and could not be better off."

Funeral service was always performed over the dead, using the service of the Protestant Episcopal Church over the remains of the dead. A record was uniformly made of the names, company, and regiment, of the deceased, and date of death. This record was made independently of a formal Hospital register.

ROBERT LOWRY,
Chaplain U. S. A.

Sworn to before me,

WARREN WEBSTER,
Assistant Surgeon U. S. A., in charge.

JOHNSON'S ISLAND, NEAR SANDUSKY, OHIO.

Testimony taken at Washington, D. C., June 3, 1864.

COMMISSIONERS PRESENT.—Mr. Wilkins, Dr. Wallace, Dr. Walden.

Surgeon CHAS. P. WILSON, *examined:*—

I was Acting Assistant Surgeon, United States Army. I was stationed at Johnson's Island, three miles from Sandusky, from the last week of October, 1863, to the last week of January, 1864. My duty was to attend to our men guarding the rebel prisoners, and also to attend at the Small-pox Hospital for rebel prisoners, and at the Post Hospital for our garrison; my position enabled me to see the general condition and the general treatment of the prisoners.

There could not be a more healthy or pleasant place than this island. Kelly's Island, a popular place of resort for pleasure and health, is about six miles from this island, and no better for these objects.

The buildings were good; in good order; they were new; say two years old; convenient and comfortable; they might have been better ventilated; the buildings were frame, and lined inside; they had rows of bunks, as in barracks, in three tiers—just the same as our men have in most of our barracks.

The rebel prisoners all had blankets, either their own or furnished by the United States Government, and were generally furnished with clothing by the United States Government—pants, shoes, hats, blouses, and underclothing and stockings,—until a short time before I left, then these were furnished to those only who actually needed them.

I have several times seen of an afternoon boxes carted in, and these articles distributed from the boxes among the prisoners, according to their wants.

I was there in extremely cold weather, when the supplies were teamed on the ice from the main land to Johnson's Island, a distance of three miles; the prisoners were provided against this severe weather by wood hauled every day for their use in stoves.

I consider that the wood was sufficient for comfortable supply, except for, say two or possibly three days, when the teams were engaged in bringing lumber and provisions for additional troops; during these two or three days the supply of wood was scant, and was the subject of complaint.

No prisoners were frost-bitten or came under medical treatment from cold and exposure, except some who attempted to escape. They all fared as well in this respect as our men do in barracks generally.

The sick men all had ticks filled with straw as beds; the hospital building for the rebels was lined and plastered.

There was abundant supply of good water from the lake by pipes and pumps; when the pipes froze they could go to the lake, under guard, and supply themselves, bringing it up in suitable vessels; they always had plenty of water to wash themselves and their clothes.

The rations of the prisoners were the same as those furnished to our own soldiers according to regulations.

The prisoners did not consume all their rations, for I know that there was a large prison fund formed from the savings.

During the hours of the day the prisoners were allowed to be in the open air as much as they pleased; there was abundant room for them all to take as much exercise as they required for health; they played games in the open air.

The surgeon in charge treated the sick rebels as he treated our sick; there was no difference at all, except when special articles of diet were sent to our men by their friends.

Some four hundred and sixty rebel privates were sent to some other prison in November; most of them had been on Johnson's Island for some months; when they left, taking them as a whole, their physical condition was excellent.

You could not have found the same number of prisoners anywhere in better condition.

C. P. WILSON,
Surgeon 138th Regiment O. N. G.

Sworn and subscribed before me, at Washington, D. C., this 3d day of June, 1864.

M. H. N. KENDIG,
Notary Public.

Depositions taken at Sandusky, Ohio.

MAJOR T. WOODBRIDGE, M. D., Surgeon in charge, *sworn and examined:*—

Q. What has been and is now your position in the army of the United States?

A. I am Surgeon of the 128th Regiment O. V. I., and Surgeon in charge of the Depot for Prisoners of War on Johnson's Island, near Sandusky, Ohio.

Q. How long have you held this position?

A. Since the establishment of the prison. I came to the island in February, 1862. The first prisoners came in April, 1862. I have had medical supervision of the prison from then until now.

Q. What is your opinion of Johnson's Island as to health and salubrity?

A. I believe Johnson's Island to be as favorable to health as the climate of Newport or Saratoga in summer, and as that of

Cincinnati or Dayton in winter. The latitude is about 41½° North, longitude 82° 42′ West. Height of lake above tide-water five hundred and sixty-five feet. The island rests upon a bed of Devonian limestone, which rises gradually from the shore to the centre, terminating in a ridge of limestone rock, thus affording complete natural drainage. The water used is principally that of the bay, which comes in fresh constantly from Lake Erie.

Q. What diseases, if any, are peculiar to Johnston's Island or the neighboring islands in Lake Erie?

A. I know of no diseases peculiar to those islands or prevalent in them. Johnson's Island is a small one, containing only about three hundred acres of land, and previous to the establishment of the prison, if I am correctly informed, was not inhabited by more than one family at a time; but the Peninsula, with Kelley's Island and the Put-in-Bay Islands, have been inhabited for between thirty and forty years. I have conversed frequently with some of the oldest citizens of the peninsula and the islands, but have never heard them speak of any liability to diseases, but such as is common to other parts of Ohio.

Q. Is there any truth in the assertion made by rebel authorities that residence on the island for a few months produces in a great number of prisoners dangerous and fatal pulmonary disorders?

A. Not the slightest.

Q. What has been the rate of mortality among the prisoners?

A. In 1862 — from April to December inclusive — the number of deaths was thirty-seven. During the year 1863 measles and smallpox were brought into the prison by prisoners sent from Alton and other prisons, and many wounded at the battles of Gettysburg, augmenting our mortality list above what it would otherwise have reached. The number of deaths for 1863 was ninety-seven. This makes, from the time of the first arrival of prisoners in April, 1862, to January 1st, 1864, (twenty-one months,) a mortality list of one hundred and thirty-four, out of an aggregate of six thousand four hundred and ten, received into the prison in that time. As there were exchanges and removals of prisoners, the number in prison never exceeded twenty-seven hundred at any one time.* Many of the prisoners came here with health impaired, by bad diet, exposure, and often by wounds received in battle. The bill of mortality owes little to the climate of the post, when we consider that men in prison, away from home and friends, are weighed down by anxieties and despondency, thus making the treatment of disease more difficult.

Q. Please state the number of prisoners now at the post?

A. About two thousand three hundred and six.*

Q. Please state the number of deaths during the past two months.

A. In the month of May there were five deaths; in the month of June only one.

Q. What accommodations are provided for the care of the sick?

A. The hospital building is one hundred and twenty-six by thirty feet, with a transverse hall six and a half feet wide in the centre. There are four wards, each forty-eight by thirty feet. There are eighty beds in all, giving to each patient, when the wards are full, seven hundred and twenty cubic feet of atmospheric air. The dispensary is furnished with all the medicines and stimulants furnished to hospitals for our own soldiers, and more than double the quantity is used by prisoners than by the same number of our troops. I have always had the assistance of competent Confederate surgeons, who cheerfully aid by giving their time to this duty. When there are no commissioned surgeons in prison, there are surgeons holding commissions in the line who do this duty. The cooking for the hospital is done by the most experienced and skilful cooks we can find in the prison.

In addition to rations, the sick are furnished with flour, potatoes, corn-meal, milk, butter, eggs, chickens, tea, &c., &c. The bedding is amply sufficient to make each patient comfortable. A pest-house is built outside the prison, to which all cases of smallpox, measles, or other contagions, are removed on first development.

J. WOODBRIDGE,
Surgeon 128th O. V. I.

Subscribed in my presence and sworn to before me at Sandusky, Ohio, this 5th day of July, 1864.

[SEAL.] HENRY C. BUSH,
Notary Public in and for Erie County, Ohio.

SURGEON EVERTMAN *examined:* —

Q. What position do you now hold at Depot Prisoners of War?

A. I act as chief medical officer of United States forces and military prison.

Q. How long have you held that position?

A. Since the 17th of May, 1864.

Q. What is your opinion of the general

* The average number of prisoners for the entire of the year 1863 was eleven hundred and fifteen.

* In May, 1864, there were two thousand one hundred and thirty-four, and in June, 1864, two thousand three hundred and nine.

healthfulness and salubrity of Johnson's Island?

A. The general condition of the troops and prisoners of war at this post has been unusually good and healthy. The hospital in the prison, during the past two months, scarcely ever had more than thirty inmates among an aggregate number of two thousand one hundred prisoners of war. The prevailing diseases, during this time, were diarrhœa, acute and chronic; a few cases of dysentery, and a small number of intermittent fever. I consider the island as healthy as any locality I have ever visited.

Q. Have you known any undue tendency to pulmonary disorders on this or the adjoining islands, or any part of the surrounding country?

A. I have not, at least not during the time that I have been stationed here. In the early part of the spring there were some few cases of pneumonia and bronchitis, but not any more so than would be expected even in a climate further south than this.

Q. What proportion of pulmonary complaints furnished in your hospital reports?

A. For the past six months the ratio has been as follows:

	Sick Treated.	Pulmonary Diseases.
January, . . .	64	10
February, . .	66	5
March, ...	46	7
April, ...	91	1
May, ...	62	2
June, ...	80	5
Total, . . .	409	30

Q. What is the appearance of the prisoners generally at this time?

A. Their appearance is very good. The prisoners confined at this depot are all rebel officers, but have very little pride to keep themselves or their quarters clean.

Q. Do the prisoners seem to gain or decline in health after their arrival here?

A. As a general thing their health improves. Most of the prisoners are robust and in good physical condition.

HENRY EVERTMAN,
Surgeon U. S. Vols., Chief Medical Officer.

Subscribed in my presence and sworn to before me at Sandusky, Ohio, this 5th day of July, 1864.

[SEAL.] HENRY C. BUSH,
Notary Public in and for Erie County, Ohio.

Deposition taken at Kelley's Island.

GEORGE C. HUNTINGTON *examined:*

Q. How long have you resided on Kelley's Island?

A. Since the fall of 1838, with the exception of one year, from the fall of 1844 to the fall of 1845. Have been acquainted on the Island since 1835.

Q. What means have you of furnishing a statement of the character of the climate and sanitary condition of Kelley's Island, and the neighboring islands, and the surrounding country?

A. I have been in the habit, during the entire period of my residence on the island, of noting extremes of temperature, and such casual phenomena as would, in my opinion, have any bearing on the general health of the place; and for more than five years past have made three records daily of everything connected with the changes of the weather, in the manner prescribed by, and under the direction of, the Smithsonian Institution.

Q. Please state the latitude, longitude, and height above tide-water, of Kelley's Island; its population, and the general character of the island for salubrity.

A. My place of observation is in latitude 41° 35′ 44″ N., longitude 82° 42′ 32″ W. The level of Lake Erie is 565 feet above tide-water, and the island may in some places rise fifty or sixty feet above the level of the lake; but I think the mean height of the island would not vary much from twenty-five feet above the level of the lake. The population, in April last, was six hundred and fifty-one. As to the salubrity of the climate, the matter will be best determined by the statistics given in answer to the next question.

Q. What has been the percentage of mortality, annually, on your island?

A. In answer to this question I give an abstract from the records of the "Cemetery Association." This association was organized in May, 1853, since which time the whole number of interments has been 43
From this deduct, lost from vessels and washed ashore, ... 4
Died in Nashville, from w'ds in battle, 1—5

Whole number of interments in 11 years, 38
To this add, died here and taken elsewhere for interment, ... 5

Whole number of deaths in 11 years, 43
From diseases reported as follows:—

Killed by premature blast 1, drowned 2,	3
Old age 3, intemperance 1, dropsy 1, .	5
Still-born and infants but a few days old,	8
Dysentery and summer complaint, . .	9
Inflammation of bowels, ...	3
Diseases affecting respiratory organs, .	5
Throat affection, age 76, age 50, . . .	2
Fevers (one contracted in army hospital),	3
Childbirth 1, congestion of brain 1, . .	2
Fits 1, not specified 2, ...	3
	43

The average population of the island for this period of eleven years has been, as appears by the returns of the township assessor, 428, which would give an annual mortality of 3.9; but if we deduct casualties 3, still-born and infants, which, although born alive, had not vitality enough fairly to commence the journey of life, 8; and one from disease contracted in hospital in Nashville, 1, it will reduce the number of deaths properly chargeable to disease and old age to thirty-one, or an annual mortality of 2.82 in a population of 428. This would be an annual mortality from all causes of one per cent., and from disease, including old age, an annual mortality of less than seventy-three-hundredths of one per cent. (0.724.) By comparing these results with the tables of mortality in different sections of the country, the salubrity of our climate and the immunity from the ordinary diseases of the country enjoyed by the inhabitants of this island as compared with other localities, may be easily deduced.

Q. What is the distance of Kelley's from Johnson's Island, and is there any difference in the physical or sanitary peculiarities of the two islands?

A. Johnson's Island is about seven miles nearly due south from Kelley's Island, and I am not aware of any natural causes which should make any difference in the salubrity of climate or sanitary condition of the two localities, unless the difference in the water between Sandusky Bay and the open lake (the latter being considered rather more free from impurities) might be considered a difference, so far as it is used for culinary purposes or as a beverage.

Q. Is there any undue tendency to pulmonary disorders among the inhabitants of these islands?

A. By reference to the answer to a preceding question, it will be seen that the whole number of deaths from diseases affecting the respiratory organs in a period of eleven years, and in a population averaging four hundred and twenty-eight, was but five, and of this number one was a transient person; leaving but four cases in eleven years among those who could be properly called residents.

Q. Has Johnson's Island ever had a bad repute for unhealthiness?

A. I have never heard Johnson's Island called unhealthy.

Q. Have you ever known any very fatal diseases among the inhabitants of Lake Erie?

A. The Asiatic cholera has passed through the lake region as an epidemic four times, I think, since it first made its appearance on this continent in 1832. I am not aware of any other very fatal diseases having prevailed in the lake region since my first acquaintance with it in 1830.

STATE OF OHIO, Erie County, } s s.

Before me, the subscriber, a Notary Public in and for the County of Erie and State of Ohio, personally came G. C. Huntington, who, being duly sworn by me according to law, deposes and says that the statements above made are compiled from official and other reliable data, and that they are true according to his knowledge and belief.

GEO. C. HUNTINGTON.

Subscribed and sworn to before me, July 4th, A. D. 1864.

[SEAL.] A. S KELLEY, Notary Public.

EVIDENCE OF SOLDIERS OF THE REBEL ARMY CONFINED AT UNITED STATES STATIONS.

Testimony taken at Lincoln Hospital, Washington, D. C., taken June 4, 1864.

COMMISSIONERS PRESENT. — Dr. Wallace, Mr. Walden.

WILLIAM H. FERGUSON; 11th Mississippi infantry; twenty-six years old; private in Confederate service three years; health good while in service and up to the time of my capture.

Had walled tents sometimes, and cabins sometimes when in winter quarters.

Always had this kind of covering except while in active service; then we had no tents or cabins, say from first of May till we go into winter quarters.

We commonly carry one blanket.

Could have more if we wanted it.

Could take captured tents and carry and use them if we chose.

We were comfortable as far as body clothing and blankets are concerned; when one coat or pants wears out we can get more from our own quartermasters.

A day's ration is one and one-eighth pounds wheat flour or one and one-fourth pounds corn meal; one and one-fourth pounds beef, fresh (could generally get fresh beef, driving cattle along with us), or half-pound bacon in place of beef; we also drew during the first year of war, coffee, sugar, and rice; second and third years had no coffee; sometimes we could get sugar and rice; since Christmas last we got coffee again.

We always had plenty to eat and sometimes more, while not on campaign; but on campaign, then we always had enough, but none to spare.

Since our capture we get enough grub to keep us from hunger; we don't suffer; we have a full allowance; we are as well treated as your own men.

I was wounded in my right leg just above the ankle; healing kindly now.

Kindly treated by the officers and subordinates since our capture.

I have not been, and never have seen any of our boys, robbed or otherwise ill-treated by the Union men; I have seen and heard some occasional rough talk and swearing at us, but nothing more than that; this was from a few of the privates; not a general rule.

We have had civil talk and argument as a common thing with the Union soldiers on the subject of the war.

I was captured 5th of May, 1864.

Our food in the Confederate army was of good quality.

Our corn meal that we had was very good; we had generally white, sometimes yellow meal; it was bolted or sifted, and of fine grain.

We never had grains of corn or bits of cob in our meal.

WILLIAM H. FERGUSON,
Company D, 11th Mississippi Volunteers.

I have been in the Confederate service two years and six months; was captured on fifth of May, 1864. Was wounded through the right shoulder and chest. I am improving in strength; and I suppose I am gaining flesh now, though I am not as strong or fleshy as when I was captured.

I have been present at the statements made by William H. Ferguson, 11th Mississippi Volunteers; I have heard them all; I substantiate their accuracy from my experience and observation as to our condition in the service, though I was attached to a different corps of the army.

W. O. QUARLES,
Company H, 3d Alabama Regiment, Infantry.

Larkin A. Griffin, native of South Carolina; home in Florida; belong to 1st South Carolina rifles.

The statement made by William H. Ferguson has been read and shown to me. It agrees with my observation and experience except as noted below. I have been in Confederate service nearly three years; my health was always excellent while in the service; I was well and strong when wounded and captured; captured on 12th May, 1864.

During the winter of 1862 and 1863, we had full rations of bread, but only half rations of bacon for about three months.

Our corn meal was very finely ground, but the hull was not sifted out.

In a few isolated cases our captured men were directed to leave their knapsacks and haversacks behind them; it was not a general thing at all.

I never saw nor heard our men sworn at or cursed by the Union soldiers.

L. A. GRIFFIN.

I have seen and had read to me the statements made by William H. Ferguson. They are correct as proved by my own experience and observation generally. I have been in the Confederate service three years; my health and strength while in the service was good during the third year; better than before.

We had coffee always, except during 1863, up to about Christmas.

A Union lieutenant once damned me and told me I was not worthy of a place. I replied, "I hoped the Lord would forgive him and make him a better man."

PLEASANT H. REESE,
Company I, 13th Georgia Regiment.

I have seen and had read to me the statements made by William H. Ferguson.

They are correct as proved by my own experience and observation generally. I have been in the Confederate service two years; my health was not very good till this last winter; then it was tolerably good; could do all my duties. Through last summer we did not draw coffee.

JOSEPH F. DAVIDSON,
Company A, 49th Georgia Regiment.

Virgil Carroll, aged twenty-one; artillery, Virginia.

Clothing always good and warm.

Plenty of blankets and good shelter; shelter tents.

Plenty to eat. Rations — coffee, sugar, bacon, meal, occasionally fresh meat, potatoes (Irish), rice, peas, wheat bread.

Always enough; much as we could consume; this especially during the last three months.

Clothing very plentiful.

Fourth year in the army; never suffered for food or clothing.

VIRGIL CARROLL.

I corroborate the above statement of Virgil Carroll. S. P. TWEDY,
Company C, 11th Regiment, Virginia.

Joshua Barker, South Carolina, 4th Rifles. I corroborate the above statement of Virgil Carroll. JOSHUA BARKER.

C. A. BOWMAN, North Carolina 32d. I corroborate the above statement of Virgil Carroll. C. A. BOWMAN.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, } ss.
County of Washington, }

Personally appeared before me the within named William H. Ferguson, W. O. Quarles, L. A. Griffin, Pleasant H. Reese, Joseph F. Davidson, Virgil Carroll, S. P. Twedy, Joshua Barker, C. A. Bowman, who, being severally sworn, say that the statements set forth by them are correct and true to the best of their knowledge and belief.

Given under my hand and seal at Washington, D.C., this fourth day of June, A. D. 1864.

M. H. N. KENDIG,
Notary Public.

Testimony taken at De Camp General Hospital, U. S. A., New York, June 17, 1864.

COMMISSIONER PRESENT: — Mr. Wilkins.

Deposition of A. B. BARRON, of Habersham county, Georgia, Co. K, 24th Georgia.

I have served in the Confederate service two years and three days. I arrived at this hospital two days since, and depose as follows:

That I have served in Virginia, and was wounded at Cool Arbor.

I the Confederate service we had no tents in the field, except shelter tents; had one blanket and one oil-cloth, and lay on the ground.

When wounded, had on a good suit and a change of clothes, but was not robbed of money, clothes, or anything which I had when taken captive.

To-morrow being the last day of the week, and the time for a regular supply of clothing, I expect clean clothes. Everything was in a proper state for my reception when I arrived here.

I have been in the Confederate hospitals in the field; there were straw beds and a few sheets.

Rations in our service were bacon, half pound, or one pound of beef; rice, coffee and sugar occasionally; rations of bread were six hard biscuit a day, or half pound of meal or flour a day.

We had a plentiful supply of wood; our people did not suffer from cold.

We had medical attendance and medicines as we had need.

The sick were treated kindly; there was care as to our cleanliness; it was the best; soap, &c., was issued to us; no want of salt.

Since we were captured, we have been treated very well, just as well as your own boys all the time, and we have no fault to find. I was told I could not find it so.

I was a farmer; worked on my father's farm. I expected to be made a conscript, and volunteered in preference.

ALBERT B. BARRON.

Sworn to before me,

WARREN WEBSTER,
Assistant Surgeon U. S. A., in charge of Hospital.

Deposition of WM. M. FARMER, native of Franklin county, Georgia, Company H, 24th Georgia Regiment. Business, a farmer.

I entered the service of the Confederate States in August, 1861; was wounded and taken prisoner at Cool Arbor.

I had on, when wounded, a waistcoat, pants, drawers, shirt and boots, and not anything was taken away from me by my captors.

I have needed nothing since captured, having been supplied at the landing by the Sanitary Commission. I have had plenty to eat; no difference has been made since my capture between the wounded prisoners and the Federal wounded.

Rations in our service were bacon, half pound, or half pound of beef; rice, coffee and sugar occasionally; rations of bread were six hard biscuit a day, or half pound of meal, or half pound of flour a day. I have always had food enough of this kind, and while in Virginia the same as elsewhere.

In the Confederate service we had good tents in the winter, but on the march we had only blankets, and no shelter.

I was in No. 4 General Hospital, Richmond, during sixteen days, in May 1863; we had there as much as we could eat, with good bedding and sheets as we have here.

We were better off in the hospital than in the field, as we had there coffee, sugar and soft bread.

I have had every comfort and attention since I have been here. The same in all respects as Union solders.

WILLIAM M. FARMER.

Sworn to before me,

WARREN WEBSTER,
Assistant Surgeon U. S. A., in charge of Hospital.

Deposition of DANIEL F. PRINCE, native of Columbus county, North Carolina, Company H, 51st Regiment.

I entered the Confederate service in March, 1862, and arrived here on the 15th of June last. I was wounded at the battle of Cool Arbor; had some extra clothing in a bundle, which was cut loose by a Federal soldier at my request.

I lay in a cross fire, and the Federal soldiers dragged me out of the line of the fire into a ditch.

I was treated mighty kindly.

The Federals dressed my wounds, and carried me to White House Landing, and sent me immediately North with your own boys.

In the Confederate service we always got one pound of beef or half a pound of bacon a day; we had flour or corn bread alternately, one pound of flour, or one and a quarter pounds of corn meal; we had no tea or coffee; we had salt, and a gill of peas or rice a day extra.

We had three full suits of clothes a year, if needed; if more, we drew them and had to pay for them; we had blankets and oil-cloths.

We had tents at stations, but no tents in the field.

We had overcoats in cold weather made of wool.

I have been supplied with everything I have wanted since I came here, and see no difference between my treatment and that of Union soldiers here in the hospital.

his
DANIEL F. ⋊ PRINCE.
mark.

Sworn to before me,
WARREN WEBSTER,
Assistant Surgeon U. S. A., in charge of Hospital.

Deposition of JOSEPH WHICHARD, Pitt County, North Carolina, Company G, 8th Regiment, North Carolina.

I entered the service in September, 1861, and have served in North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and at last in Virginia, where I was wounded at Cool Arbor.

I had on at the time, pants, shoes, a shirt, and a pair of drawers; my clothes were cut off by the surgeon in order to dress my wounds, and clean ones were afterwards supplied to me by Union men, both on board the boat and since I have been here.

I have my jacket, and the rest of my *property* is on the *little stand* at the *head of my bed.*

A blanket was taken away from me when wounded, but another has been furnished.

Rations, half a pound bacon, and ten hard biscuits, daily; nothing else to eat; no rice, peas, or corn meal.

Was in the hospital at Wilmington, North Carolina, a year ago last May. The fare was tolerable.

On a march, had an abundance, except for a day or two, when it could not be got.

Have had everything I want, or have asked for, since I have been here.

J. WHICHARD.

Sworn to before me,
WARREN WEBSTER,
Assistant Surgeon U. S. A. in charge of Hospital.

Deposition of MICHAEL SUTTON, Sampson County, North Carolina, Company B, 51st Regiment.

I have been nearly three years in the Confederate service; this is my second enlistment; I might have been drafted if I had not re-enlisted. I served near Charlestown, South Carolina, and was wounded at Cool Arbor; had some clothes on; no clothes now except what was furnished me by Union men; my own clothes were bloody and had to be thrown away.

I have not been robbed of anything.

Rations for four days, one pound of bacon, and eighteen ounces of corn meal; same weight of flour, but rarely; had rice and peas, half pint of rice, and a short half pint of peas a day. Meal not always good, but lumpy and smelt bad, and then we were rather stinted for food. Since we have been 'round Richmond we have been short; it was enough to live upon "without enough."

Been in hospital in Wilmington, North Carolina; "fare awful hard;" want of food; beds, &c., were clean.

Treated well on board the vessel; the same as Union soldiers; kind and attentive here; fared fine while I have been here; I have not asked for anything but what I have got it.

his
MICHAEL ⋊ SUTTON.
mark.

Sworn to before me,
WARREN WEBSTER,
Assistant Surgeon U. S. A., in charge of hospital.

Testimony taken at Fort Delaware, June 21st, 1864.

COMMISSIONERS PRESENT. — Dr. Wallace, Judge Hare.

GEORGE S. ROLER *sworn and examined:*—

I am from Virginia; was in the artillery, Ewell's Corps; I am comfortable here; I have just come here last evening; came through Washington, from Spottsylvania Court House, where I was taken prisoner.

Was kindly treated on the way up; had been in the service (Confederate) three months when taken prisoner.

We had plenty of rations from Confederate Government; they issued us meal, some flour, bacon, sugar, coffee and salt; got meat every day, half pound bacon or a pound of beef; one and one-eighth pound of meal a day, which we made ourselves; plenty of coffee and sugar all the winter; we did not suffer for want of food.

Clothing plenty all winter; that was the case of the other men as well as myself; we

all had two blankets—some more; none I think less than two.

GEORGE S. ROLER.

Sworn to and subscribed before me,
June 21st, 1864.
D. P. BROWN, JR.,
United States Commissioner.

HENRY DANIEL, *sworn and examined:*—

I have been in the Confederate service, infantry, Ewell's corps, for two years; I came here yesterday; taken prisoner at Spottsylvania; am from Georgia.

Had plenty to eat while in the Confederate service; had half pound of bacon, one and one-eighth pounds of flour a day during the winter; in the spring, beef one pound a day; provisions of good quality; besides this had meal, Irish potatoes, peas, coffee, and sugar.

Had clothes enough to keep warm; two blankets, one overcoat; the army at large had them; nothing to complain of in the way of food and clothing.

his
HENRY ⋊ DANIEL.
mark.

Sworn to and subscribed before me,
June 21st, 1864.
D. P. BROWN, JR.,
United States Commissioner.

WILLIAM SHARP, *sworn and examined:*—

I have been three years in the Confederate service the 9th of next month, in Hill's corps; I am from Georgia; taken prisoner at Spottsylvania.

Treatment was not so good part of the way coming up here; they did not give us anything to eat but four crackers a day till we got to Belle Plain, to the boat; after that we had plenty; the guards that were with us across to Belle Plain did not get it either; the infantry guard that fetched us to Fredericksburg had no more than we; the cavalry brought us, I don't know how they fared.

Rations last winter in the Confederate service pretty good; got one and one-eighth pounds of flour, one-quarter pound of salt pork, when we got sugar and coffee; when we did not get sugar and coffee, had half a pound salt pork; sometimes we drew corn meal and got a pound and a quarter of it; got some potatoes once and a while; some beans occasionally, and some rice.

Clothes were very good last winter; had one blanket to each man; some had two blankets; had overcoats.

Heard no complaints of want of food or clothing, being well clothed and fed.

I was as fat as I ever was in my life, when I was taken at Spottsylvania.

We had tents and cabins built during the winter.

his
WILLIAM ⋊ SHARP.
mark.

Sworn to and subscribed before me, June 21st, 1864.
D. P. BROWN, JR.,
United States Commissioner.

J. S. MOORE, *sworn and examined:*—

I have been in the Confederate service nearly three years. Taken prisoner near Spottsylvania Court House; was treated tolerably well on the way up here; did not get quite enough to eat.

Plenty to eat last winter and spring in the Confederate service; got meal, flour, bacon, a quarter of a pound of bacon a day, and one and one-quarter pounds of meal, sometimes sugar and coffee and potatoes; did not get beans; got no fresh meat last spring. Was in Hill's corps.

Had plenty of clothing; one blanket a piece; overcoats; some had two blankets.

We could not carry more than one blanket a piece; could have had more if we had chosen to carry them.

Sometimes we threw them away.

I came from Mississippi.

Sometimes drew flour, one pound, instead of meal; never got any more bacon than at first; had plenty to eat all the time; generally had coffee on hand all the time; used to have peas last fall; was as well fed, with the exception of coffee, last winter as before.

JOHN S. MOORE.

Sworn to and subscribed before me, June 21st, 1864.
D. P. BROWN, JR.,
United States Commissioner.

L. S. CREWS, *sworn and examined:*—

I entered the Confederate service last December. I was taken prisoner near Spottsylvania Court House; came from Virginia; in Ewell's corps; well treated coming up here; got more than I could eat, for I was sick; they all got plenty coming up here, as far as I know.

Rations last winter in our own army were tolerable; was on corn meal principally through the winter; got one and one-quarter pound of corn meal a day, half pound of bacon; sometimes molasses and potatoes; some fish, some sugar and coffee; drawed a little rice; got no fresh meat; had a little last December; had enough food to satisfy hunger.

The men were clothed tolerably well — all of the men had not blankets; some had thrown them away; it was so with the overcoats. I was conscripted.

his
L. S. ⋊ CREWS.
mark.

Sworn to and subscribed before me,
June 21st, 1864.
D. P. BROWN, JR.,
United States Commissioner.

R. D. BENEFIELD, sworn and examined:—

Taken prisoner near Spottsylvania; was well treated, as well as could be expected on my way up here.

Got about enough to eat in the Confederate service — one and one-quarter pounds of meal, and one-quarter pound of bacon; got some sugar, some potatoes, rice, and coffee; no beans or peas; some sugar; allowance of bacon the same all the time; I don't recollect drawing any fresh meat; got flour sometimes.

Got tolerable plenty of clothes; all had plenty of blankets; some overcoats.

The men did not suffer, as I know of, from cold; have been in the service since February, 1861. Was in Ewell's corps.

R. D. BENEFIELD,
Company A, 37th Georgia.

Sworn to and subscribed before me,
June 21st, 1864.
D. P. BROWN, JR.,
United States Commissioner.

I certify that the foregoing testimony, taken at Fort Delaware, June 21st, 1864, was taken and reduced to writing by me, in the presence of the respective witnesses, and by them sworn to and subscribed in my presence, at the time and in the manner set forth.

D. P. BROWN, JR.,
United States Commissioner.

SUPPLEMENT.

SUFFERINGS OF THE PRISONERS AT ANDERSONVILLE, GA.—MEMORIAL FROM THE PRISONERS TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES—LETTER OF MAJOR-GENERAL BUTLER, UNITED STATES COMMISSIONER OF EXCHANGE, TO COLONEL OULD, CONFEDERATE COMMISSIONER.

Account of the sufferings of Union prisoners of war, at Camp Sumter, Andersonville, Georgia.

From the Sanitary Commission Bulletin.

The following statement was drawn up for the Commission, and sworn to by the parties signing it. They were exchanged on the 16th of August, and with three others were appointed by their companions in prison as a deputation to see President Lincoln in their behalf.

Deposition of PRIVATE TRACY:—

I am a private in the 82d New York Regiment of Volunteers, Company G. Was captured with about eight hundred Federal troops, in front of Petersburg, on the 22d of June, 1864. We were kept at Petersburg two days, at Richmond, Belle Isle, three days, then conveyed by rail to Lynchburg. Marched seventy-five miles to Danville, thence by rail to Andersonville, Georgia. At Petersburg we were treated fairly, being under the guard of old soldiers of an Alabama regiment; at Richmond we came under the authority of the notorious and inhuman Major Turner, and the equally notorious Home Guard. Our ration was a pint of beans, four ounces of bread, and three ounces of meat, a day. Another batch of prisoners joining us, we left Richmond sixteen hundred strong.

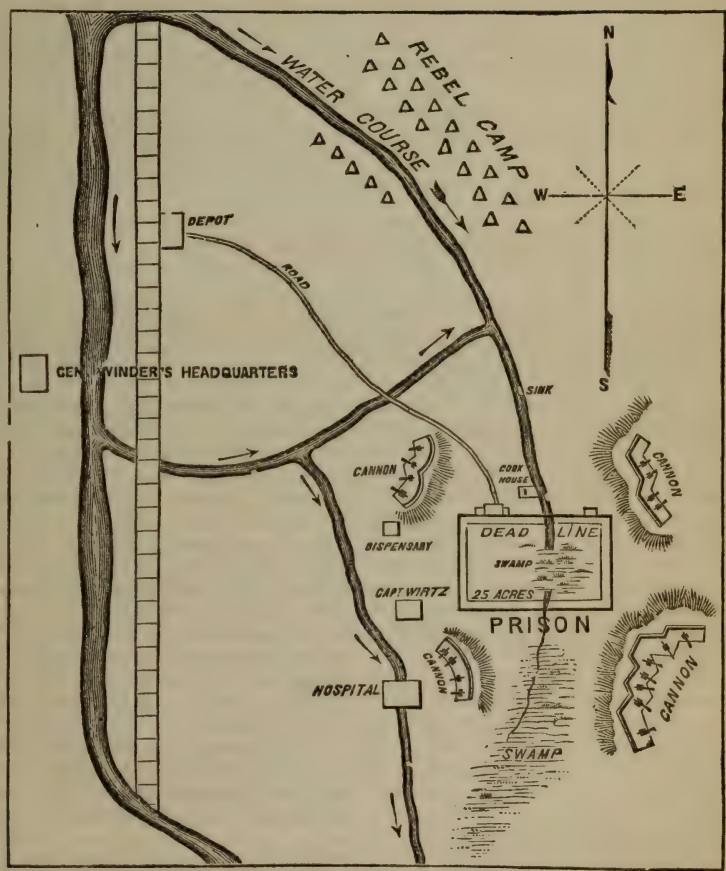
All blankets, haversacks, canteens, money, valuables of every kind, extra clothing, and in some cases the last shirt and drawers, had been previously taken from us.

At Lynchburg we were placed under the Home Guard, officered by Major and Captain Moffett. The march to Danville was a weary and painful one of five days, under a torrid sun, many of us falling helpless by the way, and soon filling the empty wagons of our train. On the first day we received a little meat, but the *sum* of our rations for the five days was thirteen crackers. During the six days by rail to Andersonville, meat was given us twice, and the daily ration was four crackers.

On entering the Stockade Prison, w found it crowded with twenty-eight thousand of our fellow-soldiers. By *crowded*, I mean that it was difficult to move in any direction without jostling and being jostled. This prison is an open space, sloping on both sides, originally seventeen acres, now twenty-five acres, in the shape of a parallelogram, without trees or shelter of any kind. The soil is sand over a bottom of clay. The fence is made of upright trunks of trees, about twenty feet high, near the top of which are small platforms, where the guards are stationed. Twenty feet inside and parallel to the fence is a light railing, forming the "dead line," beyond which the projection of a foot or finger is sure to bring the deadly bullet of the sentinel.

Through the ground, at nearly right-angles

PRISON AT ANDERSONVILLE, GEORGIA.



with the longer sides, runs or rather creeps a stream through an artificial channel, varying from five to six feet in width, the water about ankle deep, and near the middle of the enclosure, spreading out into a swamp of about six acres, filled with refuse wood, stumps and debris of the camp. Before entering this enclosure, the stream, or more properly sewer, passes through the camp of the guards, receiving from this source, and others farther up, a large amount of the vilest material, even the contents of the sink. The water is of a dark color, and an ordinary glass would collect a thick sediment. This was our only drinking and cooking water. It was our custom to filter it as best we could, through our remnants of haversacks, shirts and blouses. Wells had been dug, but the water either proved so productive of diarrhœa, or so limited in quantity that they were of no general use. The cook-house was situated on the stream just outside the stockade, and its refuse of decaying offal was thrown into the water, a greasy coating covering much of the surface. To these was added the daily large amount of base matter from the camp itself. There was a system of policing, but the means was so limited, and so large a number of the men was rendered irresolute and depressed by imprisonment, that the work was very imperfectly done. One side of the swamp was naturally used as a sink, the men usually going out some distance into the water. Under the summer sun this place early became corruption too vile for description, the men breeding disgusting life, so that the surface of the water moved as with a gentle breeze.

The new-comers, on reaching this, would exclaim: "Is this hell?" yet they soon would become callous, and enter unmoved the horrible rottenness. The rebel authorities never removed any filth. There was seldom any visitation by the officers in charge. Two surgeons were at one time sent by President DAVIS to inspect the camp, but a walk through a small section gave them all the information they desired, and we never saw them again.

The guards usually numbered about sixty-four — eight at each end, and twenty-four on a side. On the outside, within three hundred yards, were fortifications, on high ground, overlooking and perfectly commanding us, mounting twenty-four twelve-pound Napoleon Parrotts. We were never permitted to go outside, except at times, in small squads, to gather our firewood. During the building of the cook-house, a few, who were carpenters, were ordered out to assist.

Our only shelter from the sun and rain and night dews was what we could make by stretching over us our coats or scraps of blankets, which a few had, but generally there was no attempt by day or night to protect ourselves.

The rations consisted of eight ounces of corn bread (the cob being ground with the kernel), and generally sour, two ounces of condemned pork, offensive in appearance and smell. Occasionally, about twice a week, two tablespoonfuls of rice, and in place of the pork the same amount (two tablespoonfuls) of molasses were given us about twice a month.* This ration was brought into camp about four o'clock, P. M., and thrown from the wagons to the ground, the men being arranged in divisions of two hundred and seventy, subdivided into squads of nineties and thirties. It was the custom to consume the whole ration at once, rather than save any for the next day. The distribution being often unequal some would lose the rations altogether. We were allowed no dish or cooking utensil of any kind. On opening the camp in the winter, the first two thousand prisoners were allowed skillets, one to fifty men, but these were soon taken away. To the best of my knowledge, information and belief, our ration was in quality a starving one, it being either too foul to be touched or too raw to be digested.

The cook-house went into operation about May 10th, prior to which we cooked our own rations. It did not prove at all adequate to the work, (thirty thousand is a large town,) so that a large proportion were still obliged to prepare their own food. In addition to the utter inability of many to do this, through debility and sickness, we never had a supply of wood. I have often seen men with a little bag of meal in hand, gathered from several rations, starving to death for want of wood, and in desperation would mix the raw material with water and try to eat it.

The clothing of the men was miserable in the extreme. Very few had shoes of any kind, not two thousand had coats and pants, and those were late comers. More than one-half were indecently exposed, and many were naked.

The usual punishment was to place the men in the stocks, outside, near the Captain's quarters. If a man was missing at roll-call, the squad of ninety to which he belonged was deprived of the ration. The "dead-line" bullet, already referred to, spared no offend-

* Our regular army ration is:

¾ lb. Pork or 1¼ lbs. Fresh Beef,
18 ozs. Hard Bread, or 20 ozs. Soft Bread or Flour,
1-10 lb. Coffee,
1-6 lb. Sugar,
1-10 lb. Rice, or
1-10 lb. Beans or Hominy.
Vegetables — Fresh or Desiccated,
Molasses,
Vinegar.
} Irregularly.

er. One poor fellow, just from Sherman's army — his name was Roberts — was trying to wash his face near the "dead-line" railing, when he slipped on the clayey bottom, and fell with his head just outside the fatal border. We shouted to him, but it was too late — "another guard would have a furlough," the men said. It was a common belief among our men, arising from statements made by the guard, that General WINDER, in command, issued an order that any one of the guard who should shoot a Yankee outside of the "dead-line" should have a month's furlough, but there probably was no truth in this. About two a day were thus shot, some being cases of suicide, brought on by mental depression or physical misery, the poor fellows throwing themselves, or madly rushing outside the "line."

The mental condition of a large portion of the men was melancholy, beginning in despondency and tending to a kind of stolid and idiotic indifference. Many spent much time in arousing and encouraging their fellows, but hundreds were lying about motionless, or stalking vacantly to and fro, quite beyond any help which could be given them within their prison walls. These cases were frequent among those who had been imprisoned but a short time. There were those who were captured at the first Bull Run, July 1861, and had known Belle Isle from the first, yet had preserved their physical and mental health to a wonderful degree. Many were wise and resolute enough to keep themselves occupied — some in cutting bone and wood ornaments, making their knives out of iron hoops — others in manufacturing ink from the rust from these same hoops, and with rude pens sketching or imitating bank notes, or any sample that would involve long and patient execution.

Letters from home very seldom reached us, and few had any means of writing. In the early summer, a large batch of letters — five thousand we were told — arrived, having been accumulating somewhere for many months. These were brought into camp by an officer, under orders to collect ten cents on each — of course most were returned, and we heard no more of them. One of my companions saw among them three from his parents, but he was unable to pay the charge. According to the rules of transmission of letters over the lines, these letters must have already paid ten cents each to the rebel government.

As far as we saw General Winder and Captain Wirtz, the former was kind and considerate in his manners, the latter harsh, though not without kindly feelings.

It is a melancholy and mortifying fact, that some of our trials came from our own men. At Belle Isle and Andersonville there were among us a gang of desperate men, ready to prey on their fellows. Not only thefts and robberies, but even murders were committed. Affairs became so serious at Camp Sumter that an appeal was made to General Winder, who authorized an arrest and trial by a criminal court. Eighty-six were arrested, and six were hung, beside others who were severely punished. These proceedings effected a marked change for the better.

Some few weeks before being released, I was ordered to act as clerk in the hospital. This consists simply of a few scattered trees and fly tents, and is in charge of Dr. White, an excellent and considerate man, with very limited means, but doing all in his power for his patients. He has twenty-five assistants, besides those detailed to examine for admittance to the hospital. This examination was made in a small stockade attached to the main one, to the inside door of which the sick came or were brought by their comrades, the number to be removed being limited. Lately, in consideration of the rapidly increasing sickness, it was extended to one hundred and fifty daily. That this was too small an allowance is shown by the fact that the deaths within our stockade were from thirty to forty a day. I have seen one hundred and fifty bodies waiting passage to the "dead house," to be buried with those who died in hospital. The average of deaths through the earlier months was thirty a day: at the time I left, the average was over one hundred and thirty, and one day the record showed one hundred and forty-six.

The proportion of deaths from *starvation*, not including those consequent on the diseases originating in the character and limited quantity of food, such as diarrhœa, dysentery and scurvy, I cannot state; but to the best of my knowledge, information and belief, there were scores every month. We could, at any time, point out many for whom such a fate was inevitable, as they lay or feebly walked, mere skeletons, whose emaciation exceeded the examples given in Leslie's Illustrated for June 18, 1864. For example: in some cases the inner edges of the two bones of the arms, between the elbow and the wrist, with the intermediate blood vessels, were plainly visible when held toward the light. The ration, in quantity, was perhaps barely sufficient to sustain life, and the cases of starvation were generally those whose stomachs could not retain what had become entirely indigestible.

For a man to find, on waking, that his comrade by his side was dead, was an occurrence too common to be noted. I have seen death in almost all the forms of the hospital

and battle-field, but the daily scenes in Camp Sumter exceeded in the extremity of misery all my previous experience.

The work of burial is performed by our own men, under guard and orders, twenty-five bodies being placed in a single pit, without head-boards, and the sad duty performed with indecent haste. Sometimes our men were rewarded for this work with a few sticks of fire-wood, and I have known them to quarrel over a dead body for the *job*.

Dr. White is able to give the patients a diet but little better than the prison rations — a little flour porridge, arrow-root, whiskey and wild or hog tomatoes. In the way of medicine, I saw nothing but camphor, whiskey, and a decoction of some kind of bark — white oak, I think. He often expressed his regret that he had not more medicines. The limitation of military orders, under which the surgeon in charge was placed, is shown by the following occurrence: A supposed private, wounded in the thigh, was under treatment in the hospital, when it was discovered that he was a major of a colored regiment. The assistant-surgeon, under whose immediate charge he was, proceeded at once not only to remove him, but to kick him out, and he was returned to the stockade, to shift for himself as well as he could. Dr. White could not or did not attempt to restore him.

After entering on my duties at the hospital, I was occasionally favored with double rations and some wild tomatoes. A few of our men succeeded, in spite of the closest examination of our cloths, in secreting some green-backs, and with those were able to buy useful articles at exorbitant prices: — a tea-cup of flour at one dollar; eggs, three to six dollars a dozen; salt, four dollars a pound; molasses, thirty dollars a gallon; nigger beans, a small, inferior article, (diet of the slaves and pigs, but highly relished by us,) fifty cents a pint. These figures, multiplied by ten, will give very nearly the price in Confederate currency. Though the country abounded in pine and oak, sticks were sold to us at various prices, according to size.

Our men, especially the mechanics, were tempted with the offer of liberty and large wages to take the oath of allegiance to the Confederacy, but it was very rare that their patriotism, even under such a fiery trial, ever gave way. I carry this message from one of my companions to his mother: "My treatment here is killing me, mother, but I die cheerfully for my country."

Some attempts were made to escape, but wholly in vain, for, if the prison walls and guards were passed and the protecting woods reached, the bloodhounds were sure to find us out.

Tunneling was at once attempted on a large scale, but on the afternoon preceding the night fixed on for escape, an officer rode in and announced to us that the plot was discovered, and from our huge pen we could see on the hill above us the regiments just arriving to strengthen the guard. We had been betrayed. It was our belief that spies were kept in the camp, which could very easily be done.

The number in camp when I left was nearly thirty-five thousand, and daily increasing. The number in hospital was about five thousand. I was exchanged at Port Royal Ferry, August 16th.

PRESCOTT TRACY,
Eighty-second Regiment, N. Y. V.

City and County of New York, ss.

H. C. Higginson and S. Noirot, being duly sworn, say: That the above statement of Prescott Tracy, their fellow-prisoner, agrees with their own knowledge and experience.

H. C. HIGGINSON,
Co. K, Nineteenth Illinois Vols.
SILVESTER NOIROT,
Co. B, Fifth New Jersey Vols.

The Memorial of the Union Prisoners confined at Andersonville, Ga., to the President of the United States.

Confederate States Prison,
Charleston, S. C., August, 1864.

To the President of the United States:

The condition of the enlisted men belonging to the Union armies, now prisoners to the Confederate rebel forces, is such that it becomes our duty, and the duty of every commissioned officer, to make known the facts in the case to the Government of the United States, and to use every honorable effort to secure a general exchange of prisoners, thereby relieving thousands of our comrades from the horror now surrounding them.

For some time past there has been a concentration of prisoners from all parts of the rebel territory to the State of Georgia—the commissioned officers being confined at Macon, and the enlisted men at Andersonville. Recent movements of the Union armies under General Sherman have compelled the removal of prisoners to other points, and it is now understood that they will be removed to Savannah, Georgia, and Columbus and Charleston, South Carolina. But no change of this kind holds out any prospect of relief to our poor men. Indeed, as the localities selected are far more unhealthy, there must be an increase rather than a diminution of suffering. Colonel Hill, provost marshal general, Confederate States army, at Atlanta,

stated to one of the undersigned that there were thirty-five thousand prisoners at Andersonville, and by all accounts from the United States soldiers who have been confined there the number is not overstated by him. These thirty-five thousand are confined in a field of some thirty acres, enclosed by a board fence, heavily guarded. About one-third have various kinds of indifferent shelter; but upwards of thirty thousand are wholly without shelter, or even shade of any kind, and are exposed to the storms and rains, which are of almost daily occurrence; the cold dews of the night, and the more terrible effects of the sun striking with almost tropical fierceness upon their unprotected heads. This mass of men jostle and crowd each other up and down the limits of their enclosure, in storms or sun, and others lie down upon the pitiless earth at night with no other covering than the clothing upon their backs, few of them having even a blanket.

Upon entering the prison every man is deliberately stripped of money and other property, and as no clothing or blankets are ever supplied to their prisoners by the rebel authorities, the condition of the apparel of the soldiers, just from an active campaign, can be easily imagined. Thousands are without pants or coats, and hundreds without even a pair of drawers to cover their nakedness.

To these men, as indeed to all prisoners, there is issued three-quarters of a pound of bread or meal, and one-eighth of a pound of meat per day. This is the entire ration, and upon it the prisoner must live or die. The meal is often unsifted and sour, and the meat such as in the North is consigned to the soap-maker. Such are the rations upon which Union soldiers are fed by the rebel authorities, and by which they are barely holding on to life. But to starvation, and exposure to sun and storm, add the sickness which prevails to a most alarming and terrible extent. On an average, one hundred die daily. It is impossible that any Union soldier should know all the facts pertaining to this terrible mortality, as they are not paraded by the rebel authorities. Such statement as the following, made by —— ———, speaks eloquent testimony. Said he: "Of twelve of us who were captured, six died, four are in the hospital, and I never expect to see them again. There are but two of us left." In 1862, at Montgomery, Alabama, under far more favorable circumstances, the prisoners being protected by sheds, from one hundred and fifty to two hundred were sick from diarrhœa and chills, out of seven hundred. The same per centage would give seven thousand sick at Andersonville. It needs no comment, no efforts at word painting, to make such a picture stand out boldly in most horrible colors.

Nor is this all. Among the ill-fated of the many who have suffered amputation in consequence of injuries received before capture, sent from rebel hospitals before their wounds were healed, there are eloquent witnesses of the barbarities of which they are victims. If to these facts is added this, that nothing more demoralizes soldiers and develops the evil passions of man than starvation, the terrible condition of Union prisoners at Andersonville can be readily imagined. They are fast losing hope, and becoming utterly reckless of life. Numbers, crazed by their sufferings, wander about in a state of idiocy; others deliberately cross the "dead line," and are remorselessly shot down.

In behalf of these men we most earnestly appeal to the President of the United States. Few of them have been captured except in the front of battle, in the deadly encounter, and only when overpowered by numbers. They constitute as gallant a portion of our armies as carry our banners any where. If released, they would soon return to again do vigorous battle for our cause. We are told that the only obstacle in the way of exchange is the status of enlisted negroes captured from our armies, the United States claiming that the cartel covers all who serve under its flag, and the Confederate States refusing to consider the colored soldiers, heretofore slaves, as prisoners of war.

We beg leave to suggest some facts bearing upon the question of exchange, which we would urge upon this consideration. Is it not consistent with the national honor, without waiving the claim that the negro soldiers shall be treated as prisoners of war, to effect an exchange of the white soldiers? The two classes are treated differently by the enemy. The whites are confined in such prisons as Libby and Andersonville, starved and treated with a barbarism unknown to civilized nations. The blacks, on the contrary, are seldom imprisoned. They are distributed among the citizens, or employed on government works. Under these circumstances they receive enough to eat, and are worked no harder than they have been accustomed to be. They are neither starved or killed off by the pestilence in the dungeons of Richmond and Charleston. It is true they are again made slaves; but their slavery is freedom and happiness compared with the cruel existence imposed upon our gallant men. They are not bereft of hope, as are the white soldiers, dying by piece-meal. Their chances of escape are tenfold greater than those of the white soldiers, and their condition, in all its lights, is tolerable in comparison with that of the pris-

oners of war now languishing in the dens and pens of Secession.

While, therefore, believing the claims of our Government, in matters of exchange, to be just, we are profoundly impressed with the conviction that the circumstances of the two classes of soldiers are so widely different that the Government can honorably consent to an exchange, waiving for a time the established principle justly claimed to be applicable in the case. Let thirty-five thousand suffering, starving, and enlisted men aid this appeal. By prompt and decided action in their behalf, thirty-five thousand heroes will be made happy. For the eighteen hundred commissioned officers now prisoners we urge nothing. Although desirous of returning to our duty, we can bear imprisonment with more fortitude if the enlisted men, whose sufferings we know to be intolerable, were restored to liberty and life.

Letter of Major-General Butler, United States Commissioner of Exchange, to Col. Ould, the Confederate Commissioner.

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF VIRGINIA AND NORTH CAROLINA, IN THE FIELD, *August* —, 1864.

HON. ROBERT OULD,
Commissioner of Exchange.

SIR: — Your note to Major Mulford, Assistant Agent of Exchange, under date of 10th August, has been referred to me.

You therein state that Major Mulford has several times proposed "to exchange prisoners respectively held by the two belligerents, officer for officer and man for man," and that "the offer has also been made by other officials having charge of matters connected with the exchange of prisoners," and that "this proposal has been heretofore declined by the Confederate authorities." That you now "consent to the above proposition, and agree to deliver to you (Major Mulford) the prisoners held in captivity by the Confederate authorities, provided you agree to deliver an equal number of officers and men. As equal numbers are delivered from time to time, they will be declared exchanged. This proposal is made with the understanding that the officers and men on both sides who have been longest in captivity will be first delivered, where it is practicable."

From a slight ambiguity in your phraseology, but more, perhaps, from the antecedent action of your authorities, and because of your acceptance of it, I am in doubt whether you have stated the proposition with entire accuracy.

It is true, a proposition was made both by Major Mulford and by myself, as Agent of Exchange, to exchange all prisoners of war taken by either belligerent party, man for man, officer for officer, of equal rank, or their equivalents. It was made by me as early as the first of the winter of 1863–64, and has not been accepted. In May last I forwarded to you a note, desiring to know whether the Confederate authorities intended to treat colored soldiers of the United States army as prisoners of war. To that inquiry no answer has yet been made. To avoid all possible misapprehension or mistake hereafter as to your offer now, will you now say whether you mean by "prisoners held in captivity," colored men, duly enrolled, and mustered into the service of the United States, who have been captured by the Confederate forces; and if your authorities are willing to exchange all soldiers so mustered into the United States army, whether colored or otherwise, and the officers commanding them, man for man, officer for officer?

At the interview which was held between yourself and the Agent of Exchange on the part of the United States, at Fortress Monroe, in March last, you will do me the favor to remember the principal discussion turned upon this very point; you, on behalf of the Confederate Government, claiming the right to hold all negroes, who had heretofore been slaves, and not emancipated by their masters, enrolled and mustered into the service of the United States, when captured by your forces, not as prisoners of war, but upon capture to be turned over to their supposed masters or claimants, whoever they might be, to be held by them as slaves.

By the advertisements in your newspapers, calling upon masters to come forward and claim these men so captured, I suppose that your authorities still adhere to that claim — that is to say, that whenever a colored soldier of the United States is captured by you, upon whom any claim can be made by any person residing within the States now in insurrection, such soldier is not to be treated as a prisoner of war, but is to be turned over to his supposed owner or claimant, and put at such labor or service as that owner or claimant may choose, and the officers in command of such soldiers, in the language of a supposed act of the Confederate States, are to be turned over to the Governors of States, upon requisitions, for the purpose of being punished by the laws of such States, for acts done in war in the armies of the United States.

You must be aware that there is still a proclamation by Jefferson Davis, claiming to be Chief Executive of the Confederate States, declaring in substance that all officers of colored troops mustered into the service of the United States were not

to be treated as prisoners of war, but were to be turned over for punishment to the Governors of States.

I am reciting these public acts from memory, and will be pardoned for not giving the exact words, although I believe I do not vary the substance and effect.

These declarations on the part of those whom you represent yet remain unrepealed, unannulled, unrevoked, and must, therefore, be still supposed to be authoritative.

By your acceptance of our proposition, is the Government of the United States to understand that these several claims, enactments, and proclaimed declarations are to be given up, set aside, revoked, and held for nought by the Confederate authorities, and that you are ready and willing to exchange man for man those colored soldiers of the United States, duly mustered and enrolled as such, who have heretofore been claimed as slaves by the Confederate States, as well as by white soldiers?

If this be so, and you are so willing to exchange these colored men claimed as slaves, and you will so officially inform the Government of the United States, then, as I am instructed, a principal difficulty in effecting exchanges will be removed.

As I informed you personally, in my judgment, it is neither consistent with the policy, dignity, or honor of the United States, upon any consideration, to allow those who, by our laws solemnly enacted, are made soldiers of the Union, and who have been duly enlisted, enrolled and mustered as such soldiers, who have borne arms in behalf of this country, and who have been captured while fighting in vindication of the rights of that country, not to be treated as prisoners of war, and remain unexchanged, and in the service of those who claim them as masters; and I cannot believe that the Government of the United States will ever be found to consent to so gross a wrong.

Pardon me if I misunderstood you in supposing that your acceptance of our proposition does not in good faith mean to include all the soldiers of the Union, and that you still intend, if your acceptance is agreed to, to hold the colored soldiers of the Union unexchanged, and at labor or service, because I am informed that very lately, almost contemporaneously with this offer on your part to exchange prisoners, and which seems to include *all* prisoners of war, the Confederate authorities have made a declaration that the negroes heretofore held to service by owners in the States of Delaware, Maryland, and Missouri are to be treated as prisoners of war, when captured in arms in the service of the United States.

Such declaration that a part of the colored soldiers of the United States were to be prisoners of war, would seem most strongly to imply that others were not to be so treated, or in other words, that the colored men from the insurrectionary States are to be held to labor and returned to their masters, if captured by the Confederate forces while duly enrolled and mustered into, and actually in the armies of the United States.

In the view which the Government of the United States takes of the claim made by you to the persons and services of these negroes, it is not to be supported upon any principle of national and municipal law.

Looking upon these men only as property upon your theory of property in them, we do not see how this claim can be made, certainly not how it can be yielded. It is believed to be a well-settled rule of public international law, and a custom and part of the laws of war, that the capture of movable property vests the title to that property in the captor, and therefore where one belligerent gets into full possession property belonging to the subjects or citizens of the other belligerent, the owner of that property is at once divested of his title, which rests in the belligerent Government capturing and holding such possession. Upon this rule of international law all civilized nations have acted, and by it both belligerents have dealt with all property, save slaves, taken from each other during the present war.

If the Confederate forces capture a number of horses from the United States, the animals are claimed to be, and, as we understand it, become the property of the Confederate authorities.

If the United States capture any movable property in the rebellion, by our regulations and laws, in conformity with international law, and the laws of war, such property is turned over to our Government as its property. Therefore, if we obtain possession of that species of property known to the laws of the insurrectiouary States as slaves, why should there be any doubt that that property, like any other, vests in the United States?

If the property in the slave does so vest, then the "*jus disponendi*," the right of disposing of that property, vests in the United States.

Now, the United States have disposed of the property which they have acquired by capture in slaves taken by them, by giving that right of property to the man himself, to the slave, *i. e.* by emancipating him and declaring him free forever, so that if we

have not mistaken the principles of international law and the laws of war, we have no slaves in the armies of the United States. All are free men, being made so in such manner as we have chosen to dispose of our property in them which we acquired by capture.

Slaves being captured by us, and the right of property in them thereby vested in us, that right of property has been disposed of by us by manumitting them, as has always been the acknowledged right of the owner to do to his slave. The manner in which we dispose of our property while it is in our possession certainly cannot be questioned by you.

Nor is the case altered if the property is not actually captured in battle, but comes either voluntarily or involuntarily from the belligerent owner into the possession of the other belligerent.

I take it no one would doubt the right of the United States to a drove of Confederate mules, or a herd of Confederate cattle, which should wander or rush across the Confederate lines into the lines of the United States army. So it seems to me, treating the negro as property merely, if that piece of property passes the Confederate lines, and comes into the lines of the United States, that property is as much lost to its owner in the Confederate States as would be the mule or ox, the property of the resident of the Confederate States, which should fall into our hands.

If, therefore, the privilege of international law and the laws of war used in this discussion are correctly stated, then it would seem that the deduction logically flows therefrom, in natural sequence, that the Confederate States can have no claim upon the negro soldiers captured by them from the armies of the United States, because of the former ownership of them by their citizens or subjects, and only claim such as result, under the laws of war, from their captor merely.

Do the Confederate authorities claim the right to reduce to a state of slavery free men, prisoners of war captured by them? This claim our fathers fought against under Bainbridge and Decatur, when set up by the Barbary Powers on the northern shore of Africa, about the year 1800, and in 1864 their children will hardly yield it upon their own soil.

This point I will not pursue further, because I understand you to repudiate the idea that you will reduce free men to slaves because of capture in war, and that you base the claim of the Confederate authorities to re-enslave our negro soldiers, when captured by you, upon the "*jus post limini*," or that principle of the law of nations which inhabilitates the former owner with his property taken by an enemy, when such property is recovered by the forces of his own country.

Or in other words, you claim that, by the laws of nations and of war, when property of the subjects of one belligerent power, captured by the forces of the other belligerent, is recaptured by the armies of the former owner, then such property is to be restored to its prior possessor, as if it had never been captured, and therefore, under this principle, your authorities propose to restore to their masters the slaves which heretofore belonged to them which you may capture from us.

But this post liminary right under which you claim to act, as understood and defined by all writers on national law, is applicable simply to *immovable property*, and that, too, only after complete resubjugation of that portion of the country in which the property is situated, upon which this right fastens itself. By the laws and customs of war, this right has never been applied to *movable* property.

True it is, I believe, that the Romans attempted to apply it to the case of slaves, but for two thousand years no other nation has attempted to set up this right as ground for treating slaves differently from other property.

But the Romans even refused to re-enslave men captured from opposing belligerents in a civil war, such as ours unhappily is.

Consistently then with any principle of the law of nations, treating slaves as property merely, it would seem to be impossible for the Government of the United States to permit the negroes in their ranks to be re-enslaved when captured, or treated otherwise than as prisoners of war.

I have forborne, sir, in this discussion, to argue the question upon any other or different ground of right than those adopted by your authorities in claiming the negro as property, because I understand that your fabric of opposition to the Government of the United States has the right of property in man as its corner-stone. Of course it would not be profitable in settling a question of exchange of prisoners of war to attempt to argue the question of abandonment of the very corner-stone of their attempted political edifice. Therefore I have admitted all the considerations which should apply to the negro soldier as a man, and dealt with him upon the Confederate theory of property only.

I unite with you most cordially, sir, in desiring a speedy settlement of all these questions, in view of the great suffering endured by our prisoners in the hands of your authorities, of which you so feelingly speak. Let me ask, in view of that suffering, why you have delayed eight months to answer a prop-

osition which by now accepting you admit to be right, just, and humane, allowing that suffering to continue so long? One cannot help thinking, even at the risk of being deemed uncharitable, that the benevolent sympathies of the Confederate authorities have been lately stirred by the depleted condition of their armies, and a desire to get into the field, to affect the present campaign, the hale, hearty, and well-fed prisoners held by the United States in exchange for the half-starved, sick, emaciated, and unserviceable soldier of the United States now languishing in your prisons. The events of this war, if we did not know it before, have taught us that it is not the Northern portion of the American people alone who know how to drive sharp bargains.

The wrongs, indignities, and privations suffered by our soldiers would move me to consent to anything to procure their exchange, except to barter away the honor and faith of the Government of the United States, which has been so solemnly pledged to the colored soldiers in its ranks.

Consistently with national faith and justice we cannot relinquish this position. With your authorities it is a question of property merely. It seems to address itself to you in this form. Will you suffer your soldier, captured in fighting your battles, to be in confinement for months rather than release him by giving for him that which you call a piece of property, and which we are willing to accept as a man?

You certainly appear to place less value upon your soldier than you do upon your negro. I assure you, much as we of the North are accused of loving property, our citizens would have no difficulty in yielding up any piece of property they have in exchange for one of their brothers or sons languishing in your prisons. Certainly there could be no doubt that they would do so were that piece of property less in value than five thousand dollars in Confederate money, which is believed to be the price of an able-bodied negro in the insurrectionary States.

Trusting that I may receive such a reply to the questions propounded in this note, as will tend to a speedy resumption of the negotiations in a full exchange of all prisoners, and a delivery of them to their respective authorities,

I have the honor to be,

Very Respectfully,

Your Obedient Servant,

BENJAMIN F. BUTLER,

Major-General, and Commissioner of Exchange.

ALEXANDER H. STEPHENS AGAINST THE REBELLION.

There is an almost official confession of the "folly, wickedness, and madness" of the Rebellion, in a speech made by the so-called Vice-President, Alexander H. Stephens, in Georgia, in January, 1861, before it broke out, and made to prevent it. The whole speech has been often printed since. We have room only for a part.

"When we of the South demanded the slave-trade, or the importation of Africans for the cultivation of our lands, did they not yield the right for twenty years? When we asked a three-fifths representation in Congress for our slaves, was it not granted? When we asked and demanded the return of any fugitive from justice, or the recovery of those persons owing labor or allegiance, was it not incorporated in the Constitution, and again ratified and strengthened in the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850?

"But do you reply, that in many instances they have violated this compact, and have not been faithful to their engagements? As individuals and local communities they may have done so, but not by the sanction of government; for that has always been true to Southern interests. Again, gentlemen, look at another fact: When we have asked that more territory should be added, that we might spread the institution of Slavery, have they not yielded to our demands in giving us Louisana, Florida, and Texas, out of which four States have been carved, and ample territory for four more to be added in due time, if you, by this unwise and impolite act, do not destroy this hope, and perhaps by it lose all, and have your last slave wrenched from you by stern military rule, as South America and Mexico were; or by the vindictive decree of a universal emancipation, which may reasonably be expected to follow?

"But, again, gentlemen, what have we to gain by this proposed change of our relation to the general government? We have always had the control of it, and can yet, if we remain in it, and are as united as we have been. We have had a majority of the Presidents chosen from the South, as well as the control and management of most of those chosen from the North. We have had sixty years of Southern Presidents to their twenty-four, thus controlling the Executive department. So of the judges of the Supreme Court, we have had eighteen from the South, and but eleven from the North; although nearly four-fifths of the judical business has arisen in the Free States, yet a majority of the Court has always been from the South. This we have required, so as to guard against any interpretation of the Constitution unfavorable to us. In like manner we have been equally watchful to guard our interests in the Legislative branch of government. In choosing the presiding Presidents *(pro tem.)* of the Senate, we have had twenty-four to their eleven. Speakers of the House, we have had twenty-three, and they twelve. While the majority of the Representatives, from their greater population, have always been from the North, yet we have generally secured the Speaker, because he, to a great extent, shapes and controls the legislation of the country. Nor have we had less control in every other department of the general government. Attorney-generals we have had fourteen, while the North have had but five. Foreign ministers we have had eighty-six, and they but fifty four. While three-fourths of the business which demands diplomatic agents abroad is clearly from the Free States, from their greater commercial interests, yet we have had the principal embassies, so as to secure the world markets for our cotton, tobacco, and sugar, on the best possible terms. We have had a vast majority of the higher offices of both army and navy, while a larger proportion of the soldiers and sailors were drawn from the North. Equally so of clerks, auditors, and comptrollers filling the Executive department; the records show for the last fifty years, that of the three thousand thus employed, we have had more than two-thirds of the same, while we have but one-third of the white population of the Republic.

"Again, look at another item, and one, be assured, in which we have a great and vital interest; it is that of revenue, or means of supporting government. From official documents, we learn that a fraction over three-fourths of the revenue collected for the support of government has uniformly been raised from the North.

"Leaving out of view, for the present, the countless millions of dollars you must expend in a war with the North, with tens of thousands of your sons and brothers slain in

battle, and offered up as sacrifices upon the altar of your ambition, — and for what, we ask again? Is it for the overthrow of the American government, established by our common ancestry, cemented and built up by their sweat and blood, and founded on the broad principles of *Right*, *Justice*, and *Humanity?* And, as such, I must declare here, as I have often done before, and which has been repeated by the greatest and wisest of statesmen and patriots in this and other lands, that *it is the best and freest government, the most equal in its rights, the most just in its decisions, the most lenient in its measures, and the most inspiring in its principles to elevate the race of men, that the sun of heaven ever shone upon.*

"Now, for you to attempt to overthrow such a government as this, under which we have lived for more than three-quarters of a century — in which we have gained our wealth, our standing as a nation, our domestic safety while the elements of peril are around us, with peace and tranquillity accompanied with unbounded prosperity and rights unassailed — is the height of madness, folly, and wickedness, to which I can neither lend my sanction nor my vote."

OFFICE OF LITTELL'S LIVING AGE, BOSTON.

Thank God that some, who have read that part of this report which was copied into the Living Age a fortnight ago, have submitted their minds to the accumulated proof of the horrible atrocity of the Rebellion, and the fiendish character of its leaders. It is to be hoped that this exposure, so able and so complete, made in such a calm, clear, and Christian spirit, will induce many to lay aside their life-long prejudice against any "interference with Southern institutions," — a prejudice so rooted as to have lasted even after the *sacred* INSTITUTION had openly made war against their country.

Since the publication of the former part, a subscriber, remitting payment for another year, says, "I am sorry to see The Living Age hoist the Black Abolition Flag." Look again, dear sir, as the mist clears off; it is not *black:* it is "Red, White and Blue;" "'Tis the Star-spangled Banner," the National Flag upheld by the President, by Congress, and by the nation.

The People of the United States, in the election which has just taken place, have manifested not only their fixed purpose to sustain the Government and nation which our fathers planted, with the blessing of God, but also to uphold the present administration in its slowly-matured determination to root out the *cause* which has placed them in peril.

The manner in which the war has been carried on by the rebels has been worthy of the object for which it was begun; and it is difficult to believe that any patriotic or humane man can hereafter be found acting with their Northern and European sympathizers.

Finally, lift the next leaf, and see some few proofs of the enormous wickedness which these Accessories after the fact have to sanction.

COPIES

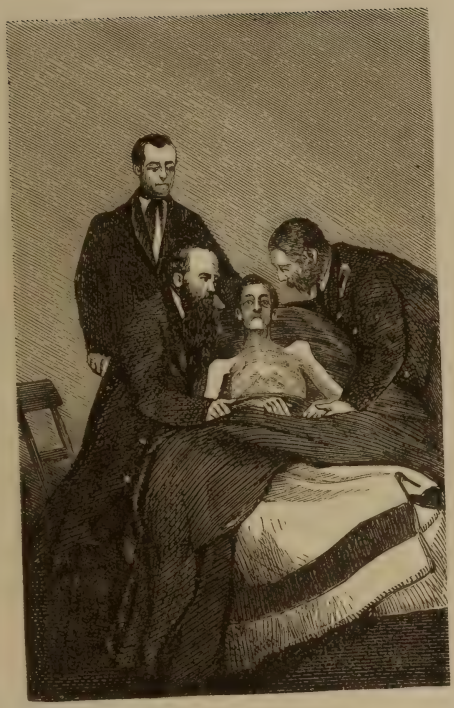
OF

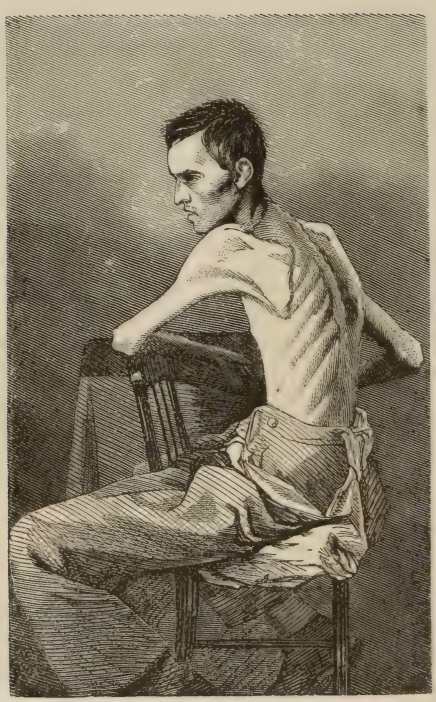
PHOTOGRAPHS OF UNION SOLDIERS

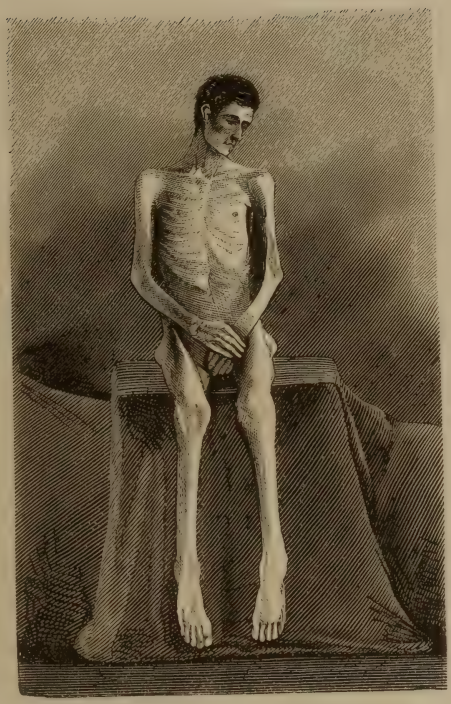
AFTER THEIR RETURN FROM

IMPRISONMENT AT BELLE ISLE.

Accurately copied from the Original Photographs taken at United States General Hospital, Division No. 1, Annapolis, Maryland, and now in the possession of the United States Sanitary Commission.







LOYAL PUBLICATION SOCIETY,

863 BROADWAY.

No. 77.

AN ADDRESS

ON

SECESSION.

DELIVERED IN SOUTH CAROLINA IN THE YEAR 1851,

BY FRANCIS LIEBER.

FRANCIS LIEBER, *President.*
J. A. STEVENS, *Secretary.*
W. T. BLODGETT, *Ch. Executive Com.*

MORRIS KETCHUM, *Treasurer.*
J. A. ROOSEVELT, *Ch. Finance Com.*
JAMES McKAYE, *Ch. Publication Com.*

NEW YORK:

PUBLISHED BY THE LOYAL PUBLICATION SOCIETY.

1865

A FOURTH OF JULY ADDRESS

ON

SECESSION.

In the year 1850, after the admission of California as a free state, secession was urged by a strong party in South Carolina; but when a convention was held in Charleston, it was found that the so-called co-operationists—that is to say those who were in favor of secession, indeed, but only conjointly with other states—were in the majority. The Union-men of the state, desirous of doing, on their part, whatever might be in their power, to strengthen the Union feeling, resolved, in 1851, to celebrate, by a mass-meeting at Greenville, S. C., the Fourth of July, a day already then frequently spoken of with little respect. Many citizens were invited, either to be present, or "to give their views in writing at length," should they be prevented from participating in the celebration. The author was among the invited guests; but, being on the point of leaving South Carolina for some months, he wrote the following address, which was read and published in the papers of the day, from one of which he now copies it.

Fellow-Citizens: This is the Fourth of July! There is a fragrance about the month of July, delightful and refreshing to every friend of freedom. It was on the sixth day of this month that Leonidas and his martyr band, faithful "*to the laws of their country*," even unto death, sacrificed themselves, not to obtain a victory—they knew that that was beyond their reach—but to do more—to leave to their state and their country, and to every successive generation of patriots, to the end of time, the memory of men that could "obey the law," and prepare themselves for a certain death for their country, as for a joyful wedding feast. It was on the ninth day of this month, that the Swiss peasants dared to make a stand at Sempach, against Austria—then, as now, the drag-chain to the chariot of advancing Europe—that memorable day when Arnold Winkelried, seeing that his companions hesitated before the firm rampart of lances leveled against them by the Austrian knights, cried out: "Friends, I'll make a lane for you! Think of my dear wife and children?"—grasped, as he was a man of great strength, a whole bundle of the enemy's pikes, buried them in his breast, and

made a breach, so that over him and the knights whom he had dragged down with him, his brethren could enter the hostile ranks, and with them victory for Switzerland and liberty; and Arnold's carcass, mangled and trodden down, became the corner-stone of the Helvetic Republic. It was on the fourteenth day of this month that the French, awakened from a lethargy into which an infamous despotism had dragged them, stormed and conquered that castle of tyranny, the ominous key of which Lafayette sent to our Washington, who sacredly kept it to the last day of his life, so that every visitor could see it, as the choicest present ever offered to him to whom we owe so much of our liberty and of the existence of our great commonwealth. And it was on this day that our forefathers signed that Independence, which many of them sealed with their blood, and which the others, not permitted to die for their cause, soon after raised to a great historical reality, by the boldest conception —by engrafting for the first time in the history of our kind, a representative and complete political organism on a confederacy of states, nicely adjusted, yet with an expansive and assimilative vitality.

These are solemn recollections. As the pious Christian recounts the sacrifices and the victories of his church with burning gratitude and renewed pledges to live worthy of them, so does the fervent patriot remember these deeds with rekindled affection, and resolutions not to prove unworthy of such examples and unmindful of so great an inheritance, but on the contrary, to do whatever in him lies to transmit the talent he has received from his fathers, undiminished, and, if God permits, increased, to his successors.

Yet there are those in this country who daringly pretend to make light of the great boon received from our fathers—of this, by far the greatest act of our history—of that act by which we stand forth among the nations of the earth—the Union. There have been patriots as devoted as ours—there have been republics besides ours—there have been spreading nations like ours—there have been bold adventurers pressing on into distant regions before ours—there have been confed-

eracies in antiquity and modern times besides ours,—but there has never been a union of free states like ours, cemented by a united representation of the single states, and of the people at large, woven together into a true government like ours; leaving separate what ought to be separated, and yet uniting the whole by a broadcast and equal representation, changing with the changing population, so that we cannot fall into a dire Peloponnesian war, in which Athens and Sparta struggled for the leadership, that internecine war into which all other confederacies have fallen, and in which they have buried themselves under their own ruins, unless they have slowly glided into submission to one Holland, or one Austria, or one Berne. Many federations, indeed, have had to bear the larger part of both the evils.

There are those who pretend to make light of the Union; there are those who wilfully shut their eyes to the many positive blessings she has bestowed upon us, and who seem to forget that the good which the Union, with her Supreme Court, or any other vast and lasting institution, bestows upon men, consists as much in preventing evils as in showering benefits into our laps. There are those who will not see or hear what is happening before our own eyes in other countries—in Germany, for instance—that living, yet bleeding, ailing, writhing, humbled commentator on Disunion. Ah! fellow-citizens, you can but fear, and justly fear, *that* of disunion which I *know*. With you the evils of disunion are happily but matter of apprehension; with me, unhappily, matter of living knowledge. I am like a man who knows the plague, because he has been in the East, where he witnessed its ravages; you only know it from description—and easily may it be understood why I shudder when I hear persons speak of the plague with trifling flippancy, or courting the appalling distemper to come and make its pleasant home among us, as a sweet blessing which Providence has never yet vouchsafed to us.

There are those who seem to imagine that the Union might be broken up and a new confederacy be formed with the ease and precision with which the glazier breaks his brittle sub-

stance along the line which his tiny diamond has drawn—forgetting that no great institution, and, least of all, a country, has ever broken up or can break up in peace, and without a struggle commensurate to its own magnitude; and that when vehement passion dashes down a noble mirror, no one can hope to gather a dozen well-framed looking-glasses from the ground.

There are those even who think that the lines along which our Union will split, are ready-marked like the grooved lines on some soft substance, intended from the beginning to be broken into parts for ultimate use.

There are those who speak of the *remedy* of secession—a remedy—an amputation would be a remedy, indeed, to cure a troublesome corn, or as cutting one's throat would remedy a migraine.

There are those, even, it seems to me, who have first rashly conceived of secession as a remedy, and now adhere to it as the end and object to be attained, when they are shown that it would not cure the evils complained of, but, on the contrary, would induce others, infinitely greater and infinitely more numerous. They fall into the common error of getting so deeply interested in the means, that the object for the obtaining of which the means was first selected is forgotten. But though the error be of daily occurrence, it is a fearful one in this case, because the consequence would be appalling. They almost remind us of those good people in Tuscany, who had contracted so great a fondness for St. Romualdus, that when the saint had concluded to remove from among them, they resolved, in a grave town-meeting, to slay their patron saint, so that they might have at least his bones, and worship them as sacred relics.

We have heard much of secession. It is still daily dinning in our ears. What is secession? Is it revolution, or is it a lawful remedy to which a state is permitted to resort in right of its own sovereignty? Many persons—and there are some of high authority in other matters among them—maintain that even though it might not be expedient in the present case, it cannot be denied that the right of seceding belongs

to every state. I have given all the attention, and applied all the earnest study that I am capable of to this subject; and everything—our history, the framing of our Constitution, the correspondence of the framers, the conduct of our country, the actions of our states—all prove to my mind that such is not the case. It has been often asserted that the states are sovereign; and they would not be so could they not, among other things, withdraw from the Union whenever they think fit. This is purely begging the question. The question is what sovereignty is, and what, in particular, it means when the term is applied to our confederated states. No word is used in more different applications than this term "sovereign;" but in no sense, whatever width and breadth be given to it in this or any other case, does it mean absolute and unlimited power, if we speak of men. There is but one absolute ruler—one true sovereign. Unlimited power is not for men; and the legal sage, Sir Edward Coke, went so far as to declare, in the memorable debates on the petition of rights, that "sovereignty is no parliamentary word." This is not the place where so subtle and comprehensive a subject can be thoroughly discussed, but I may be permitted to touch upon a few points which may be examined here without inconvenience.

What is right for one state, must needs be right for all the others. As to South Carolina, we can just barely imagine the possibility of her secession, owing to her situation near the border of the sea. But what would she have said a few years ago, or what indeed would she say now—I speak of South Carolina, less the secessionists—if a state of the interior, say Ohio, were to vindicate the presumed right of secession, and to declare that, being tired of a republican government, she prefers to establish a monarchy with some prince, imported, all dressed and legitimate, from that country where princes grow in abundance, and whence Greece, Belgium, and Portugal, have been furnished with ready-made royalties—what would we say? We would simply say, this cannot be and must not be. In forming the Union we have each given up some attributes, to receive, in turn, advantages of the last

importance ; and we have in consequence so shaped and balanced all our systems that no member can withdraw without deranging and embarrassing all, and ultimately destroying the whole.

But does not the Constitution say that every power not granted in that instrument shall be reserved for each state ? Assuredly it does. But this very provision is founded upon the supposition of the existence of two powers, the general and the state governments. The Constitution is intended to regulate the affairs between them ; secession, however, annihilates one party—the general government—so far as the seceding state is concerned. The supposition that the Constitution itself contains the tacit acknowledgment of the right of secession, would amount to an assumption that a principle of self-destruction had been infused by its own makers into the very instrument which constructs the government. It would amount to much the same provision which was contained in the first democratic constitution of France, namely, that if government acts against the law, every citizen has the duty to take up arms against *it*. This was, indeed, declaring Jacobinical democracy tempered by revolution, as a writer has called Turkey a despotism tempered by regicide.

And can we imagine that men so sagacious, so far-seeing, on the one hand, and so thoroughly schooled by experience on the other, as the framers of our Constitution were, have just omitted, by some oversight, to speak on so important a point ? One of the greatest jurists of Germany said to me at Frankfort, when the Constituent Parliament was there assembled, of which he was a member : "The more I study your Constitution, the more I am amazed at the wise forecast of its makers, and the manly forbearance which prevented them from entering into any unnecessary details, so easily embarrassing at a later period." They would not deserve this praise, or, in fact, our respect, had they been guilty of a neglect such as has been supposed. Can we, in our sober senses, imagine that they believed in the right of secession, when they did not even stipulate a fixed time ne-

cessary to give notice of a contemplated secession—knowing, as they did, quite as well as we do, that not even a common treaty of defence or offence—no, not even one of trade and amity—is ever entered into by independent powers, without stipulating the period which must elapse between informing the other parties of an intended withdrawal and the time when it actually can take place ; and when they knew perfectly well that, unless such a provision is contained in treaties, all international law interprets them as perpetual ; when they knew that not even two merchants join in partnership without providing for the period necessary to give notice of an intended dissolution of the house ? It seems to me preposterous to suppose it. The absence of all mention of secession must be explained on the same ground on which the omission of parricide in the first Roman penal laws was explained—no one thought of such a deed.

Those that so carefully drew up our Constitution cannot be blamed for not having thought of this extravagance, because it had never been dreamt of in any confederacy, ancient, medieval, or modern. Never has there existed an architect so presumptuous as to consider himself able to build an arch equal to its purpose and use, yet each stone of which should be so loose that it might be removed at any time, leaving a sort of abstract arch, fit to support abstractions only—as useful in reality as the famous knife without a blade, of which the handle was missing. Those that insist on the right of secession from the Union, must necessarily admit the correlative right of expulsion on the part of the Union. Are they prepared for this ?

If the Constitution says nothing on secession ; if it cannot be supposed to exist by implication ; if we cannot deduce it from the idea of sovereignty, it may be worth our while to inquire into the common law of mankind on this subject. The common law in this case is history.

Now, I have taken the pains of examining all confederacies of which we have any knowledge. In none of the many Greek confederacies did the right of secession exist, so far as we can trace their fundamental principles. In some

rare cases an unfaithful member may have been expelled. But in the most important of all these confederacies, and in that which received the most complete organization, resembling, in many points, our own—in the Achæan League, there existed no right of secession, and this is proved by the following case :—When the Romans had obtained the supremacy over Hellas, and Greece was little more than a province of Rome, the Ætolians respectfully waited upon the Roman commissioner, Gallus, to solicit permission to secede from the league. He sent them to the Senate, and the secessionists obtained at Rome the permission to withdraw—no "leading case," I suppose, for Americans. The Amphictyonic Council allowed of no secession. It was Pan-Hellenic, and never meant to be otherwise. The medieval leagues of the Lombard cities, of the Swabian cities, and of the Rhenish cities, permitted no spontaneous withdrawal; but the fortunes of the fiercest wars waged against them by the nobility, would occasionally wrench off a member and produce disruptions. The great Hanseatic League, which, by its powerful union of distant cities, became one of the most efficient agents in civilizing Europe, and which, as Mr. Huskisson stated in Parliament, carried trade and manufacture into England, knew nothing of secession until the year 1630, when the princes, greedy for the treasures of her cities, had decreed her destruction, and forced many members to secede. This is no leading case either.

The Swiss Confederacy, the Germanic Federation, knew and know nothing of secession; nor did the United States of the Netherlands—so much studied by some of our framers, and by Washington among them—admit the withdrawal of any single state. The great "Utrecht Union" of 1577, was *for ever;* yet the Netherlands formed a real confederacy.

All these confederacies consisted of a far looser web than ours; none had a federal government comparable to ours; yet they never contemplated such a right. And should we do so—we, with a firmer union, a better understanding of politics, a nobler consciousness of our mission as a nation, and greater blessings at stake? Should we, indeed, of all men

that ever united into federations, treat our government, by which we excel all other united governments, as a sort of political picnic to which the invited guest may go and carry his share of the viands or not, as he thinks fit, or the humor may move him? Are all the rights on the side of the states—that is, the individuals—and all the obligations, and obligations, only, on the side of the confederacy—that is, the whole? This doctrine is the French theory of excessive individual right and personal sovereignty applied to states, and naught else.

I ask, will any one who desires secession for the sake of bringing about a Southern Confederacy, honestly aver that he would insist upon a provision in the new constitution securing the full right of secession whenever it may be desired by any member of the expected confederacy?

To secede, then, requires revolution. Revolution for what? To remedy certain evils. And how are they to be remedied? It is a rule laid down among all the authorities of international law and ethics, that to be justified in going to war it is not sufficient that right be on our side. We must also have a fair prospect of success in our favor. This rule applies with far greater force to revolutions. The Jews who rose against Vespasian had all the right, I dare say, on their side; but their undertaking was not a warrantable one for all that. We, however, should we have sufficient right on our side for plunging into a revolution—for letting loose a civil war? Does the system against which we should rise contain within its own bosom no peaceful, lawful remedies?

We are often told that our forefathers plunged into a revolution, why should not we? Even if the two cases were comparable, which they are obviously not, I would ask, on the other hand, Are we to have a revolution every fifty years? Give me the Muscovite Czar rather than live under such a government, if government it could be called. I am a good swimmer, but I should not like to spend my life in whirlpools. And does the question of right or wrong, of truth and justice, go for nothing in revolutions?

Nor would the probability of success be in our favor, since

it is certain that secession cannot take place without war, and this war must end in one or the other of two ways. It must either kindle a general conflagration, or we must suffer, single-handed, the consequences of our rashness—bitter if we succeed in lopping ourselves off from the trunk, bitter if we cannot succeed. Unsuccessful revolutions are not only misfortunes, they become stigmas. And what if the conflagration becomes general? Let us remember that it is a rule which pervades all history, because it pervades every house, that the enmity of contending parties is implacable and venomous in in the same degree as they have previously stood near each other, or as nature intended the relation of good will to exist between them. It is the secret of all civil and religious wars; it is the secret of divided families; it is the explanation of unrelenting hatred between those who once were bosom friends. Our war would be the repetition of the Peloponnesian War, or of the German Thirty Years' War, with still greater bitterness between the enemies, because it would be far more unnatural. It would shed the dismal glare of barbarism on the nineteenth century. Have they that long for separation forgotten that England, at first behind Germany, France, Italy, and Spain, rapidly outstripped all, because earlier united, without permitting the crown to absorb the people's rights? The separation of the South from the North would speedily produce a manifold disrupture, and bring us back to a heptarchy, which was no government of seven, but a state of things where many worried all. If there be a book which I would recommend, before all others, to read at this juncture, that book is Thucydides. It reads as if it had been written to make *us* pause; as if the orators introduced there had spoken expressly for our benefit; as if the fallacies of our days had all been used and exposed at that early time; and as if in that book a very mirror were held up for our admonition. Or we may peruse the history of cumbered, ailing Germany, deprived of unity, dignity, strength, wealth, peace, and liberty, because her unfortunate princes have pursued, with never-ceasing eagerness, what is called in that country *particularism*—that is, hostility of the parts to

the whole of Germany, and after the downfall of Napoleon preferred the salvation of their petty sovereignties, conferred upon them by Napoleon, to the grandeur, peace, and strength of their common country. The history of Germany, the battlefield of Europe for these three centuries, will tell you what idol we should worship, were we to toss our blessings to the winds, and were we to deprive mankind of the proud example inviting to imitation.

I have already gone far beyond the proper limits of a communication for the purpose for which the present one is intended, and must abruptly conclude where so much may yet be said.

I will only add that I, for one, dare not do anything toward the disruption of the Union. Situated, as we are, between Europe and Asia, on a fresh continent, I see the finger of God in it. I believe our destiny to be a high, a great, and a solemn one, before which the discussions now agitating us shrink into much smaller dimensions than they appear if we pay exclusive attention to them. I have come to this country, and pledged a voluntary oath to be faithful to it, and I will keep this oath. This is my country from the choice of manhood, and not by the chance of birth. In my position, as a servant of the state, in a public institution of education, I have imposed upon myself the duty of using my influence with the young neither one way nor the other in this discussion. I have scrupulously and conscientiously adhered to it in all my teaching and intercourse. There is not a man or a youth that can gainsay this. But I am a man and a citizen, and as such I have a right, or the duty, as the case may be, to speak my mind and my inmost convictions on solemn occasions before my fellow-citizens, and I have thus not hesitated to put down these remarks. Take them, gentlemen, for what they may be worth. They are, at any rate, sincere and fervent ; and, whatever judgment others may pass upon them, or whatever attacks may be levelled against them, no one will be able to say that they can have been made to promote any individual advantages. God save the commonwealth ! God save the commmon bond !

LOYAL PUBLICATION SOCIETY,

863 BROADWAY.

No. 78.

PROCEEDINGS

AT THE

SECOND ANNIVERSARY MEETING

OF THE

Loyal Publication Society,

FEBRUARY 11, 1865,

WITH THE ANNUAL REPORTS,

PREPARED BY ORDER OF THE SOCIETY,

BY THE SECRETARY.

NEW YORK:
PUBLISHED BY THE LOYAL PUBLICATION SOCIETY.

1865.

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

AT THE

SECOND ANNIVERSARY MEETING

OF THE

LOYAL PUBLICATION SOCIETY.

The Loyal Publication Society held its second Anniversary Meeting on the evening of Saturday, February 11, 1865, at the rooms of the Society, 863 Broadway.

The President, Dr. Francis Lieber, in the Chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

The Report of the Treasurer, Mr. Morris Ketchum, with an account current, showing a balance to the credit of the Society of $916 30, was read by the Secretary, accepted and ordered on file.

The Secretary of the Society, Mr. John Austin Stevens, Jr., read a general report of the operations of the Society, which, on motion, was accepted.

The Report of the Committee on Publications was read by the Secretary, and, on motion, accepted.

The Report of the Executive Committee was read by its Chairman Mr. W. T. Blodgett, and, on motion, accepted.

The Secretary was requested to superintend the printing of the foregoing reports, together with the Record of the Proceedings of this the Second Anniversary Meeting of the Society.

On motion of Col. McKaye, seconded by Col. Le Grand B. Cannon, the thank sof the Society were unanimously tendered to the President and Secretary, for the great care and fidelity with which they had performed their duties and looked to the interest of the Society during the past year.

On motion of Mr. Stevens, seconded by Colonel McKaye, the thanks of the Society were unanimously tendered to the Executive Committee, for their faithful attention to their duties, and especially to Mr. Wm. T. Blodgett, not only for his constant and assiduous care of the labor of distribution, but also for his personal efforts so successfully made to collect funds for the Society.

On motion of Mr. Blodgett, the thanks of the Society were unanimously tendered to the Publication Committee and its Chairman Col. McKaye, for their faithful performance of their arduous duties.

On motion of Mr. Putnam, the thanks of the Society were tendered to the Treasurer, Mr. Morris Ketchum, for his continued kind and faithful care of the funds of the Society.

The President Dr. Francis Lieber here addressed the Society:

Address of Dr. Lieber.

Gentlemen,—You are aware that by the rule adopted at the last general meeting of the Society, its officers and committees are annually elected or appointed. The Reports which have been submitted to you have alluded to the important labors of the Society during the season which has past. The importance of the Society was acknowledged last year, and has been since clearly established and confirmed in various ways, until now it is admitted to be a valuable element in the great movement—nor can it be said that its importance has been increased because of the election, although that election was more important than any which ever occurred in the history of the Republic, unless, perhaps, that of Washington; for who can say what would have been the fate of the infant Republic without his directing and sustaining hand. Indeed, there have been few national acts recorded in all history which can be compared in vastness or

effect with that of the 8th of November; an election which deserves a separate name and a chapter from the historian. Yet even this does not show the whole importance of the labors of this Society.

At no previous election were there ever so many undecided men; so many men who were undecided up to the very day of the election. The Chicago platform had unsettled and upset the minds of numbers of men. Numbers hesitated between the platform and a candidate whom their own party had proposed.

Many of these hesitating votes were decided by the loyal publications of our Society. A curious instance occurred, one no doubt of many, which showed the influence of the publications of this Society. On one occasion in this city a German procession carrying the so-called democratic banners, was temporarily arrested, and entering a hall near by, some of them received from one of the distributing agents of this Society copies of one of its publications. The views of the pamphlet appealed directly to their understandings. The procession was broken up, its members retired to their homes, and, later, voted for the country.

Again, on an occasion in New Jersey, one of the pamphlets was read before a Democratic meeting and received with great applause.

Nor should it be forgotten with what limited means, when compared with the sums spent upon publications in the country, this widely honored and respected name had been established by the Society.

Dr. Lieber then tendered his resignation as President and nominated Mr. W. T. Blodgett as his successor.

Mr. James McKaye was called to the Chair.

Mr. Blodgett addressed the Society, declining the use of his name as a candidate, whereupon, on motion of Col. Cannon, Dr. Francis Lieber was unanimously re-elected President for the ensuing year.

Mr. John Austin Stevens, Jr., also placed his resignation at the disposal of the Society, whereupon, on motion of Mr. Bristed, he was unanimously re-elected Secretary for the ensuing year.

Mr. Morris Ketchum was unanimously re-elected Treasurer of the Society.

The Chairman designated Messrs. Putnam and Tousey as an Auditing Committee, to examine the accounts of the Society.

On motion, Mr. Stevens called the attention of the Society to the propriety of making some change in the "Declaratory Resolution," so as to define more clearly its position with regard to slavery, urging that the time had come for an open avowal of the determination of the Society to lend its influence to the total abolition of this institution.

The Chairman appointed Messrs. Stevens and McKaye as such Committee on Declaratory Resolution, with power.

On motion of Col. Cannon, it was

Resolved, That the Society will hold Quarterly Meetings on the evenings of the second Saturdays of February, May, August, and November.

At this period in the proceedings, Mr. Blodgett, on behalf of the Committees of the Society, addressed the President, Dr. Lieber, and presented to him, in their name, an elegantly bound set of the "Rebellion Record," with the following remarks:

Dr. Lieber—The pleasing duty has been assigned me of presenting these volumes of the "Rebellion Record" in the name of the Committees of this Society—your associates during the past year. Recognizing, as we do, the cordiality with which you have seconded all efforts of the Committees in promoting the efficiency and usefulness of the Society, we ask your acceptance of these volumes; and, should they find a place on the historic shelves of your library, we trust they will often remind you of an association which has been agreeable to us all, and of profit to our common country.

Dr. Lieber replied in a few, touching, and eloquent remarks.

The President named the following Committees for the ensuing year:

PUBLICATION COMMITTEE.

James McKaye, Chairman.

John Austin Stevens, Jr.,	Dr. F. Schutz,
George P. Putnam,	W. C. Church,
T. G. Glaubensklee,	Chas. Astor Bristed.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

William T. Blodgett, Chairman.

C. E. Detmold,	Charles Butler,
Sinclair Tousey,	J. Butler Wright,
George Bliss, Jr.	Oliver K. King.

FINANCE COMMITTEE.

LeGrand B. Cannon, Chairman.

James A. Roosevelt,	William E. Dodge, Jr.,
T. B. Coddington,	Jackson S. Schultz,
Levi P. Morton,	Geo. C. Ward.

And after some discussion with regard to the arrangement of business for the ensuing year, the Society adjourned.

A true extract from the minutes.

JOHN AUSTIN STEVENS, JR.,
Secretary.

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY

OF THE

LOYAL PUBLICATION SOCIETY.

Submitted to the Society Saturday Evening, 11th February.

SECOND ANNUAL MEETING.

The Loyal Publication Society has completed the second year of its existence. The creature of a painful necessity and coming into existence at a period when the affairs of the country were in a dark and threatening state, its first year was a year of labor, of trouble, and anxiety. Nor has the season through which it has just passed been without its difficulties and trials.

The season of a Presidential Election is always one of excitement and intellectual activity, and in proportion as its issues are momentous the passions of men are quickened, and their slumbering prejudices aroused into antipathy and hate.

The Society has not been wholly exempt from the influence of this universal rule. It could hardly have hoped to pass through the excited canvas without exciting strong animosities, yet it may congratulate itself that it has been able to carry on its operations with so little inconvenience, and in such quiet, peace, and security. Nor is this true alone of its position with regard to the politics of the country; it is equally true of its position with regard to the divisions of sentiment in the loyal ranks.

Much of this is due to the fidelity with which it has adhered to the policy resolved upon at the last Annual Meeting.

Governed by fixed principles, and devoting its entire energies to their wide propagation, the Society has paid little attention

to special measures, and been wholly regardless of the views or claims of individual men. While it has often disappointed the eager partisan, it has never offended the just patriot, and has won golden commendation even from those whom it would not lend itself to serve.

That its work has been well and faithfully done—that it has been fairly and impartially done—its records and its publications show "*Scripta manent.*" They remain for the inspection of the Society, and of all who are interested in its success.

What mental and physical labor have been bestowed, none but the members of your Committees can know. Few public offices have received more constant, unwearied, and intelligent attention. How gratuitous and disinterested that attention, is patent to all.

But to pass from the labor to the result. "*Finis coronat opus*"—the end is the reward. Many a member of your Committees, as he closed his eyes on the night of the memorable 8th of November, 1864, to the glare of a local triumph in which his heart bore no share, felt, at least, that calm serenity which the sense of duty all fulfilled always brings; that having left nothing undone to win success in the great moral battle he could calmly surrender the issues to the God of Nations, and feel that however they should be solved, he, at least, would escape the pangs of self-reproach.

This alone would well repay the effort. How much more the awakening to the glorious spectacle "which flamed in the forehead of the morning sky;" the spectacle of a nation rising from its trials and its dangers fresher and stronger than before; more perfect in its unity, more fervent in its patriotism, and invigorated by the very struggle which had threatened its integrity and its life.

In this triumph, in this regeneration, each and all find their sufficient, nay more, their abundant reward, for much of what were otherwise but hard, dry drudgery—a drudgery performed in somewhat of the spirit in which the bravest or the most gifted performs what were else a menial office for a kinsman or a friend.

So has it been with us. Our country, always nearest our hearts, now doubly dear that she is suffering and torn with

strife; "Our Country!" always before our eyes in the happy legend of our Society; our country! sanctified and hallowed by the blood of friends and kinsmen! What labor could we begrudge her? what toil avoid that would make the noble mother happier or stronger.

Nor is this the only triumph in which this Society may claim a share. It has played an active and important part in the great struggle of ideas. From its birth it has never wavered in its convictions on the great question of the freedom of man; and now, just as it closes this the second year of its existence, the Liberty which stands upon the Capitol has sounded the glorious trump of universal freedom, and the continent shakes beneath the shouts of glad tidings, and the reverberating peals which ocean flings back to ocean, and granite hill to silver mountain, as State after State ratifies, amid the applause of a people, the blessings of a race, the approbation of mankind, and beneath the approving smiles of a righteous and benignant God, the just decree.

It would seem that the work for which the Society was organized was here well nigh accomplished, but this would be an unwise, nay, more, an unsafe conclusion. Great social changes are not made by decrees, be they ever so wise or just. The written law may inaugurate, but cannot effect the change. All political and social changes are gradual. Even those which seem the most sudden are the result of remote and long acting causes.

The master and the slave have changed not only their relations to each other, and their own conditions; their natures must also undergo some change, to suit their new condition.

Here again the Society finds a fitting field for labor. It may do much to reunite these discordant elements; to make that easy which now seems so hard and difficult. It may point out, in some measure, the advantages which will accrue to each by the change, and drawing from the lessons of national history and national experience what is suited to their special case, may aid in the reorganization of society on a new and mutually profitable basis.

Nor should the Society forget the eloquent appeal of the French liberals, through the pen of Gasparin, to the nobler

feelings of our people, or the loving kindness with which they pointed out to us the path of duty in the future, in that memorable letter which makes one of the series of publications of the Society.

The war has not yet reached its end, though the end is now in view.

The duties which it imposes, a branch of which we have openly and solemnly assumed to ourselves, are still unfinished. To us it still remains to watch over and preserve the health of public opinion, to show forth the true needs and issues of the struggle, and to keep ever present to the view of the people, in success as in disaster, the glorious future, when from North to South, and East to West, each heart as well as each lip shall pay its homage to the national authority.

There will, therefore, be little difference of opinion as to the propriety and the necessity of continuing the Society.

The operations of the Society during the past year have been large. 33 pamphlets, containing 673 pages of printed matter, have been issued, at a cost of about $12,000.

Of these, 470,000 have been distributed, besides 45,000 exchanges.

The kindly relations established with the Loyal Publication Society of New England have been agreeably maintained, and publications and opinions have been constantly interchanged, to mutual advantage.

The *Army and Navy Journal*, originated under the care of the Society, has proved a complete success, under the able editorship of Mr. W. C. Church, one of its active members.

The attention of the Society has been recently turned to the collection of a complete set of pamphlets connected with the war, and large contributions have been already made by the members.

Congratulating the Society on its past success, and in the confident hope that it will not abandon the labor until its objects have been fully accomplished, the foregoing report is respectfully submitted,

By their obedient servant,

JOHN AUSTIN STEVENS, Jr.,

Secretary.

New York, February 10th, 1865.

REPORT OF THE PUBLICATION COMMITTEE

OF THE

LOYAL PUBLICATION SOCIETY.

The Committee on Publications respectfully submit the following Report of their proceedings during the past year.

The Committee appointed at the last annual meeting of the Society to direct this branch of its operations, and under whose personal supervision its publications have been since issued, consists of—

James McKaye, Chairman.

Grosvenor P. Lowrey,	John Austin Stevens, Jr.,
Dr. Frederick Schütz	Charles Astor Bristed,
George P. Putnam,	Theodore G. Glaubensklee.

The President of the Society and the Chairman of this Committee, during its first year, Dr. Francis Lieber, has also been a constant participant in the deliberations of the Committee, and to his wisdom, experience, and earnest devotion to the welfare of the Society, whatever of good it may have accomplished in the past season of political excitement, is largely due.

The Committee has held (30) thirty sessions. There have been presented for its consideration (63) sixty-three documents.

Under a rule adopted by the Committee at an early meeting, each one of the documents thus submitted was referred to a Special Committee, and their reports, in writing, may be found on the files of the Society.

Of the various articles of manuscripts and printed matter, (36) thirty-six have been reported upon favorably, and passed into

the charge of the Executive Committee for publication under the rules. Of these there were:

1 Report of Proceedings of the Loyal Publication Society, First Year.
3 original articles prepared for the Committee.
8 compilations with introductions and commentaries, by members of the Committee.
4 German and Dutch translations, by the Committee.
2 original articles first printed by the Society.
8 reprints from stereotype plates, presented to the Society.
7 reprints of speeches and other documents.
1 a collection of patriotic songs designed for the use of soldiers and hospitals.

34

Nine Broadsides were also issued, which may be found in the above named divisions, and which were intended for and received a large circulation during the political campaign.

The following table presents the numbers of the series and the titles under which the pamphlets have been issued:

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS—SECOND YEAR.

Numbers.	Titles.	Number of pages.
44.	Proceedings of First Anniversary Meeting of the Loyal Publication Society, February 13, 1864...	24
45.	Finances and Resources of the United States. By *H. G. Stebbins*.....	22
46.	How the War Commenced. From Cincinnati *Daily Commercial*.....	16
47.	Result of Serf Emancipation in Russia.....	8
48.	Resources of the United States. By *S. B. Ruggles*.	30
49.	Patriotic Songs. A collection by G. P. Putnam...	24
50.	The Constitution Vindicated. *James A. Hamilton.*	12
51.	No Property in Man. *Charles Sumner*.....	24
52.	Rebellion, Slavery, and Peace *N. G. Upham*....	24

53. How the War Commenced. (German Translation) for the South. By *Dr. F. Schutz*..... 16
54. Our Burden and Our Strength. *David A. Wells*. 39
55. Emancipated Slave and His Master. German Translation.) By Dr. *F. Schutz*, for the Society..... 32
56. The Assertions of a Secessionist. *Alex. H. Stephens* 8
57. Growler's Income Tax. By *T. S. Arthur*, Phil... 4
58. Emancipated Slave and his Master. *James McKaye*, L. P. S..... 38
59. Lincoln or McClellan. (German. By *Francis Lieber*. 4
60. Peace through Victory. Sermon.) By *Rev. J. P. Thompson*..... 16
61. Sherman *vs.* Hood. *Broadside*. By the Secretary. 4
62. The War for the Union. By *William Swinton*... 20
63. Letter on McClellan's Nomination. *Hon. Gerrit Smith* 16
64. Letters of Loyal Soldiers. Parts 1, 2, 3, 4. By the Secretary..... 16
65. Submissionists and their Record Parts 1 and 2. By the Secretary..... 8
66. Coercion Completed, or Treason Triumphant. By *John C. Hamilton*..... 28
67. Lincoln or McClellan (English). By *Francis Lieber* 8
68. The Cowards' Convention. By *Charles Astor Bristed* 16
69. Whom do the English wish Elected? By *Frederick Milne Edge*..... 4
70. Collection of Letters from Europe. By *G. P. Putnam*, L. P. S..... 28
71. Lincoln or McClellan, (Dutch Translation)..... 4
72. Address of Dr. Schutz, at Philadelphia, October 5, 1865..... 12
73. Address of N. G. Taylor on Loyalty and Sufferings of East Tennessee..... 32
74. The Slave Power. By *J. C. Hamilton*..... 24
75. The Great Issue. Address by *John Jay*..... 32
76. Narrative of Sufferings of U. S. Prisoners of War in the hands of Rebel Authorities. By U. S. Sanitary Commission..... 92
77. Address on Secession. Delivered by *Dr. Lieber* in South Carolina in 1851..... 12

34 pamphlets.....pages 697

For List of Publications of First Year, see last page of this pamphlet.

The sizes of the several pamphlets have been as follows:

1	pamphlet of	92	pages.....	92	pages.
1	"	39	"	39	"
1	"	38	"	38	"
3	"	32	"	96	"
1	"	30	"	30	"
2	"	28	"	56	"
4	"	24	"	96	"
1	"	22	"	22	"
1	"	20	"	20	"
6	"	16	"	96	"
3	"	12	"	36	"
4	"	8	"	32	"
5	"	4	"	20	"
34				697	

In the aggregate 697 pages of printed matter exclusive of covers.

The foregoing statement shows the nature and extent of the literary labor performed by the Committee, but it is due to them to record that their attention to the work with which they were charged, was by no means limited to the hours of their attendance at stated meetings or of their study at their homes. During the entire summer, and up to the very eve of the Presidential Election, there was hardly a day when some of its members did not spend hours in superintending and aiding in the correction of proof, the distribution of documents, and in the general correspondence of the Society.

The Committee, while submitting to the approval of the Society, this record of their past action, cannot allow the opportunity to pass without expressing their hearty congratulation to their fellow laborers of the Executive Committee, and to the generous contributors to the funds of the Society

on the achievement of the result for which it was organized, and for which all and in common have so earnestly labored and so devoutly prayed; the establishment of a sound healthy sentiment on public affairs; the welding together of discordant and disintegrating opinions; the development of a noble patriotism and national spirit; and finally the passage of the Amendment to the Constitution of our country forever abolishing the accursed demoralizing and aristocratic institution of slavery from our policy and our land.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

JAMES McKAYE,
Chairman.

GEO. P. LOWREY,
Secretary.

New York, 7th February, 1865.

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

The Executive Committee respectfully presents the following report of their proceedings during the past year.

The Committee constituted at the last Annual Meeting consisted of—

William T. Blodgett, Chairman,

Christian E. Detmold, Charles Butler,
Geo. Gibbs, J. Butler Wright,
Sinclair Tousey, Le Grand B. Cannon,
Geo. Bliss, Jr.

Two months since, Mr. Geo. Gibbs resigned as a member of this Committee, in consequence of an intended absence from the city. He has been associated with this Committee since the formation of the Society, and has been one of its most useful and active members.

The acknowledgments of the Committee are due to the President of the Society for his attendance at its meetings, and for the active assistance he has rendered the Committee in cordially seconding all its efforts.

The Presidential election occurring during the past year, the occasion has been opportune to develop the usefulness of the Society, and we have every reason to believe its publications have exercised an important influence.

Although the means placed at the disposal of the Committee have slightly exceeded those of the preceding year the increased

cost of paper and printing have made its resources comparatively less ; but by printing cheap editions of some of the publications best calculated for popular reading, the number distributed has exceeded by nearly one-fifth that of the preceding year. These cheap editions, distributed chiefly among the U. S. Hospitals, were, No. 46—" How the War Commenced," in English and German, and No. 49—"Patriotic Songs;" both highly popular pamphlets.

The series of publications has been less by ten than that of the preceding year, but for some of the numbers there has been a very great demand, and large quantities have been printed. Of No. 54—" Our Burden and Our Strength," a pamphlet of 40 pages, and No. 56, an abridgment of the celebrated speech of Alexander H. Stephens, of Georgia, nearly one hundred thousand copies have been printed.

The total number of documents distributed by the Society is 470,000, (being 70,000 more than the previous year,) at an expenditure, including all contingent expenses of ($11,793 23) eleven thousand seven hundred and ninety-three dollars and 23 cents.

For some weeks previous to the Presidential election, a package of documents was daily sent to the Army of the Potomac, to be distributed by a gentleman who, by permission, visited the field for this special purpose. The Committee believe they were carefully distribnted and proved very useful.

All the U. S. Military Hospitals in Indiana and Ohio, and most of those in this State, Maryland, Kentucky, and in and around Washington city, have been regularly supplied.

Numerous State committees, clubs, and associations, have availed themselves of the publications of this Society. In some cases the cost of the paper and printing has been paid, but publications have always been sent in excess of such cost.

The proportion sent to the various States was as follows:

New York City	120,075
State of New York	83,175
Washington City. The Army and U. S. Hospitals	51,700
Indiana	49,000
New Jersey	32,000
Pennsylvania	26,300
Illinois	19,500
Ohio	18,700
Massachusetts	10,600
Delaware	7,500
Virginia	6,700
Connecticut	6,500
Louisiana	6,500
Kentucky	5,500
Maryland	3,500
Other States	16,000
Europe	7,000
	470,250

The recipients have been, through express and mail:

U. S. Hospitals	3,032
Private individuals	2,300
Editors	730
Clubs, Leagues, and Political Associations.	326
	6,388

The sales of the publications have increased during the past year, as will be seen by the report of the Finance Committee, showing an excess of nearly $1,200 over those of 1863.

The acknowledgments of the Society are due to Mr. John Hoey, of Adams' Express Company, whose liberality has enabled the Committee to distribute thousands of documents they could have sent through no other channel, without a large expenditure to the Society.

Complete sets of our publications were sent to eminent persons in Europe: these were cordially acknowledged in letters expressive of great sympathy for the national cause; these letters were printed, and form No. 70 of the series of publications. Five thousand copies of the pamphlet "Our Burden and our Strength" have been sent for distribution to the Union and Emancipation Societies of London and Manchester, and to the liberal clubs in Great Britain. Receipt of these has been acknowledged, with assurance that the pamphlets were carefully distributed, and had a powerful influence in correcting the prejudices existing on the great issues now distracting our country.

The members of the Committee desire to express their gratification at the great cordiality and unanimity with which the operations of the Society have been conducted, and to acknowledge their obligations to the Publication Committee, whose labors have enabled them to issue a series of publications so meritorious and creditable.

This Society was organized to counteract the baneful influences of publications which were at the time insidious and dangerous; but which might at this time be transferred to loyal pages, as specimens of delusive fallacies and sophistries, now exploded, like the associations from whence they emanated.

The Loyal Publication Society has now become a recognized element in diffusing loyal and valuable information on the great questions which agitate the country. Some characteristic extracts from letters received by it are appended to this report, and show how its efforts are appreciated. During the coming year the efforts and influences of the Society will continue to be directed to counteract all treasonable teachings calculated to weaken the loyal sentiment of the people in the support of our Government. It will be our desire to present to the public publications prepared for this Society by the leading minds of the country.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

WILLIAM T. BLODGETT,
Chairman of Executive Committee.

Charles Pontez, *Secre ary pro tempore.*

Extracts from Letters.

From the Union State Central Committee, Indianapolis.

"The Committee is under great obligations for the kindness and assistance of your Society. Please tender the kind regards of the officers of this Committee to the officers of your Society."

From Herkimer Co., N. Y., Jan'y 25th, 1865.

"I am under great obligations to you for the publications you have sent me. I have found these tracts of great importance to me in preparing sermons, addresses, and for reading at the meeting of our Loyal Leagues.

"I know also that they have exerted a very powerful influence in our rural lodges.

"I spent some weeks last summer with our soldiers before Petersburg, and I found that your publications were gladly received by both privates and officers. Their replies were, 'Thank you, this is just what I want, where can I get them?'

"I know that the Society has done a noble work; you doubtless hear this often, but pardon me if I add what I have seen and do know.

"Your work is not yet done, you have witnessed one triumph greater than the world has ever seen before; and to bring this about your Society has done much by furnishing information of a character so soul elevating and reliable. Much is yet to be done; when peace shall return there must be a re-establishment of the true principles of a republican government. It is my prayer, that God will still give success to your efforts."

From Evansville, Indiana.

"You have the thanks of the Loyal League for this donation. More than this, the country owes a debt of gratitude to the Loyal Publication Society, and to the gentlemen who have so efficiently superintended its management.

"The influence of their publications in this Congressional district has been very decided, *tending powerfully to reduce the copperhead majority*, which has always reigned supreme."

SUBSCRIPTIONS

TO THE

LOYAL PUBLICATION SOCIETY,

From February 13*th*, 1864, *to February* 13*th*, 1865.

Geo. C. Ward, Treas	$1,000 00
Morris Ketchum	850 00
Jas. McKaye	500 00
James Lenox	500 00
G. C. Ward	404 94
Le Grand B. Cannon	400 00
C. V. S. Roosevelt	250 00
W. C. Bryant & Co	250 00
I. Henderson	250 00
William C. Church	250 00
C. E. Detmold	225 00
Jonathan Sturges	200 00
B. H. Hutton	200 00
A. Robinson	200 00
G. B. De Forest	200 00
Chas. Butler	175 00
A. T. Stewart	150 00
Brown Bros. & Co	100 00
W. T. Blodgett	125 00
H. W. T. Mali	125 00
J. Butler Wright	100 00
J. S. Schultz	100 00
Phelps, Dodge & Co	100 00
James A. Roosevelt	100 00
Carried forward	$6,754 94

Brought forward	$6,754 94
Levi P. Morton	100 00
C. A. Bristed	110 00
A. Gracie King	100 00
Saml. Wetmore	100 00
John C. Green	100 00
Williams & Guion	100 00
George Griswold	100 00
Jos. Tuckerman	100 00
M. O. Roberts	100 00
Joseph Sampson	100 00
D. G. Bacon	100 00
Easton & Co	100 00
W. H. Webb	100 00
R. L. Kennedy	100 00
W. D. Thompson	100 00
J. D. Wolfe	100 00
Geo. Opdyke	100 00
Jas. A. Hamilton	76 00
R. H. McCurdy	50 00
T. B. Coddington	50 00
Peter Cooper	50 00
Wm. H. Fogg	50 00
Spofford, Tileston & Co	50 00
C. A. Heckscher	50 00
Griffith Thomas	50 00
J. M. Fiske	50 00
E. W. Hooper	50 00
Howard Potter	50 00
Sprague & Cooper	50 00
David Dows	50 00
Thomas N. Dale	50 00
W. B. Smith	50 00
S. McLean & Co	50 00
L. W. Bonney	50 00
W. E. Dodge, Jr	50 00
Carried forward	$9,390 94

Brought forward	$9,390 94
William Curtis Noyes	50 00
Geo. T. Strong	50 00
John A. Stevens	50 00
O. K. King	50 00
John F. Gray	35 00
Geo. B. Satterlee	30 00
Gerrit Smith	30 00
J. C. Lord	25 00
C. Griffiths	25 00
N. Fisher	25 00
H. D. Sedgwick	25 00
A. N. Lawrence	25 00
G. Albinola	25 00
W. H. Breeden	25 00
E. B. Wesley	25 00
Geo. W. Hatch	25 00
Joseph Ripley	25 00
F. H. Delano	25 00
N. Chandler	25 00
Winslow, Lanier & Co	25 00
R. H. Bowne	25 00
Hanbury Smith	25 00
Henry E. Pierrepont	25 00
Edgar Ketchum	25 00
Geo. C. Collins	25 00
Geo. S. Stephenson	25 00
Handy & Hoadly	25 00
B. W. Weston	25 00
J. H. Abeel	25 00
J. E. Wylie	25 00
L. Francis	25 00
W. H. Hoppin	25 00
Bacon & Hyde	25 00
H. T. Moore	25 00
John Austin Stevens, Jr	25 00
Carried forward	$10,385 94

Brought forward	$10,385 94
C. Carow	25 00
John Jay	25 00
Bogert & Kneeland	25 00
J. Mattison	25 00
E. S. Sherman	25 00
J. F. Butterworth	25 00
O. D. Swan	25 00
Henry Marquand	25 00
O. Haggerty	25 00
R. M. Hunt	25 00
J. C. Brown	25 00
Sinclair Tousey	25 00
Gustavus Schwab	25 00
F. Kuhne	25 00
W. Seligman	25 00
E. C. Cowdin	25 00
J. E. Williams	25 00
O. S. Strong	25 00
W. Borden	25 00
H. Clews	25 00
Blakely Wilson	25 00
Marcus Spring	25 00
B. D. Silliman	25 00
Robert Winthrop	25 00
Geo. M. Hatch	25 00
W. A. Smith	25 00
Geo. Palen & Co.	25 00
W. F. Carey	25 00
Geo. Collins	25 00
W. M. Evarts	25 00
C. H. Tiffany	25 00
Geo. Bliss, Jr.	25 00
White & Douglass	25 00
Francis Lieber	25 00
Carried forward	$11,235 94

Brought forward	$11,235 94
S. Aloffsen	20 00
Cash	20 00
J. R. Hull	20 00
H. T. Ingalls	20 00
E. P. Cowles	20 00
D. B. Eaton	15 00
R. Van Pelt	10 00
J. Green Pearson	10 00
C. Baker	10 00
David Hoadley	10 00
S. T. Skidmore	10 00
C. B. Knevals	10 00
Geo. E. Underhill	10 00
Chas. S. Smith	10 00
E. S. Van Winkle	10 00
J. C. Hamilton	10 00
H. J. Brooks & Co	10 00
Geo. H. Foster	10 00
Geo. Lee	10 00
D. Van Nostrand	10 00
M. G. Baldwin	10 00
Geo. P. Putnam	10 00
J. C. Carter	10 00
G. W. Brackenridge	10 00
C. T. Goddard	5 00
J. Hess	5 00
H. Howland	5 00
B. C. Wandell	5 00
W. J. Palmer	5 00
W. W. Franklin	5 00
E. P. Bray	5 00
A. H. Arnoux	5 00
S. P. Nash	5 00
B. G. Arnold	5 00
J. Edgar	5 00
W. H. Anthon	5 00
Carried forward	$11,590 94

Brought forward	$11,590 94
J. Frye	5 00
A. M. Coffin	5 00
Murray Hoffman	5 00
J. N. Balestier	5 00
J. Lane	5 00
Mr. McCabe	5 00
	$11,620 94

MORRIS KETCHUM,

Treasurer.

New York, Feb. 8th, 1865.

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS.—FIRST YEAR.

February 14, 1863, *to February* 13, 1864.

No. 1. Future of the North West. By *Robert Dale Owen.*
2. Echo from the Army. Extracts from Letters of Soldiers.
3. Union Mass Meeting, Cooper Institute, March 6, 1863. Speeches of *Brady, Van Buren, &c.*
4. Three Voices: the Soldier, Farmer and Poet.
5. Voices from the Army. Letters and Resolutions of Soldiers.
6. Northern True Men. Addresses of Connecticut Soldiers—Extracts from Richmond Journals.
7. Speech of Major-General Butler. Academy of Music, New York, April 2, 1863.
8. Separation; War without End. *Ed. Laboulaye.*
9. The Venom and the Antidote. Copperhead declarations. Soldiers' Letters.
10. A few words in behalf of the Loyal Women of the United States, by *One of Themselves. Mrs. C. M. Kirkland.*
11. No Failure for the North. *Atlantic Monthly.*
12. Address to King Cotton. *Eugene Pelletan.*
13. How a Free People conduct a long War. *Stillé.*
14. The Preservation of the Union, a National Economic Necessity.
15. Elements of Discords in Secessia. By *William Alexander, Esq.*, of Texas.
16. No Party now, but all for our Country. *Francis Lieber.*
17. The Cause of the War. *Col. Charles Anderson.*
18. Opinions of the early Presidents and of the Fathers of the Republic upon Slavery, and upon Negroes as Men and Soldiers.
19. Einheit und Freiheit, von Hermann Kafter.
20. Military Despotism! Suspension of the Habeas Corpus! &c.
21. Letter addressed to the Opera-House Meeting, Cincinnati. By *Col. Charles Anderson.*
22. Emancipation is Peace. *By Robert Dale Owen.*
23. Letter of Peter Cooper on Slave Emancipation.
24. Patriotism. Sermon by the *Rev. Jos. Fransioli*, of St. Peter's (Catholic) Church, Brooklyn.
25. The Conditions of Reconstruction, by *Robert Dale Owen.*
26. Letter to the President, by *Gen. A. J. Hamilton*, of Texas.
27. Nullification and Compromise: a Retrospective View. By *John Mason Williams.*
28. The Death of Slavery. Letter from Peter Cooper to Gov. Seymour.
29. Slavery Plantations and the Yeomanry. *Francis Lieber.*
30. Rebel Conditions of Peace. Extracts from Richmond Journals.

No. 31. Address of the Loyal Leagues, Utica, October 20, 1863.

32. War Power of the President—Summary Imprisonment. By *J. Heermans.*

33. The Two Ways of Treason.

34. The Monroe Doctrine. By *Edward Everett*, &c.

35. The Arguments of Secessionists. *Francis Lieber.*

36. Prophecy and Fulfillment. Letter of A. H. Stephens—Address of E. W. Gantt.

37. How the South Rejected Compromise, &c. Speech of Mr. Chase in Peace Conference of 1861.

38. Letters on our National Struggle. By *Brigadier-General Thomas Francis Meagher.*

39. Bible View of Slavery, by John H. Hopkins, D. D., Bishop of the Diocese of Vermont. Examined by *Henry Drisler.*

40. The Conscription Act: a Series of Articles. By *Geo. B. Butler, N. Y.*

41. Réponse de MM. De Gasparin, Laboulaye, &c.

42. Reply of Messrs. Gasparin, Laboulaye, and others.

43. **Antwort der Herren De Gasparin, Laboulaye, Martin, Cochin, an die Loyal National League.**

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Dec 2 1914